HOMELANDS - GENERAL

1989

[Signature]
Three homelands get more land

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

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

The additional properties going to the Transkei comprise portions of farms located to the west and south of the Elliot-Engcobo Road reserve boundary and, according to an explanatory memorandum, are subject to transfer to ensure a more practical and acceptable boundary between the homeland and SA.

Exchange

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

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

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

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

The second conference of ministers of finance from the "Self-governing territories" took place in Pretoria yesterday under the chairmanship of Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid.

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

Homeland leaders refuse to toe the line

By Peter Fabricius,Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

The leaders of kwaZulu, Kagu

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

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

Urgent attention

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

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

This week the Government persuaded black town councillors to agree to establish a national forum which would represent urban blacks in central government and participate in national negotiations – probably on the National Council.

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

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

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

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

Mr Sooi will be meeting the leaders of the other self-governing territories in the near future.
PROCLAMATION
by the Acting
State President of the Republic of South Africa
No. 4, 1989
PASSING OF CERTAIN LAND IN THE DISTRICT OF RUSTENBURG IN THE PROVINCE OF THE TRANSVAAL TO THE REPUBLIC OF BOPHUTHATSWANA

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

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

J. C. HEUNIS,
Acting State President.
By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:
G. VAN N. VILJOEN,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE
PROVINCE OF THE TRANSVAAL

District of Rustenburg
The area comprising the following:

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

204—1
Homelands need financial aid from SA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This had eventually led to the appointment of the Harms Commission. — Sapa.
TBVC salaries: R72-m more needed

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

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

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

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

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

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

In line with this understanding, when the South African civil service received a pay rise and the TBVC states were not in a position to meet the cost of a similar rise for their employees because it was an unexpected expenditure, South Africa helped them to supplement their budgets.

The original amount calculated by the four countries had been R115 million, but after tough negotiation, with understanding for the dilemmas of the respective governments, the amount had been reduced to R72 million.

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

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

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

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

One should look not only at the negative side or the faults that had been made, but at the successes, he said. — Sapa.
R3bn paid to TBV countries

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

The respective amounts were: R1.379bn to the Transkei; R1.063bn to Bophuthatswana, and R322.9mn to Venda.

Botha said the estimated amounts fell into two categories: direct assistance and transfers in terms of bilateral agreements. — Sapa.
TBVC states have 19 consulates in SA

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

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

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

However, in spite of this, Botha said in reply to a question from Snyman, his department had, for reasons of courtesy, approached the local magistrate and the police in Pietersburg for comments in 1983.

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

Botha did not disclose Snyman’s comments.

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

As a result, consular personnel had to be accommodated in a local hotel, which cost Venda thousands of rand.
TBVC pay hikes use up much of SA aid increase
Nobody was arrested during the police action and no firearms were fired. However, a flare was discharged on the instruction of the officer in command, because it was dark and the area is not lit up.

Fzekha High School: SAP present

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

(1) Whether members of the South African Police were present at or near Fzekha High School on the morning of 3 March 1989, if so, (a) why, (b) to which police station or unit were they attached, (c) how many policemen were there, (d) under whose command were they and (e) who called them there;

(2) whether these policemen took any action, if so, (a) what action, (b) why and (c) in terms of what statutory provisions or regulations was such action taken;

(3) whether any laws were broken; if so, (a) which laws, (b) by whom and (c) how many persons were arrested.

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes

(a) to (c) A number of members of the divisional unit not under the command of a captain went to the school.

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

(2) Yes

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

(3) No, the police action effectively prevented the contravention of any laws.

(a) to (c) Fall away.

Self-governing territories: manufacturing concerns

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

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

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

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

Self-governing territories: amounts invested

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

(a) What amounts were invested by (i) the State and (ii) foreign agencies in the industrial sector, and (b) what was the total amount invested by (i) the development corporation concerned, (ii) South African companies and (iii) foreign companies, in each of the self-governing territories in the 1987-88 and 1988-89 financial years, respectively.

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>(a)(i)</th>
<th>(a)(ii)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>5 718</td>
<td>R35 367 925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
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<td>R17 589 000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9 250</td>
<td>R95 035 000</td>
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<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
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<td>36 881</td>
<td>R260 012 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>31/12/88 188</td>
<td>11 814</td>
<td>R78 923 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>30/9/88 206</td>
<td>25 000</td>
<td>R73 358 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 048 91 452</strong></td>
<td><strong>R58 354 925</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>(a)(i)</th>
<th>(a)(ii)</th>
<th>(b)(i)</th>
<th>(b)(ii)</th>
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<td>Nil</td>
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<td>R139 905 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>R50 596 000</td>
<td>R21 805 000</td>
<td>R50 596 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>R33 233 000</td>
<td>R3 587 000</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Figures not available.
Cutting out courts

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

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

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

Two editions in particular are affected by the Bill: Proclamation R169 of December 2, 1987 in terms of which Bothabahlo was incorporated into QwaQwa; and Proclamation R277 of 1985 which incorporated Moutse in the north-eastern Transvaal into Kwandebele.

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

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

The Argus Correspondent

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

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

The Bill was tabled in Parliament last week.

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

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

If enacted, the Bill would nullify the court ruling which invalidated the incorporation of Botshabelo into QwaQwa. It was pointed out in the statement, and it would render academic the outcome of the government's appeal against the existing judgment.

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

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

They said they were "on the receiving end of harsh treatment because of our opposition to incorporation," explaining: "Many of us have been beaten up by vigilantes, who in many instances have the open support of the state or homeland authorities."

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

In Braklaagte, where 85 people were arrested at Easter, people were "bruised" for refusing to identify themselves with a chief imposed by the homeland government and for maintaining that they are South Africans.

Representatives urged that land be given to the Potdadam people so that they could leave the Ciskei and resettle in South Africa.

Most spurned
citizenship
New strategy ‘more violent’

By PETER DENNEW

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

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

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

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

‘Over 300 tortured in Moutse’

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

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

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

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

“In Braklaagte, over 100 people were seriously assaulted over the Easter weekend of 1989.”
mandate was extended to include section 46 proceedings—the moneys as prescribed in scale C of the tariff in the Magistrates' Court Rules, minus 20%, to a maximum of R250. The Director of the Legal Aid Board, however, refused the authority to grant legal aid to meritorious cases, to instruct advocates and senior advocates and to increase or remove restrictions.

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

Citizen Force and Commando members called up

244. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Defence:

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

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

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) (a) 24.63%

(b) (i) 14.55%

(ii) 9.38%.

(2) (a) 165

(b) Educational:

Essential Services: 982

Service in other Forces: 11

Occupational Circumstances: 74

Medical: 27

Other: 17

$20

Public servants: pensionable service

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

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

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

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

A TREATY BETWEEN THE MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

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

(a) Total amount spent: R23 672.86

1. Bophuthatswana: 3 599 111

2. Ciskei: 17 863 418

3. Transkei: 2 499 657

4. Venda: None

(b) Projects on which this money was spent:

A. BOPHUTHATSWANA

1. Villages/Towns

(a) Atitlaleng: 11

b. Office Accommodation: 484

c. Schools: 11

d. Admin costs: 10

1.1. Isoseng

a. Water: 114 423

b. Sanitation: 167 894

c. Electricity: 22 231

d. Machinery: 95 434

e. Housing: 1 040 802

f. Public Buildings: 150 794

g. Office accommodation: 13 080

h. Maintenance: 29 708

i. Schools: 470 418

j. Admin costs: 48 849

1.2. Pumpierstad

a. Roads: 38 409

b. Public Buildings: 84 313

R 276 871

2. Physical infrastructure

a. Road 114 Roodeval & Terputfontein: 31 943

b. Hebron/Inkomo road over Nqetegedt: 132 671

c. Haribeesfontein main water supply: 100 626

3. Independence projects

a. Isoseng community hall: 451 000

b. Pumpierstad community hall: 360 000

R 811 000

R 3 359 111

B. Ciskei

1. Villages/Towns

1.1. Mndansane

(a) Roads: 3 837 465

b. Water: 1 273 556

c. Sanitation: 260 276

d. Electricity: 656 101

e. Machinery & Plant: 136 409

f. Housing: 457 709

g. Public Buildings: 680 764

h. Sport facilities: 554 664

i. Schools: 186 521

R 891 010
1.2 Sada/Whittlesea
  a. Roads 365 951
  b. Sanitation 6 143
  c. Electricity 224 458
  d. Maintenance 12 385
  e. Schools 299 898
  f. Admin costs 28 670

2. Physical infrastructure
  2.1 Fees and Disbursements for:
    a. Design Nabetemba dam & irrigation scheme 2 159
    b. Oxton irrigation scheme 310
    c. Northern Ciskei irrigation 107 183
    d. Nabetemba settlements Phase I water supply 6 428
    e. Nabetemba Zwezindings project management 63 552
    f. Hewu district roads & stormwater drainage 101 572
    g. Nabetemba water supply 94 913
    h. Hewu roads & stormwater drainage 299 364
    i. Nabetemba settlement Phase II design of water supply 8 200
    j. Glenmore development of residential & agricultural plots 17 317
    k. Balfour infrastructure 29 755
    l. Drilling and grouting at Bushmankrans dam 19 727
    m. Need Camp temporary water supply 18 992
    n. Need Camp/Good Hope water supply 19 503
    o. Nabetemba water supply 780 423
    p. Border Black areas 20 929
    q. Proposed Sinfield Park dam mass water supply 14 137

2.2 Construction of:
  a. Hewu district 174 km gravel roads 2 299 173
  b. Hewu services water supply 1 427 667
  c. Glenmore electrical equipment section 2 18 992
  d. Binfield Park dam 4.5 ml water treatment 43 113
  e. Binfield Park/Alice pipeline 92 763

3. Independence projects
  a. Civic square/office 291 396
  b. Health & Agriculture building 2 475 375
  c. Works & Transport building 235 704
  d. Middelset说法 144 887
  e. Radio Ciskei 803
  f. Garage/Service station 155 874
  g. Director-General furniture 110 000

R 467 369

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D. VENDA

Department of Education and Training: investigations into irregularities

265. Mr D S SPEAAR asked the Minister of Education and Development: A)

1. (a) What investigations have been made into alleged irregularities in the Department of Education and Training since 1 July 1987, (b) by whom was each of these investigations made and (c) what, during the period 1 July 1987, up to the latest specified date for which information is available, was the cost to the State of each such investigation;

2. (i) whether any outside consultants have been appointed to make further investigations into and to make evaluations regarding certain alleged irregularities that have come to light as a result of the above-mentioned investigations; if so, what are the relevant details?

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The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

1. (a) (i) Investigation by the Advocate-General into the purchasing of an Ivis interactive video system by the Department of Education and Training;

(ii) Inquiry into the regularity or otherwise of the acquisition, by the Department of Education and Training, of an Ivis interactive video system and of any other spending of state funds by that Department, which comes to the attention of the Commission of Inquiry and which should...

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SADF: suicide attempts

279. Mr R R HULLERY asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether any (a) national servicemen, (b) members of the Permanent Force and (c) members of the Citizen Force Commandos (i) attempted to commit and (ii) committed suicide in 1988; if so, (aa) how many in each case and (bb) what means did each such person employ?

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The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(a) National Servicemen

(i) 2)

(ii) 11

1 Overdose
207 Shot
3 Hanged
65
14 Overdose
2
Mabuza calls for Bill to be rejected

THEO RAWANA

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

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

Deprive

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

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

“At the very least, the power to include or exclude land from a self-governing territory should be possible only with the agreement in writing of the Cabinet of the self-governing territory concerned. Such consent should be ratified by means of a referendum with the people affected by such a proposal.”
NEW HOME Building Office in a Postwar Age of Escalated in the Front Door

100% of all homes in the New Home Building Office are designed to meet the needs of the postwar generation. The homes are built with materials and craftsmanship that are both durable and energy-efficient. The office offers a wide range of floor plans to suit any family's needs, from small apartments to large single-family homes. The office also provides financing options to help make home ownership affordable for everyone.

The office is located at 123 Main Street, and is open daily from 9am to 5pm. They can be contacted at 123-4567.

JOANNE COLLINS

Powers to Draw

Homesteads maps

New Homes on

The Big Green House Presentation
Court considering ban

Heuins Explains Court curb

Cape Town - Constitutional Court
‘African states get SA petrol’

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

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

The only difference in prices between SA and these countries was due to different levels of levies and transport costs, he said.

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

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

1 796 vacancies in Cape Town hospitals

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

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

Van Niekerk, who was replying to a question by Dr Marius Barnard (PFP, Parktown), said there were 172 medical vacancies at Groote Schuur Hospital at the end of last year, four at Red Cross, 87 at Tygerberg, two at Woodstock and eight at Somerset.

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

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

This means that almost 9% of the posts were vacant at the end of last year.
Minister ‘wants to act unlawfully’

CONSTITUTIONAL Planning and Development Minister Chris Heunis wanted a free hand to act unlawfully and unhindered by the control of the courts, Lawyers for Human Rights national chairman Jules Browde said yesterday.

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

The Bill is an attempt to force the 300 000-strong community of Botshabelo to be incorporated into QwaQwa, in spite of a Supreme Court ruling last year overturning an earlier attempt.

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

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

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

Swapo appeals aired for guerrilla pull-out

WINDHOEK - Swapo military commanders’ pleas to guerrillas to return to Angola were broadcast for the first time last night over Namibian radio services, and similar helicopter-borne “shouts” are being amplified over Owambola’s bushland.

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

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

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

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

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

A centrally-planned economy would not succeed in an environment in which the majority of business could operate successfully.
Homelands united on Mandela

Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

The leaders of kwaZu- lu, kaNgwane and Le- bowa have taken the same stand.

SA citizens need visas for Germany

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

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

Application forms are available from any FRG consulate.
United 6 calls for Nelson's release

SOWETAN Reporter

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

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

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

Mr Hani said that, in his meeting with Mr Mandela, the leaders had "made it clear that the release of Mr Mandela is a condition for their participation in central government."

Mr Hani said that "it has now emerged, from the latest meeting, that..." new KwaZulu-Natal Chief Minister, Mr Mqabana is also insisting on "the release of Mr Mandela."

Mr Hani said that the meeting had taken place "in the initiative of the three leaders."

"They" discussed "matters of common interest including the economic development of the regions, the report on the Evaluation of the Regional Industrial Development Programme, constitutional development and "ways and means of enhancing the process of reform."
Clinging to failure

In the late Seventies, the then Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Hennie van der Walt, voluntarily announced in parliament that the policy of homeland consolidation could not be achieved. Good thinking. However, uncompro

ommenced by the courts, the acrimony and international condemnation generated by removals and loss of citizenship provoked by the policy, government is at it again.

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

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

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

Ironically, the Bill comes at a time when the policy as originally enacted has come to the end of the road. Since the heady days of Sixties-style grand apartheid, 3.5m black people have been moved, causing loss of life, the destruction of communities, loss of land, and the wastage of cattle and resources.

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

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

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

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<td>November</td>
<td>54 404</td>
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<td>December</td>
<td>43 235</td>
<td>11 139</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>610 016</td>
<td>204 247</td>
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The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

- Kwanelebe: 224 632 ha
- Gazankulu: 774 795 ha
- OwaQwa: 115 823 ha
- Lebowa: 2 223 983 ha
- KwaZulu: 3 243 703 ha

Self-governing territories as at 31 December 1988?

- B780E

Public Service officials seconded to self-governing territories

- B715E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

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

Self-governing territories: size in hectares

- Kwanelebe
- Gazankulu
- OwaQwa
- Lebowa
- KwaZulu

Posts identified for occupation by seconded staff: 31 December 1988

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Class</th>
<th>Kwanelebe</th>
<th>Lebowa</th>
<th>Gazankulu</th>
<th>OwaQwa</th>
<th>Kwanelebe</th>
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THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
### Occupational Class Distribution

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<tr>
<th>Occupational Class</th>
<th>Kwazulu</th>
<th>Lebowa</th>
<th>GaZankulu</th>
<th>QwaQwa</th>
<th>KwaNdebele</th>
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**Total** 30 14 12 6 0 0 60
### Sasol: Pipeline/Transport Costs Collected

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

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

#### The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

1. Yes
   (a) and (b)

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

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

2. Falls away.

---

### Department of Mines and Energy Affairs: Payment to Sasol

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

1. Whether the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs made any payments to Sasol over the last six months; if so, (a) what amounts and (b) when and (c) why in each case?
2. Whether Sasol is permitted to price its petrol as though it were an imported product; if so:

#### The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

1. (a) No
   (b) (i) and in the past.

(b) Yes. Fuel prices are determined according to formulae in terms of the landed cost of imported final products. The South African oil companies have therefore, compete price-wise with international refiners which have excess capacities. In turn, Sasol must compete with the South African oil companies and the base price is therefore in.

Sasol must adapt the South African oil companies and the base price is therefore in. Although cost structures differ substantially and a synthetic installation requires much more capital than a crude distillation.

In order to prevent excessive duplication of marketing efforts, Sasol also sells its fuel to the other companies at the ruling international prices, which the oil companies do not have to pay for their own production.
See homelands for yourselves - Babb

By DALE KNEEN, Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africa would have spent between 20 and 40 percent more money on the homelands if they had not been made independent, former ambassador to Canada Mr Glenn Babb told about 80 people at a meeting of the Institute of International Affairs.

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

Government spending on the 10 homelands went up by more than 25 percent to total R3 358.7 million during the 1988/89 financial year and R2 785.2 million had been allocated to the four independent states - Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

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

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

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

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

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

Seven reasons why this had happened include: "our resilience", a new openness, negotiations on Angola and Namibia, changes in Soviet attitudes to South Africa, the State President's visits into Africa, the process of change in South Africa, and South Africa's insistence that African problems be solved in Africa by Africans.
With RIK'S diplomas, man to build
S.A.S. OWN MINI-ETC is a foundation on

[No further text visible due to the nature of the image]
By Jo-Anne Collinge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers noted that the Bill accorded the State President powers to incorporate areas into homelands merely "if he deems it expedient."
We don’t recognise bantustans – Botswana

The Star’s Africa News Service

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

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

Approached for comment by a Botswana newspaper, the Guardian, the spokesman said: “We don’t recognise any bantustans including Bophuthatswana. Our stand is clear.”
Homeland boundaries Bill diluted

By MIKE ROBERTSON

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

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

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

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

Mr Meyer said the government was intent on getting approval for the rest of the Bill, which seeks to give the State President the power to issue proclamations incorporating areas into homelands after consulting with the Minister of Constitutional Development and homeland cabinets.

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

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

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

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

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

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Meyer said government was intent on getting approval for the Bill, which seeks to give the State President the power to issue proclamations incorporating areas into homelands after consulting with the Minister of Constitutional Development and homeland Cabinets.

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

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

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

The Bill is now set to go to the President's Council.
Homelands guaranteed R297m in overdrafts

Political Staff

THE Department of Foreign Affairs has guaranteed overdraft facilities totalling R297 million to the four independent homelands over and above outstanding loans of more than R285 million.

The Democratic Party's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday he was "alarmed" that the government had guaranteed overdraft facilities to Transkei, Ciskei and Venda of no less than R297 million during the 1988/89 financial year.

He pointed out that these overdraft guarantees and outstanding loans were only in respect of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and not other government departments or agencies.

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

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

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

Political Staff

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

In terms of the constitution, President P W Botha immediately instructed the House of Representatives to meet within 14 days to decide on the bill. If they do not do so, they will be presumed to have rejected the Alternation of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Earlier, the DP MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, said that having abandoned its policy of forced removals, the Government had now turned to moving boundaries to move people into homelands. He said the Government was planning to incorporate 600 000 people in Botshabelo into Qwa-Qwa without consulting the people concerned.
SA, TBVC states form community

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

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

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

PLANNING

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

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

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

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

CO-OPERATION

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

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

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

"It was decided that conferences of this nature would in future be held on a regular basis. The next conference would take place in Cape Town in six months' time." - Sapa.
The poor of the homelands were being subjected to a new form of colonization by large corporations who were making large profits renting the land and paying their labour low salaries, said Mr Catherine Schneider, the newly elected president of the National Council of Women.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Birth control would only be effective once the quality of life improved, she said.
De Klerk to visit 3 homelands

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

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

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

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

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

By DAVID COOPER of the Environment Development Agency

The harvest and barren land scarred with erosion is barely able to sustain its "homeland" inhabitants. Picture: PAUL WENDLER, Atelope that ignores the social needs of the community.

In South Africa, for example, the betterment plan, enforced in 1946, was planned in three days and executed with similar haste. Cottage banks were devised and a few converted — to increase, banks as carriers for wue to scatter crops into the hillsides. Closer settlement was implemented but the need to set up a wooden, a crucial element of the plan, was ignored. As a result, the hillsides around the village are now bare and the vegetation for kilometres around has been stripped for firewood. The sources of streams have been left exposed and are now run dry — another source of erosion.

In this process of ecological degradation it becomes difficult to separate the cause from effect, effect from solution. Even though best practices are now discouraged, even in government initiatives, agricultural officials continue to persuade farmers for leaving erosionally fallow, more sophisticated agriculture blithely into it "tribal lands" area.Little has been done to replace better practices as a reaction to the erosion of the "homelands" caused by little. Little is worse now than private sector investment in social infrastructure — the government tends to inadequate schemes to plant trees, no effective marketing policy to contain the problem of overstocking — and some of the land with the highest farming potential is left a cycle of deepening erosion.

In South Africa the work being done under the drought rehabilitation scheme is largely wasted. With aotive imagination and foresight, the women who fill donkeys with soil, that will be washed away in the next, could be building small dams for starting water plants, planting woof wools and coriander or reseeding marshes and will that have been laid bare. The "homelands" could produce 13 percent of South Africa's agricultural output. At present they produce less than five percent, mostly on heavily subsidized state-run or smallholder schemes.

Unless policies are introduced to halt the abuse of land, the nation that the "homelands" are simply labour reserves without any arable land, will become a self-sufficient, fertile.

With the land is an agricultural market for the Environmental Development Agency.
Sidestepping the courts on 'black spots'

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

Nude also warned that the bill meant increased violence.

"Every peace position has been compromised by the undertaking of violence by whatever or however motivated forces on the basis of the principle of ethnicity."

The fears that violence could result from forced incorporation are not without grounds. In Mzimba, a period of violence and turmoil, so much violence and turmoil, so much violence and turmoil..."
7. Local Authorities Capital Development Fund Ordinance, 1978 (Ordinance No. 9 of 1978) (Transvaal):
The whole, excluding section 9.

8. Town-planning and Townships Ordinance, 1986 (Ordinance No. 15 of 1986) (Transvaal):
The whole, except in so far as the Ordinance relates to the Townships Board or a services appeal board.

9. Division of Land Ordinance, 1986 (Ordinance No. 20 of 1986) (Transvaal):
The whole, except in so far as the Ordinance relates to the Townships Board or a services appeal board.

No. R. 98, 1989

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

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

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:
G. VAN N. VILJOEN,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE
PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

District of Vryburg
The area comprising of the following:

(i) The farm Thurso 310.
The farm Frome 317.
The farm Shepton 322.
The farm Rockley 332.

(ii) From the beacon which is situated on the international boundary between the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of Bophuthatswana, where the north-western boundary of the farm Doorn Bult 552, Administrative District of Vryburg, intersects the north-western boundary of the farm Railway Strip D353; thence north-eastwards and south-eastwards along the said

7. Ordonnansie op die Kapitaalontwikkelingsfonds van Plaaslike Besture, 1978 (Ordonnansie No. 9 van 1978):
Die geheel, uitgesonder artikel 9.

8. Ordonnansie op Dorpsbeplanning en Dorpe, 1986 (Ordonnansie No. 15 van 1986) (Transvaal):
Die geheel, behalwe viir sover die Ordonnansie op die Dorperraad of 'n dienste-appélaad betrekking het.

Die geheel, behalwe viir sover die Ordonnansie op die Dorperraad of 'n dienste-appélaad betrekking het.

No. R. 98, 1989
OORGAAN VAN SEKERE GROND IN DIE DISTRIK VRYBURG IN DIE PROVINSIE DIE KAAP DIE GOEIE HOOP, IN DIE DISTRIKTE WARMBAD, RUSTENBURG, PRETORIA, BRITS, DELAREYVILLE, MARICO EN LICHTENBURG IN DIE PROVINSIE TRANSVAAL EN IN DIE DISTRIKTE EXCELSIOR EN BLOEMFONTEIN IN DIE PROVINSIE DIE ORANJE-VRYSTAAT NA DIE REPUBLIEK VAN BOPHUTHATSWANA

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

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Wildernis, op hede die Twee-entwintigste dag van Junie Eenduidend Negesonder Nege-en-tagig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:
G. VAN N. VILJOEN,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BLYAE
PROVINSIE DIE KAAP DIE GOEIE HOOP

Distrik Vryburg
Die gebied bestaande uit die volgende:

(i) Die plaas Thurso 310.
Die plaas Frome 317.
Die plaas Shepton 322.
Die plaas Rockley 332.

(ii) Van die baken geleë in die internasionale grens tussen die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en die Republiek van Bophuthatswana, waar die noord-westelike grens van die plaas Doorn Bult 552, administratiewe distrik Vryburg, die noordwestelike grens van die plaas Railway Strip D353 kruis, daarvandaan noordooswaarts en suidooswaarts met genoemde internasionale grens langs tot by
Rebellious chiefs unite against 're-education camps' and exile

Traditional leaders who have backed apartheid have been subjected to persecution and punishment. Now the rebellious chiefs are banding together and fomenting other tribal leaders to join them. By MINDIKULI MALUNGA

Newspaper prosecution threats 'a form of censorship'

The Weekly Mail, which spearheaded the campaign against the state, has found itself in the crosshairs of the state again. The newspaper's editor, Muzi Qashaya, said the state's efforts to silence the newspaper were an attempt to stifle freedom of the press.

The state has threatened to prosecute the newspaper for publishing articles critical of the government. The state's action was in response to the newspaper's coverage of a protest against the government's policies.

The state's move was seen as an attempt to silence the newspaper's critical coverage of the government. The state has a history of using its power to silence critics of its policies.

The state's move was also seen as an attempt to stifle freedom of the press. The state has a history of using its power to silence the media.

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Loans Top R 17bn

Development Bank finances 132 projects
Sharp divide in growth rates

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

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

Its figures show an average annual growth rate (measured by gross geographical product, GGP) of 1.7 percent between 1985 and 1989, but a one percent a year decline in per capita GGP.

Three areas of the country registered negative average growth rates in period 1985 to 1989: region B (−0.4 percent a year), which includes the Northern Cape and a part of Bophuthatswana; region C (−0.1 percent), the Orange Free State, Qwaqwa and another Bophuthatswana district; and region J (−0.5 percent), the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana districts.

The region which recorded the highest growth rate — 4.9 percent a year, on average — was region G, which includes the Northern Transvaal, Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda.

The Eastern Transvaal and KwaNatal — region F — grew by an average 3.7 percent, while the Natal, kwazulu and northern Transkei — region E — grew by 2.1 percent.

The PWV area, including kwaNdebele and a bit of Bophuthatswana, grew by an annual average 1.6 percent.

In capita terms, however, most regions of the country recorded negative growth. This was particularly true of the PWV, where there was a 4.4 percent a year population growth, presumably in part due to migration into the area, and in the Western Transvaal. Per capita GGP fell by 1.6 percent and 2.7 percent respectively in these two regions.

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

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

17 percent to 11 percent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- The provision of infrastructure, through private sector participation, for Polokwane in the Ciskei, at a total cost of R15.7 million. DBSA is financing the Masikakhe Utility Com-
By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The R9bn fix

Slack controls and indifferent auditing are losing billions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is argued that the independent homelands are sovereign states — therefore in no way accountable to Parliament. Yet SA directly contributes the highest recorded portion of the budget in each country — funds generated internally in 1986-1987 were: Transkei 24%,
J G Strijdom found itself on the chopping block in April. There are similar stories from hospitals in Natal, the Free State and the Cape.

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

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

Clinic Holdings executive chairman Barney Hurwitz suggested in March that privatisation has kept health care cost increases below that sector's CPI. Indeed, between 1983 and 1987, those costs rose only 49.7% compared to a health service CPI increase of 96.2%. But other experts point to tremendous increases in the costs of medical schemes — from an average subscription of R17,72 a month in 1977 to R123.34 in 1987.

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

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

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

And it's become a matter of principle. When J G Strijdom became a white Own Affairs hospital on April 1 — requiring it to impose such a transfer policy — its more than 50 specialists threatened to resign by December.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ultimately, however, only a unification of health services will stanch the bleeding. In that sense, while the crisis facing SA health care is typically complex, the solution is typically obvious.
Bophuthatswana 23%, Venda 12% and Ciskei 10%

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

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

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

The main theoretical functions of the committees are austerity, maximising internal revenue growth and capital spending and allocating funds on a “norma and standards” test rather than on an ad hoc basis. Most important, it was agreed that the unhealthy financing of current deficits through bank credit and loans would be terminated as soon as possible. This was done so that a stage could be reached where loans would be negotiated only for development projects — and then only through approved sources, such as the Development Bank.

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

In his latest book, Squandered Assets, Andreas Wassenaar says, in a chapter on “hidden” national debt, that it includes “contingent liabilities in respect of loans of other states guaranteed by the SA government. The number and details of such loans are not stated in any government document and can therefore not be quantified.” To this he adds “contingent liability in respect of the foreign debt of local authorities and public corporations — R211bn.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We enclose three articles which may relate to your work.

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


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

NEWS ABOUT US

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

The Development Bank of Southern Africa, which became operational in 1984, is the major agent for multilateral co-operation and development in the region spanning South Africa. This includes the six self-governing states of Lesotho, Swaziland, Gwango, KwaZulu Natal, and the R. R. O. (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

The SADIC's are the original shareholders of the Bank, while provision is made for membership of any independent state in South Africa. The Bank structure is both government and non-governmental development agencies in Southern Africa and after initially concentrating mainly on supporting development in the SADICs, self-governing territories, the Bank has become increasingly involved in supporting projects in the less-developed urban areas of SA.

Involved

The Bank is now involved in 36 major projects, with an estimated total investment value of R2.4 billion, of which bank-supported projects amounted to R1.1 billion, compared with R1.7 billion in its first year of operation.

The number of projects covered by the Bank's investment as at June 1994 was 272, compared with just 27 projects in 1991.

During the past financial year, 172 projects, representing a financial commitment by the Bank of R380 million, were approved.

The cumulative total financial commitment committed by the Bank to projects over the first five years is almost double the amount that was committed by the original 6 shareholders at the inception of the Bank.

The Bank's priorities have been to ensure that the infrastructure of the region is developed and that the Bank has an increasing role in the economic and social development of the region.
Policies fail to tackle SA's serious poverty

DEVELOPMENT and decentralisation policies to stimulate less developed areas in both the Republic and the self-governing Ciskei and Transkei provinces have failed to tackle the problems of "serious poverty", according to a study conducted by the Development Bank of Southern Africa in 1989.

After two decades of development efforts, the gap between metropolitan areas and the interior has increased, according to the Development Bank of Southern Africa. Tensions have increased in the metropolitan core areas and the dependency increased over the 1980s.

Population

There is still a lack of access to basic services such as health, food, water, electricity, transport and communications - in most cases to an even greater extent than in the 1970s. Tensions have increased, mainly in areas that were once considered to have problems with "serious poverty", according to the Development Bank of Southern Africa. The growth of the population is still dependent on income earned in the metropolitan core areas and the dependency increased over the 1980s.

In the new industrialisation strategy, the national government has focused on job creation, infrastructure development and the provision of social services. However, the strategy has not been successful in reducing poverty.

The development strategy has face severe criticism for its failure to create jobs and improve living conditions in rural areas. The strategy has been accused of prioritising urban development over rural areas, which has resulted in a widening of the rural-urban divide.

Programmes

The development strategy includes a range of programmes aimed at improving living conditions and creating jobs. However, the programmes have not been effective in reducing poverty.

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Development Loans will total R1bn

8/AGO 5/1089
SA responds to re-integration

PRETORIA — The question of the reincorporation of areas from self-governing and independent states into SA would have to be resolved on the basis of consensus around a constitutional conference table, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Leon Wessels said in Pretoria yesterday.

Reacting in a statement to allegations that the SA government was shirking its responsibility on the East Peelen problem in the Eastern Cape, he said the matter had to be resolved "in a peaceful and legal manner."

He said: "We are dealing with a judicial reality wherein President (Lennox) Sebe (of Ciskei) and his government are key players."

Wessels said he believed the deadlock on the issue had been broken, and he wanted to reiterate government's position as being committed to "real constitutional reform."

The people from East Peelen "clearly" could not stay in the Roman Catholic Church in King William's Town until the constitutional process had been concluded.

He was therefore once again prepared to seek an audience with Sebe on SA Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane's behalf and to visit the area with him and/or members of the current interim residents' committee "to demonstrate President Sebe's stated undertakings."

Sapa, 11/11/99 6/12/99 (101)
Emergency: ministers seek lifting

MIKE ROBERTSON

Senior government ministers have accepted the state of emergency is an obstacle to getting negotiations started and are pressing for it to be lifted. While they are reluctant to say so in public, ministers are prepared to concede in private that the ending of the emergency and the release of remaining long-term political prisoners - in particular Nelson Mandela - are essential if government's negotiation effort is to have any chance of success.

Mandela's release is expected either at the end of January or on February 2 when President F W de Klerk opens Parliament.

The lifting of the emergency could come at the same time.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday continued his tour of self-governing territories to gauge opinion on government's plans to hold elections aimed at identifying blacks to serve in its proposed negotiating statutory body for a new constitution.

Viljoen has been suggesting that an election be held to identify leaders of urban blacks while the chief ministers of the six self-governing territories represent people living there.

The proposal ran into trouble on Friday when KwaNdebele Chief Minister T K Mopeli called for a single, nationwide election to choose representatives.

Yesterday, however, the Chief Minister of KwaNdebele M J Mabena and his Cabinet accepted that they represent the people of the territory on the negotiating body.

Viljoen said at a Press conference after the meeting that the KwaNdebele Cabinet had chosen not to express an opinion as to how leaders of urban blacks should be identified.

Viljoen said that, given the opposition from some quarters, it might be necessary to include self-governing territories whose leaders favoured a nationwide elections, in any future poll to identify leaders.

He also said that he hoped to arrange talks "at the earliest opportunity" with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This follows an Inkatha central committee decision stating that the time for negotiating a new constitution had arrived.
Regional committee set up to study legal matters

PRETORIA — Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and his counterparts from the six self-governing territories met here yesterday to discuss a uniform approach to legal procedure and magistrate's courts and the availability of trained staff. (1)

The seven said an informal inter-state committee to consider matters of mutual concern in the administration of justice had been established. (2)

The matters under discussion were referred to the committee for research and the formulation of proposals. — Sapa.
42.6 pc of SA whites in PWV area:

Staff Reporter

Up-to-date estimates set the South African/TBVC population at 36.5 million, of whom 25.6 million live in South Africa and the remainder in the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

According to a report by the Bureau for Market Research, 42.6 percent of the white group live in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area.

Only the magisterial districts of Pretoria, Randburg, Germiston, Cape Town and Simonstown have white populations that are larger than their black populations.

Most of the coloured population live in the Cape Province (84.8 percent), with the majority (50.8 percent) in the south-western Cape, including 1.6 million around Cape Town.

The Asian population is concentrated in Natal (79.8 percent), with Durban and Durban hosting 66.1 percent.

The black population is concentrated in the non-independent homelands (32.6 percent), the TBVC states (23.4 percent), followed by the Transvaal (22.7 percent), Cape Province (8.2 percent), Free State (7.9 percent) and Natal (4.0 percent).

A census is planned for 1991.
Homelands - General

1990
Resign, BCMA tells leaders of the homelands

LEADERS of the self-governing and "independent" states should resign and publicly confess their past sins against the people before they can be politically accepted by the people.

In his New Year message, Mr Mosiuoa Lekota, chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, criticised homeland leaders for suggesting re-incorporation into South Africa.

"They now seek to condescend themselves to the people by suggesting that they return to the rest of Azania," said Lekota.

Lekota said he was optimistic about the future of the country and praised the Mass Democratic Movement and the Conference for a Democratic Future for fighting the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

"We can all be justly proud of the level of unity we have been able to achieve in 1989.

"The gallant working class led the way by successfully holding two worker summits which saw thousands from the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions, and other independent unions combining in their fight against the LRA," said Lekota.

"They also criticised the "new approach of reform and negotiation" as preached by the newly elected State President, Mr FW de Klerk.

He said the recent release of the seven leaders of the banned African National Congress and Mr Japhet Masemola of the Pan African Congress was meant to impress the outside world, particularly Britain and the United States that there was change in the country.

"Margaret Thatcher and others were quick to start a campaign against the imposition of further economic sanctions.

"Even some African countries are beginning to warm up to De Klerk," said Lekota.

Lekota called for unity among people of different ideologies. He was full of praise for the "comradeship" existing between youths in the townships.

He was, however, concerned about the violence in Natal and called for it to end.
Industry subsidies may be slashed

Govt rethink on regional incentives

LUCKRATIVE incentives offered under government's controversial industrial decentralisation policy could be cut within months in an effort to curb spending, sources said at the weekend.

About R3.5bn has been spent by the Decentralisation Board since 1982, with 3 550 concerns established.

A report commissioned by government and managed by the Development Bank of SA (DBSA), which investigated the regional effects of the policy, is in the hands of SA and TBVC governments. Policy changes, which still have to go to the Cabinet, should be made known during the coming months.

The report favours reducing the number of decentralisation points, scrapping certain financial incentives and extending decentralisation policies beyond industry and into other sectors like agriculture, according to a Financial Mail report.

DBSA chairman and GE Simon Brand said discussions were likely between SA and the TBVC governments which could result in major changes to the policy.

He said industries dependent on subsidies were not reconcilable with government's shift to market-related freedoms.

However, there was an argument for the creation of jobs in industrial sectors that in time would prove profitable, he said.

The DBSA would still provide capex to industrial development corporations on the basis of proven demand from industrialists, said Brand.

Critics say the policy artificially props up industries with scarce resources in areas that, if left to market forces, would not have attracted industry in the first place.

SA Chamber of Business economist Bill Lacey said although the chamber was not totally against a regional development policy, the creation of so many development points in the light of scarce resources was inexplicable.

Decentralisation Board chairman Coenie de Villiers said it was a historical fact that these areas had been underdeveloped in the past.

"Government has a responsibility to provide a chance for better living standards and the creation of job opportunities through the regional industrial programme is a means to achieve this," he said.

De Villiers said though the policy was politically inspired in the past, there was no longer any social or political bias as to where the board could provide assistance.

EDWARD WEST

EXCEPT the bias towards an economically viable basis for development.

Brand said if there was no regional industrial development policy, government would have to respond on an ad hoc basis to the lobbying of regional interests. The present policy was an efficient means of catering for these interests, he said.

National Productivity Institute director Jacob Graaf said the institute had conducted productivity management surveys for the Decentralisation Board with 2 469 companies in the decentralised growthpoints.

The institute found 88% of the companies to be productive according to industry norms which, theoretically, would mean they would be profitable without government concessions.
Barend will wield big stick at homelands talks

PRETORIA — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is expected to talk softly and carry a big stick when he meets the homelands leaders in Pretoria on Friday to talk about their 1990/91 budgets.

The meeting will be attended by Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

It is certain the leaders will be called on to exercise extreme discipline and to restrict their budget demands to bare essentials.

Sources said it was likely Du Plessis, against a background of the government's own cost-cutting programme, would tell the leaders there would be no, or only limited, increases in grants and aid.

In the current financial year the Department of Development Aid budget allocation was around R8bn, the bulk of it going into administration and development projects in the homelands. And homelands bureaucracies are still growing, according to the CSIR.

At September's last year, they employed 107 664, an increase of 11 036 in the preceding 12-month period.

DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz stressed the vital need for stringent budgeting by the homelands governments.

Grandiose schemes had to be abandoned and scarce funds spent only on absolutely essential projects and development.
14½-m
pupils in
SA by (10)
year 2000

BLOEMFONTEIN — The total number of school pupils in South Africa is expected to be 14 509 900 by the turn of the century, according to enrolment forecasts made by the Research Institute for Education Planning (Riep).

Riep was established in 1974 as a research unit in the Department of Comparative Education at the University of the Orange Free State. Since January 1988 it has functioned on a more independent basis as an institute within the Faculty of Education.

In a brochure compiled to give a concise picture of formal school education in Southern Africa, Riep reveals that in 1988 3½ times as many black pupils attended schools in South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei than all the white, coloured and Asian pupils together.

The highest percentage of black pupils attended schools in the self-governing states of South Africa (Gazankulu, kaNgwane, KwaNdebele, kwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa), while those in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei represented slightly more than a fifth of the total number of black pupils.

REPEATING
Just more than half the total number of white pupils were enrolled in the junior primary phase of Sub A to Std 2.

The percentage of black pupils in Sub A was 16.6 percent of the total enrolment compared to 2.7 percent in Std 10.

This was attributed in part to the large number of pupils who repeat a standard, and to pupils who leave and then return to school.

While there were fewer white children in the senior...
YEARS have passed since the government first talked about dismantling the politically inspired programme of industrial decentralisation but the programme is still with us. Now a report commissioned by the Development Bank recommends the decentralisation incentives policy be scrapped.

The report has been languishing on the desks of "homeland" governments for a year. The executive director of the bank, Dr Simon Brand, says he doesn’t know when the “independent” and “self-governing states” will respond but he hopes it will be soon.

The report urges that industry should be allowed to develop in areas where the costs of industrialisation are lower—cities and large towns. It is not surprising that “homeland” bureaucracies are in no hurry to endorse or comment on the report.

Originally decentralisation policy was administered by the Decentralisation Board and the Bantu Development Corporation set up under Prime Minister HF Verwoerd. In the 1970s the “homeland independence” strategy spurred forth a mass of development corporations located in each “homeland”.

In 1982 the government changed course. The new "regional development programme" was meant to structure development in terms of economically defined regions, rather than simply according with apartheid barriers. Two years later the Development Bank was set up to replace the politically designed Central Development Corporation to allocate development funding according to a logic of regional development.

But contradictions were built into the new programme. Apartheid structures were built into this ostensibly reformist institution when the "homelands" were made members of the board of the Development Bank. Though bantustan boundaries were supposed to be ignored in the regional development programme, they weren’t.

Reinforcing the resistance to change, the Decentralisation Board continues to push for apartheid economic structures. Its stated policy is still to serve "the development of the independent states and the self-governing states".

The still pending report (officially confidential until the vetting procedure is completed) is not that radical. Some of the criticisms it voices were first registered in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Critics, such as economist Trevor Bell, noted that the policy was costly and could not match the expanding employment needs of the country.

The difference is that today it is far more expensive, and the government is desperately trying to cut expenditure. The industrial incentives pro-
1990 budget cuts for TBVC states

PRETORIA. — Monies earmarked for the self-governing states will be reduced in accordance with budget cuts in government departments, ministers from the states were told yesterday.

The six homelands’ finance ministers expressed their unanimous disapproval at the move after a meeting in Pretoria, when they were told by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, that budgets for the self-governing states would be scaled down in the 1990/91 financial year.

The territories’ finance ministers expressed their concern about the adverse effects the cutbacks would have on development in the homelands.

Education and Training Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, chairman of the meeting, said afterwards that it was “unfortunate” the budgets had to be cut, but the action was in line with the government’s commitment to cut state spending and not to overtax the economy.

Civil servants in the self-governing territories received salary hikes averaging 35% during the one-year period that ended in September 1989. During this time more than 11,000 additional appointments were made, increasing the size of their civil services to close on 200,000 officials, according to Central Statistical Service figures released in Pretoria this week. — Sapa
Verwoerd caused SA ‘incalculable damage’

By BARRY STREET

BILLIONS of rand would be required to catch up in the urban areas after the incalculable damage caused by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd’s delusions that blacks would return to the rural homelands, Mrs Helen Suzman said last night.

Dr Verwoerd had predicted that by 1978 blacks would be streaming back to the homelands but this was “hopelessly inaccurate”.

Mrs Suzman, the former Democratic Party MP for Houghton, who gave the third of five lectures on highlights of her political career at UCT’s Summer School, said the situation today was that blacks in the urban areas alone outnumbered whites.

It had been estimated that blacks would outnumber whites by three to one in the urban areas by the year 2020.

“The whole concept of blacks returning to the rural homelands was really just a mirage or figment of Dr Verwoerd’s wild imagination, but the damage that resulted is incalculable, in terms of break-up of family life, the inferior education, the relationships between the police and blacks, and the shortage of housing.

“It will require billions of rand to catch up in such a way that one can say the population in the urban areas is reasonably well housed.”

The Urban Foundation had estimated that seven million people were living in informal settlements, a polite term for the squatter camps that had proliferated around the perimeters of every metropolitan area in South Africa.

If the state had deliberately set out to create an unstable society, it could not have done better by implementing the pass-law system, Mrs Suzman said.

South Africa created jailbirds out of ordinary people, no high schools were built in the urban areas, and the migrant labour system had a devastating effect on the population explosion.
Help De Klerk - Mopeli urges

THE present homeland system should immediately be overhauled with a view to scrapping it and developing the existing structures into non-racial regional governments within a greater South Africa.

This was said by Dr T K Mopeli, Chief Minister of the semi-autonomous territory of QwaQwa, at a rally yesterday.

Mopeli applauded the intention of some homelands to "make a comeback into the South African fold" and said President F W de Klerk had "laid the necessary groundwork to facilitate reform and can no longer turn back at the Rubicon".

"It has become imperative for us to help him cross it," Mopeli asserted.

"We are very anxious to help De Klerk negotiate a new constitution with all leaders. Mandela is today, I fear, the most overrated black leader in South Africa," he said.

But, he added, QwaQwa would continue to press for the ageing ANC leader's release.

Sapa,
'Homeland' pay may top R3bn

PRETORIA — The salary and wage bill for bureaucrats in the self-governing territories is expected to reach almost R3bn in the 1996/97 financial year. According to the Central Statistical Services (CSS) report, payroll amounts for the period June 1996 to May 1997 is R2.8bn.

Finance Minister of the six states warned last week that his budget would be severely trimmed this year. He said the amount in the new financial year will not only include an inflation leveller, but could be cut even further.

In the six states there are 50 ministers, including six chief ministers.
Hundreds of marchers took to the streets in Garankuwa and Mabopane near Pretoria yesterday to protest against the homeland system.
National states could rejoin SA

THE re-incorporation of the independent national states into South Africa is one of many possibilities for the future of the territories. There had recently been some debate about whether or not the TBVC countries should be re-incorporated into South Africa but it was only one of many possibilities, said De Klerk. These countries are constitutionally independent and any return to South Africa would have to be dealt with not only by means of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in the South African Parliament.
Most homelands ready to talk, but ANC rejects ethnic leaders

By Mdu Lembede

Most of the leaders of self-governing and independent homelands say they are looking forward to taking their places at the negotiation table for South African constitutional talks, but they are likely to face stiff opposition from the African National Congress.

In interviews this week the majority of the leaders said they were keen to be involved in the negotiation process. Only the Bophuthatswana president, Mr Lucas Mangope, totally rejected the idea of being part of the negotiations, favouring instead a loose federation with neighbouring Botswana.

However, the ANC has made it clear that leaders of ethnic-based groups will not be welcomed in any circumstances.

Mr Tom Sehina, the ANC spokesman in Lusaka, said his organisation would sit down only with leaders or delegations representing differing political viewpoints, not different ethnic groups.

"We don't recognise the bantustans as separate entities from a united and democratic South Africa."

However, Ciskei's president for life Chief Lennox Sebe said: "We are not going to abdicate. We will be at the negotiating table, but only as a sovereign state. We are not going to renounce our cherished independence."

Mr Mangope said there was no question of Bophuthatswana being re-incorporated into South Africa, no matter what changes took place.

"We did not opt for independence 13 years ago to go back when the situation that forced us out had improved."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi kwaZulu leader said: "To talk in terms of ethnicity is to use the language of racism and I will not be party to this in any manner whatsoever."

Role

"South Africa is one country with one people. All South Africans must decide their future. Whether we become a free enterprise multiparty democracy or a one-party socialist state is to be decided by negotiation and by the people in free and fair elections."

He said Inkatha had a role to play in the negotiation process, and intended to put forward its views, aims and objectives for scrutiny and debate.

Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa said most of the people in the homelands did not even participate in the elections because of their support for the ANC and PAC, which staunchly rejected the bantustan policy.

"If the South African Government is going to allow the homeland leaders to come to the negotiating table, it must keep all this in mind, as most of them are guilty of having eliminated opposition."

"Pretoria must decide. If it is serious about dismantling apartheid, then it should abolish its cornerstone, the bantustans."

This week he announced a committee that would organise a referendum for Transkeians to decide whether to abandon or retain independence.

KaNgwane Chief Minister Dr Enos Mabuza said: "Our standpoint is clear: we are opposed to the homeland policy. I believe they should be dismantled as I see no future for them in a post-apartheid society. President de Klerk says he believes in one nation, and this cannot be reconciled with ethnic homelands."

KwaNdebele Chief Minister Mr M.J. Mabena said although he believed all leaders should come together representing South Africans as one nation, there was nothing that could be done at this late stage to correct the situation. He said he would be at the negotiation table representing Ndebele interests.
Govt land scheme reaches final stage

CAPE TOWN. — Government's programme of land consolidation for the black homelands has reached its final stages and includes an additional quota of one million hectares.

Co-operation and Development Commission chairman Jurie Mentz said in Cape Town yesterday the final consolidation would be that of KaNgwane, which he hoped would be finalised by the end of the year.

Mentz said in line with 1936 legislation, about 7.25-million hectares were earmarked for consolidation but a further one million hectares had already been approved by government.

He said once the final stages of the consolidation had been reached, the commission would then look into identifying land for black urban settlement.

He said the consolidation programme was in line with the vision for a new SA, in that additional land for black settlement in both the self-governing territories and the TBVC countries was identified and consolidated where it was most needed.

Government has reversed a decision to incorporate land at Hanover, Chalumna and Silverdale into Ciskei, a week after community representatives urged MPs to scrap the Bill which provided for the move.

DP nominated MP Andre de Wet yesterday welcomed the news, saying it was "very heartening to see there has been swift government reaction to the appeal from so many people". — Sapa.
Question over gambling laws

PIERRE DU PREEZ

THE re-incorporation of independent homelands into SA could force government to change current gambling legislation, says Max Pollak and Freemantle analyst Chris Gilmour. (101)

In the light of current political changes, he does not feel the possibility is "too far-fetched", though he does not expect it to happen in the next few years.

Controls are the norm overseas and gambling would probably be restricted to certain areas if rights were allowed.

Gilmour is optimistic that major companies, including hotel chains, would not be adversely affected.
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Under resistance

Black communities in the eastern Cape, Transvaal and Free State threatened with unilateral incorporation into homelands have sent a 44 000-signature petition to President FW de Klerk asking him to ensure government does not go ahead with its plans.

They hope that De Klerk's positively perceived reform initiative and the prospect of adverse international publicity will convince government to scrap incorporations now in the pipeline.

The communities concerned are East Peelen, Thorahill, Hanover, Silverdale and Needs Camp in the eastern Cape; Braklaagte, Leeufontein, Hartbeesfontein, Tshipoka in the Transvaal; and Botshabelo in the Free State.

The petitioners say they have not been consulted about the planned incorporations into various homelands and face a future of "poverty, exploitation, harassment, misappropriation and other hardships" if they become part of the homelands.

They have also called on government to scrap its incorporation policy; to re-incorporate into SA communities that have already been unilaterally included in homelands; for compensation to be paid for losses incurred in incorporations or threatened incorporations; for security forces to be withdrawn from Leeufontein and Braklaagte; and for the withdrawal of the Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Bill, which provides further mechanisms for incorporation.

Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North and spokesman on homelands Peter Soal says it is important for De Klerk to give hope to the threatened communities. "They need to be given hope that they will retain their citizenship and be part of the new SA and that their plea not to be incorporated into the self-governing areas will be heard by Mr De Klerk."

In response to a letter stating their case late last year, De Klerk told lawyers acting for some of the communities that he is aware of the "sensitivity" of incorporation. "Consequently, I have requested the minister responsible to thoroughly investigate every incorporation still under consideration and to report to me."

At a rally last Sunday, some 20 000 Hammanskraal residents reportedly decided to cut all ties with Bophuthatswana and seek to return to SA jurisdiction.
Lebowa calls on SA to dismantle homelands

By HAPPY ZONDI

THE LEBOWA government has called on South Africa to dismantle the homeland system.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg this week, chief minister MN Ramodieke called on South African President FW de Klerk to create a climate conducive for negotiations "to build a new South Africa".

At the same time, a drafted declaration addressing the question of "negotiations" has been issued to all homeland leaders.

The declaration was the result of a recent meeting between Lebowa delegates and South African Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

They discussed issues including negotiations, the budget, education and drought.

Said Ramodieke: "We welcome the efforts of the ANC, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to open doors for a negotiated political settlement in South Africa.

"Homeland citizens are entitled to freedom of movement and association throughout South Africa."

"We thus welcome the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations. We also declare that people in Lebowa have the right to join organisations and trade unions of their choice.

"A programme of action will soon be launched. It will serve as a consultative forum for the co-ordination of responses to various efforts on settling the South African question."
QUESTIONS

Mr P.G. SOAL: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon. the State President may I say that in asking him what his response to the petition will be. I want to thank him for placing on record the details that he has given us here today, but may I ask whether, in the letter of the letter that he wrote to the lawyers saying that he had referred the matter to the responsible Minister for investigation, there is any progress in that regard?

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, in the last instance the petition was only received on 12 February. It is a bit soon to expect a full report on such a comprehensive matter. I can give the hon. member the assurance that I am advised that most of the facts have been gathered and that there will be an in-depth discussion soon. We cannot chop and change on issues such as this, but progress is also not sufficient really to deal with it in depth and it is rather a matter for debate.

Ministers:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 20 February 1990.

Johannesburg/ Pretoria road: fatal collisions

4. Dr W. J. NYMAN asked the Minister of Transport: Has the Minister of Transport: (Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House)

(a) How many fatal collisions occurred on the Johannesburg/Pretoria road during the latest specified period of five years for which figures are available and (b) how many such collisions were caused by alcohol involved?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(a) and (b).

The information is not available in the format as requested by the hon. member. The following statistics were, however, obtained —

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Big losses for bus companies

ENORMOUS cost allocations and competition from mini-bus taxis resulted in three government-controlled bus companies which operate in the homelands losing R15.5m during the 1988/9 financial year, the SA Development Trust Corporation (STK) reported yesterday.

The STK's own share of the losses went up from R5.1m to about R9.5m, the corporation's MD, P. P. Weyer said in the annual report tabled in Parliament.

However, he said, QwaQwa Bus Service and Gazankulu Transport had achieved encouraging results.

He said actions to rectify the situation had been instituted and government had been approached for financial support.

The Ciskei Transport Company's operating losses went up from R5.8m in 1986 to R7.2m in 1989, with passenger numbers dropping from 54.5-million to 33.7-million.

The QwaQwa Bus Service's operating loss rose from R577,000 in 1986 to R3,836,000 in 1989 with an increase in passengers of about two million.

However, Gazankulu Transport operating losses dropped from R560,000 to R221,000 with three million more passengers.

□ Sapa reports that Transport Minister George Bartlett yesterday released figures showing that 3,761 permits to operate mini-bus taxis had been issued in the 1988/9 financial year, while last year the number rose tenfold to 32,400 permits.
Shooting, arson, ‘poison water’

Protest, violence in homelands on the increase

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Dirk Nel and Helen Grange

Several homeland governments are facing deepening crises in the wake of increasing demands by democratic organisations.

Violence has flared in several self-governing and independent national states — including Gazankulu, Venda and Bophuthatswana. Dozens of people have died or been hurt.

Homeland leaders blame violence, boycotts and strikes on Mass Democratic Movement structures such as youth and community organisations.

In Gazankulu, six people have died during the past two days in the Malemulele and Jimmy Jones districts.

Intimidation

A statement issued by the Gazankulu government said 18 people had died since Monday last week, 65 huts and at least two vehicles had been destroyed by fire, and one house had been gutted.

At a meeting between the Gazankulu Cabinet and 80 government officials, it was concluded that intimidation had been the main reason for the widespread stayaway by civil servants, employees and factory workers.

Many people have returned to work at Giyani, Nkowankowa and Malemulele but stayaways were reported at Mhala and Lisbon Estates, an agricultural project near Skukuza.

The Newington Youth Congress has demanded wage increases and staff transport for workers at the estate.

The Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, said yesterday that he was anxious to have SA Defence Force units withdrawn, but the present situation did not allow for such a step.

He accused the MDM of waging a deliberate campaign to embarrass and discredit his government, to mobilise the youth and intimidate the “moderate” population.

But organisations in the homelands claim security forces are brutally clamping down on legitimate protest.

This week residents of Temba in Bophuthatswana staged a massive stayaway backed by a school boycott.

Two people were shot dead and 123 arrested after a crowd of 20,000 refused to obey police orders to disperse in Thabane, Bophuthatswana.

Yesterday an uneasy calm reigned in Bophuthatswana. An official of the National Union of Mineworkers in Rustenburg, who asked not to be identified, told Sapa more than 200 people, including children, had been arrested in sumps since Saturday.

In Gazankulu, there were severe work and school disturbances. The Giyani Youth Congress has demanded the release of detained students, the readmission of expelled matriculants and the abolition of corporal punishment.

In Venda, police have joined the clamour for higher pay, as the homeland remains in the grip of a deepening crisis that has disrupted schools, court proceedings and water supplies.

Police in the territory on Monday presented a petition to their department demanding a salary increase of between 80 and 80 percent and improvement in conditions of employment among other demands.

Magistrates join in

Thousands of teachers are boycotting classes to back demands for better salaries. Civil servants, including magistrates, have also joined the protest.

Pastor M P Phosiwa of the Lutheran Church at Sibasa said rumour was rife that water provided in trucks by the army had allegedly been laced with poison. Residents of Sibasa were fetching water from Ngovela, 10 km away.

The superintendent at the hospital, Mrs L Naude, said “numerous” people had arrived at the hospital with abdominal pains but she denied that the water was poisoned.
HOW LONG CAN SOUTH AFRICA'S HOMELANDS SURVIVE?

Caught out between Verwoerd and the ANC

THE homelands are falling apart, unable to contain the accelerating rate of political change since the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.

Political analysts believe that President F W de Klerk tried to divide the ANC by splitting the movement into two opposing camps of hardliners opposed to negotiations and moderates willing to talk.

But the De Klerk government apparently did not foresee the divisions such a move would create in the homelands, where rising expectations for reincorporation in South Africa and long-running resentment against poverty has led to strikes, demonstrations and political violence.

Homeland governments now find themselves trapped between the Verwoerdian ideology which sustained them and the rapid proliferation of support for the ANC and allied organisations, even in some of their remotest areas.

The refusal — or, at least, inability — of homeland leaders to recognise the arrival of a new political era was illustrated by Venda's education minister, when he said he was perplexed by his country's jubilation over the release of Nelson Mandela, as Mandela was not a Venda.

Question marks now abound over the homelands. How long can they last? Will President De Klerk send in the SADF to prop up the system, and if so, for how long can it afford to do so? How long will homeland leaders remain loyal to Pretoria?

Already the leaders of Transkei, KwaNdebele, and Lebowa — Banru Holomisa, Enos Mabusela and Nelson Ramadikwe — have shown their sympathy for the ANC and have made it known they will not oppose demands for reincorporation.

Significantly, these three "anti-apartheid" homelands have been spared the unrest now raging in those homelands where leaders have refused even to acknowledge demands for reincorporation.

But the position of KwaZulu remains an exception, with Chief Buthelezi's government still on friendly terms with the South African government despite never having officially accepted homeland status.

KwaZulu's government can rely on significant support from its ethnic organisations — ie Inkatha — and is thus spared the degree of rebellion now facing Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu and Venda.

Civil administration in these "apartheid homelands" is deteriorating so fast that the prospect of a collapse in political leadership is becoming more real with each day's newspaper headlines.

But the ANC itself is also unprepared for the changes now sweeping through the maze of homeland politics and has yet to formulate a coherent strategy for dealing with them.

The movement has yet to go beyond its blanket rejection of the homeland system and draw up a practical approach to their status in a post-apartheid South Africa.

By legitimising the ANC, the South African government has created a political vacuum in which the leadership role it created for the homeland governments has all but disappeared.

The ANC's ability to step into this vacuum will be determined by the alternatives it can offer to the intricate homeland political structures, usually based on ethnicity and tribalism.

The fiscal crisis in these areas has made it impossible to meet some of their people's most basic demands, such as the need for clean water, electricity and education facilities.

The homeland governments have also failed to achieve economic self-sufficiency and have retained their traditional political structures despite the marginalisation of the chiefs' role through the rise of organisations such as the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa), which is sympathetic to the ANC.
Sham and shame of homeland politics

I am not only appalled by the spread of violence throughout the farcical balkanisation of the country into homelands, I am furious at the whole mess.

I am known to be somewhat retiring in my politics, some have said almost reactionary in my moderation. I have however earned my spurs. I think I have suffered as much as any other man.

I may not have paid my dues as other political stalwarts have, but I know intimately the devastation caused to my people by apartheid. So that I sometimes feel most unhappy, I have anxious moments of doubt about being positive.

Talk

I find it most difficult to talk about forgiving and forgetting when the sins of apartheid are manifesting themselves with such drama in black life. I cannot blame blacks for feeling bitter, revengeful and wishing to continue the fight, the struggle.

The system of homelands was the result of a political expedience which I strangely came across during my varsity days at Wits University. There were political thinkers in the engineering department (traditionally a very conservative group) at campus, who drew up the plan (I actually saw the blueprint) and they must have sold it to the National Party.

It came like the bell of salvation to these racists who could not admit even to themselves the unfairness of denying blacks political representation in the country of their birth.

They then decided it would be politically expedient to create these small, ramshackle, odious, unsuitable portions of land and call them our homes. The betrayal of the fatherland started with the Mantzima brothers, George and Katzer. What they did cannot be forgiven.

Stripped

They signed on the dotted line a regulation that stripped millions of blacks their South African citizenship. They then sat on the gravy train in their so-called state, getting fatter, richer and more obnoxious by the day. They instituted some of the worst security measures copied from their bosses in South Africa.

They wasted not only the little money that the Transkei had. They squandered millions of rands belonging to South African citizens, black and white. It was painful, disgraceful.

Ramshackle

The Ciskei picked up the cue and one after the other the various so-called homeland chiefs came into the picture. Inevitably they developed a ramshackle, often authoritarian system of patronage (the so-called warlords in Natal, for one) which has led to the tearing apart of the social fabric in the homelands.

Venda and Gazankulu saw the same sorry, messy story of corruption and plain theft. Even best of them, Bophuthatswana has a number of skeletons rattling in its cupboards just dying to come out.

As the demographics in this country are rather interesting, there is no total separation between the rural and urban black populations.

What happens in urban townships quickly filters and is used or abused in rural areas. This was shown with some drama in the unrest cycle of the 80s when it seemed unrest, violence and political activity was hitting some of the most unheard of rural areas in the country.

Some people wrongly assume that the major political organisations like the ANC were responsible in spreading this action.

Naturally the ideas of the struggle under whatever political organisation on centre stage filtered into the rural areas and the homelands.

Tragic

I am hoping to write a bit more about the tragic comedy of the homelands. The violence in Natal, the witch-hunting in Venda, the chaos in Gazankulu can be laid to a large extent at the door of the homelands policies.

The socio-economic destruction caused by this policy is quite shattering and we will work hard and long to put it right.

I think it is my responsibility to try, to the best of my ability, to write more about the political abortion, the sham and the shame of homeland politics.

Watch this space.
The walls come tumbling down on the homelands

As the foundations of apartheid crumble, huge cracks have appeared in its superstructure, the 10 tribal states or "black homelands", four of which are adorned with the paraphernalia of sovereignty.

The overthrow of Mr Lennox Sebe, the self-declared President-for-Life of Ciskei, in Sunday's bloodless coup is but the latest sign that the collapse of these states is imminent.

Ciskei, established as a nominally independent state in December 1981, is destined to be re-incorporated into South Africa. Speaking within hours of the coup, new leader Brigadier Oupa Josh Gqozo, told a cheering crowd his ultimate aim was the reintegration of Ciskei into South Africa.

The Ciskei coup is the second within two years to bring a military leader to power in South Africa's quartet of nominally independent states. In 1987 Major-General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei toppled two Transkei Prime Ministers in rapid succession: Chief George Matanzima and Miss Stella Sigcau.

As important, General Holomisa -- like Brigadier Gqozo -- is not committed to Transkei's putative independence. He has proposed that the issue of whether Transkei should be re-incorporated into South Africa should be decided by the territory's people in a referendum.

Unbanned

General Holomisa took another step on the road to the re-emergence of a re-united South Africa when he unbanned the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress in Transkei, anticipating a similar move in South Africa by President de Klerk.

The ANC and the rival PAC are strongly committed to an undivided South Africa, having for decades opposed the "balkanisation" of South Africa through the establishment of separate states for the 10 "black nations".

Bophuthatswana, which together with Transkei, Ciskei and Venda makes up the quartet of nominally independent states, was the scene of a coup attempt in February 1988. The coup bid failed. South African troops intervened to free President Lucas Mangope and reinstate him as president.

The coup leader, Mr Rocky Malebane, was not motivated at the time by a desire to abort Bophuthatswana's ostensible independence, obtained amid pomp and ceremony in December 1977. The coup, however, pointed to underlying weaknesses in Bophuthatswana.

The attempted coup was the work of a small section of Bophuthatswana's Defence Force. President Mangope, however, had to be rescued from captivity by South African security forces. The bulk of his own soldiers and policemen stood by idly, refusing to intervene against the rebels.

Since then, Mr Malebane, who fled, narrowly eluding South African security forces, when it became obvious Pretoria would stand by Chief Mangope, is said to have thrown in his lot with the ANC.

Events in Bophuthatswana in the past few weeks have seen the re-kindleing of opposition to President Mangope and, as important, to the very notion of an independent Bophuthatswana.

There have been protest marches and calls for reincorporation in the densely populated Moretele district, north-west of Pretoria, and in Hlabane near Rustenburg. They took place against a background of fierce and sometimes bloody resistance to the earlier incorporation of enclaves of South African territory into Bophuthatswana.

President Mangope, however, has adopted a defiant stand. Rejecting demands for the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa, he avers: "(Bophuthatswana) will be an independent state 100 years from now... There is no question of Bophuthatswana being reincorporated into South Africa."

Venda, the fourth of South Africa's supposedly independent states, has also experienced protest marches and demands for its return to South Africa. More ominously for Venda's President Frank Ravele, the ANC was tasked with leading a series of strikes in the civil service. The strikers have included policemen.

As the tide of opposition to the bantustans swells, some leaders have aligned themselves with the ANC.

Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane, was the first to do so when he headed a delegation of his Inyandza movement at talks with the ANC in Lusaka three years ago.

There are indications that Chief Minister Nelson Ramolokwe of Lebowa and perhaps Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli of Gwagwa will follow the trail blazed by Mr Mabuza.

The political reorientation of these men means they will participate in the dismantling of these states with their allies in the ANC.

Ex-President Sebe tried to save his political skin by proposing the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa as a federal unit with the same status as, say, a state in the United States.

His motivation, judging from a confidential 10-page document submitted to South Africa, was to negotiate a deal with the South African Government to salvage some of Ciskei's independence.

He did not want to wait for the emergence of a government in which the ANC would form, at the least, an important component. His fear was that an ANC-orientated administration would not be interested in helping Ciskei save a degree of autonomy.

Mr Sebe, however, moved too late and too secretly.

The ANC, and particularly newly freed deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, has tried to make it easier for bantustan leaders to cross. It has positively encouraged them to do so.

Mr Mandela has not adopted a harsh condemnatory attitude towards them as collaborators. At the same time, however, he has not hesitated to speak to opposition leaders in the bantustans and to encourage them to join the quest for a re-united South Africa.

While still a prisoner, he even sent an emissary to Mr Sebe, urging him to align himself with the ANC. His emissary was Miss Stella Sigcau, the ousted Transkei prime minister.

The formation of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has provided a home for chiefs and headmen in the emerging bloc of ANC forces.

Bantustan leaders who ignore theseOvertures and opportunities risk being swept aside ignominiously and dumped into the historical rubbish bin.
Ousted people seize the initiative

Homelands are simmering

By THEMBA MOLEFE

The military coup in Ciskei this week is only part of the turmoil that has been brewing in South Africa’s homelands since the military takeover of Transkei in January 1988.

This year focus again shifted to the homelands as the situation became restive inside the “independent” states. The “self-governing” states are now also on the boil.

Brigadier Josh Gqoza, who steered the bloodless coup in Ciskei on Sunday, has dropped a bombshell - Ciskei must “return” to South Africa.

The reincorporation movement started by his Transkeian counterpart, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, is gaining momentum, bringing into sharp focus the National Party’s bantustan policy.

Holomisa has now called for a referendum to test public opinion on reincorporation.

Transkei became the first “independent” homeland under the leadership of Chief Kaiser Matanzima in 1976. He was overthrown from the presidency in the coup.

‘No return’

In Bophuthatswana, where in February 1988 the South African Government swiftly stopped a civilian coup attempt led by Mr Rocky Malemba-Motumi, pro-reincorporation feelings are running high.

Last Thursday two people were killed and 17 injured during clashes with police in Thlabane near Rustenburg, when people demonstrated in support of their demand to be reincorporated into South Africa.

The protests were also fuelled by Chief Lucas Mangope’s statement this month that the territory will not return to South Africa in 100 years.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has said the Government is not contemplating intervening in Ciskei, despite requests.

However, the Government did restore Mangope to power after receiving calls for help. Is this because Bophuthatswana is the “model” of South Africa’s “independent” states?

Or, was it because the coup was led by a civilian and perceived then by Mr P W Botha’s administration as beingorchestrated by radical and communists?

Mr F W de Klerk’s Government, obviously plunged into an abyss, has yet to react to the latest attack on the policy it inherited from its designer, Hendrik Verwoerd.

The reincorporation movement also puts into check De Klerk’s recent safaris to the homelands along with Dr Gerrit Viljoen (Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning) and Dr Soffiel van der Merwe (Minister of Development Aid), to discuss the future of the “satellite” states.

In the meantime the restlessness grows. Gazankulu and QwaQwa are on the boil. Citizens are calling for the resignation of the homeland leaders and the dismantling of the system.

The Government has hinted on its plans except to say the decision - about whether homelands will return to South Africa under one constitution - depends on negotiations.

The time is running out, it seems.

Last December De Klerk said a new South Africa was about to burst forth with freedom and justice for all. He had just been elected State President.

Outdated

That was about the time Holomisa stated that his government was prepared to test public opinion on the acceptability of Independence.

Transkeian State President Ndamase told Venda leader Frank Ravele it was futile to hang on to outdated institutions to protect one’s interests. Venda then started talking reincorporation to South Africa.

In November 1989 Viljoen said the question of whether independent homelands would be drawn back into South Africa was not on the agenda as the homelands would have to decide the issue themselves.

Now it seems the people, impatient for change, have taken the initiative.
Alliances are goal of new ball game in black politics

Black politics has shifted from sloganeering to policy development and mobilisation. The release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the Pan Africanist Congress, the African National Congress and South African Communist Party has brought about a whole new ball game.

The euphoria over Mr Mandela’s freedom will continue for the next few weeks following his visit to Lu-saka to confer with the ANC leadership-in-exile.

In the meantime, alliance building has become a major aspect of both extra-parliamentary and parliamentary politics.

The Government has been engaged in discussions with various homeland leaders, and other “moderate black leaders”. This move has been interpreted as the Government trying to forge a type of Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — hoping to draw enough support to neutralise the impact of the ANC and PAC.

The extent of its success is difficult to assess, but there is every indication that the Government would insist on a position for them at the negotiating table.

On the black front, organisations have been active in trying to win support in the homelands. The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has had success in Transkei, where Major-General Bantu Holomisa has already indicated that he is an ally of the MDM.

Bophuthatswana’s Chief Lucas Mangope has had death threats after refusing to rejoin SA.

Professor Hudson Ntswanisi faces increasing pressure as restlessness emerges in Gazankulu.

Lebowa’s Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, has already held several meetings with the MDM.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is due to meet Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss “common matters”.

Joe Latakomo looks at changes of emphasis in black politics now that political organisations have been unbanned and a free Mr Nelson Mandela gets into his political stride.

In recent months, there have been suggestions that the BCM was more likely to enter into an alliance with the ANC, and the organisation’s participation in the Conference for a Democratic Future indicated that at least co-operation between the BCM and the MDM was possible.

But the BCM has to take cognisance of its constituency, and it seems the bulk of supporters may feel more comfortable with an alliance with the PAC, rather than the ANC.

So far, the major issue has been the question of nationalisation. Mr Mandela restated ANC policy, and sent shockwaves through the Johannesburg Stock Exchange when he spoke of nationalisation of particularly the mines and “monopoly industries”. Although conciliatory statements were subsequently made, markets remain jittery.

The PAC has said capitalism was not designed to deal with the imbalances that apartheid has created, and pointed out that the Afrikaner turned to socialism to address the “poor white” problem in their quest for equality with the English. It was through state operations like the South African Railways that employment was provided for unskilled Afrikaners. They argue, therefore, that if socialism worked for the Afrikaner, why will it not work for blacks?

Joe Latakomo

Transkei’s Major-General Bantu Holomisa has already indicated that he is an ally of the MDM.
JSE nervous over unrest

SHARES of companies heavily involved in
the TBVC states came under pressure in
late trading on Diagonal Street yester-
day.

As news that the cycle of violence had
spread from Ciskei to Bophuthatswana
filtered through to the market, shares of
casino and leisure group Sun Bop
slipped 50c to close at R28.
The shares, which made one of the largest
gains on the market last year and hit a
high of R28 three weeks ago, were last
quoted at a seller's price of R29 and a
buyers price of R16.

Yabeng, the investment trust whose major
interest is a holding in Sun Bop, eased 6c
to 370c with sellers offering the shares
at that price and buyers prepared to pay
330c.

Highly rated textile group Da Gama,
which firmed to a high of R11,50 last
Friday, continued to retreat on concern
over the violence and destruction in Cis-
kei, where the group has a factory.
The shares fell back a further 20c to R10,50.
The market was nervousy watching devel-
opments amid fears that shares of other
companies involved in the homelands
could also come under pressure.
PRETORIA — Allocations in next week’s Budget for the TBVC countries and the six homelands should stretch beyond R8bn, sources said yesterday.

In the current Budget, provision was made for allocations to the TBVC countries of R2.5bn and for the homelands of R2.3bn.

Gladstone got R37m, KwaNdebele R32m, KwaZulu R21m, Limpopo R15m, and QwaQwa R8m, resulting in a total of nearly R4.3bn.

Grants from the Development Aid Department are not included in these figures.

DP Finance spokesman Harry Schwartz does not expect the allocations in Wednesday’s Budget to be raised in real terms. He said the allocations could be increased by less than the 15% inflation rate.

There was no doubt the need for funds in education, health services and housing was as desperate in the homelands as in SA, he said.

Central Statistical Services said that in the year ending September-homeland civil servants increased by 11 336 to nearly 200 000.

The total spent on salaries and wages in the six territories in the third quarter of last year increased by R189 200, compared with July to September 1985.

Exclusion policy, accommodation spark Wits class boycott

STUDENTS at Wits University — the vast majority black — yesterday began a three-day class boycott in protest at the university’s exclusion policy, and erected tents on the library lawn to highlight accommodation problems.

The boycott is being supported by the Wits Black Students Society (BSS) and the Student Representative Council (SRC).

BSS executive committee member Zola Majavu said he and other BSS members presented Wits Vice-Chancellor Robert Charlton with a petition yesterday morning demanding a moratorium on the exclusion policy, the establishment of a commission of inquiry concerning exclusions of failed students, and immediate accommodation for all students.

He estimated that 1 500 students attended the rally yesterday morning, but neither he nor university authorities were able to say how many people were boycotting classes.

Majavu called on students to defy residence regulations and squat on a mass scale in residence halls. He said that the 20 tents would remain up until the housing crisis was solved.

SRC president Anton Roskam said that 900 students were on the accommodation waiting list.

Roskam estimated that 400 students had been excluded since the beginning of the academic year. However, he noted all but about 50 had already found alternatives to Wits.

Charlton responded to the demands in a statement saying class boycotts exacerbated the problem and “it is not possible to agree to a moratorium on all exclusions”.

However, he welcomed the proposal for an investigation into the causes of poor administrative performance of the university.
Homelands fall apart

From MONO BADELA
LIKE a "mini-eastern Europe", uprisings this
week swept through
several homeland states
— making the bantustan
system collapse like a
house of cards.

Days after rioting devast-
tated large parts of the
Ciskei following a military
coup, the "independent"
homeland of Bo-
phuthatswana went up in
flames.

Unrest swept through the
Garankuwa township west
of Pretoria on Wednesday,
leaving at least eight dead
and 500 injured.

After troops opened fire
on the crowd, defiant
protesters fought pitched
street battles with security
forces, burning barricades,
and gutting cars and other
vehicles.

Security forces in trucks,
casspirs and helicopters
scoured the area, firing
teargas and live ammuni-
tion at protestors.

In nearby Venda, the
situation was reported to be
increasingly tense with an
atmosphere of
"insurrection" in the
streets.

In Gazankulu, next to
Venda, government services
were paralyzed this week by
a stay-away of civil ser-
vants.

The strike is taking place
against a backdrop of in-
creasing violence in which
an unknown number of
people have died.

Widespread violence has
taken place in the Orange
Free State in recent weeks
after people in the township
of Botshabelo resisted
incorporation into the tiny
homeland of Qwa Qwa.

In the homelands of
Lebowa and KaNgwane in
the northern Transvaal, the
leadership has moved close
to the ANC, and there is
relative quiet.

See page 2
TBVC states' reincorporation good for business

PRETORIA — National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NaFoc) president S M Motsuenyane says the reincorporation of the TBVC states into SA would mean greater opportunities for businessmen of all population groups.

Motsuenyane said yesterday this could result in the creation of a climate in which business would operate more successfully without the usual constraints that presently exist in TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) states.

He said from the economic point of view, those states had never been independent because there was one economic system in the whole area.

He said a united SA should remain a key objective of all peace-loving leaders.

He said government needed to do everything in its power to hasten the process of black participation in the economy to a meaningful degree.

Blacks were on the outer fringes of business and the main objective of the future was to bring them in the main stream.

Motsuenyane said business should not be identified with a particular race group, but must be seen as an activity in which all people could participate fully and freely.

 Asked whether the business community should align itself with political organisations, he said it would be difficult for businessmen to divorce themselves completely from politics as politics affected business community activities.

Organisations operating underground in Venda should be legalised, the Venda Chamber of Commerce and Industries decided yesterday.

Radio Thohoyandou reported the chamber would recommend to the Venda government the organisations be legalised "to enable them to vest their ideas since this underground operation has already caused the economy of the country a considerable harm."

The chamber further resolved the government should investigate the possibilities of adopting the same general sales tax as applied in SA which would exempt foodstuffs from being taxed.

Venda's government should also participate in the future negotiated SA, the businessmen decided. — Sapa.
‘Change in SA’ sparked unrest

THE present homeland unrest was a consequence of the creation of the system without popular support, a prominent political analyst, the UDF and the ANC have claimed.

SA Institute of International Affairs director John Barratt said yesterday discipline needed to be restored to the “bantustan” areas, preferably by the joint efforts of the UDF-ANC alliance and government, with as little force as possible.

Barratt believed the trigger to the present disturbances was the change in government's approach to political issues and, in particular, the unbanning of the ANC and the release of ANC leaders.

Positive

However, he believed that was only a small part of the story and the situation went back to the creation of the unpopular system. Calls now for reincorporation also played a role.

Barratt said there were some very positive aspects to the present situation, one of which meant that the issue of homelands would be a less difficult negotiating problem. Already, he said, Osi, Transkei, Lebowa and KaNgwane had displayed support for the ANC, while government had shown a willingness to discuss reincorporation.

The inherent dangers in the present situation was that it could cause a delay in the lifting of the state of emergency and white fear, particularly, extreme right-wing fears, could increase.

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said the homeland system was finally collapsing and violence was an unfortunate outcome of people denied free political activity.

He said grievances that had existed for a long time, and that had no vent through open political structures, had finally burst.

The bantustan system had been discredited and people were rebelling against forced integration and citizenship of these areas, as well as forced membership of the ruling organisations, as in Bophuthatswana.

However, said Morobe, if the present situation in the homelands was used as a reason to lift the state of emergency, “it would show the extent of confusion in the way the state relates to bantustans”.

The situation in Katlehong was slightly different, he said. “We warned of the effects of deregulation, and these are the consequences. There is rampant exploitation and a total disregard for norms of decency,” ANC spokesman Tom Seluma said in Lusaka that the ANC was attempting to find the causes underpinning the wave of disturbances in the homelands.

The ANC still had not ascertained these.
Vlok on unrest

test to perpetrate intimidation of the worst kind.

These elements had no authority to loot shops or intimidate or kill law-abiding citizens who had made a success of their lives, and if there was such an authority from any organisation, including the ANC, then the SA public must know about it, Botha said.

His office said economic co-operation and matters of a bilateral nature were discussed.

Meanwhile, De Klerk met Gazankulu Chief Minister Prof. Hudson Ntsanwisi to discuss the unrest and the homeland's future as three more deaths were reported.

A government spokesman said Ntsanwisi asked for increased SA military support for the local security forces.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday he believed most residents of Bophuthatswana still supported his government. Most of the participants in Wednesday's riots had been brought in from SA and they had been responsible for most of the violence, he said.

Billy Paddock reports that the Bophuthatswana town of Gazankulu, under a state of emergency, was tense yesterday with no evidence of the SADF or SAP in the area. Streets, the scenes of pitched battles between residents and police on Wednesday, were almost deserted and covered with debris and barricades.

A Bophuthatswana police spokesman said the situation was 'under control', although there were sporadic incidents of violence. But we are patrolling to ensure order is maintained.'

In Mangoana, shops and most factories were closed and no buses and taxis were operating.

In Qwaqwa, members of the Legislative Assembly yesterday gave Chief Minister T.K. Mopeli a vote of confidence in his leadership.

Charlie Smith reports that the UDF has been involved in peace missions recently to six major flashpoint areas, attempting to mediate an end to violent conflict.

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said yesterday the areas where Bophuthatswana. Katlehong, Caska, Uitenhage, Natal and Venda had received reports from the Ciskei.

He reported that the local authorities had not taken action.

De Klerk has stopped short of accepting the ANC's request that the government should take stronger action against the violent outbreaks.

But police sources said the ANC had officially called for a return to class, and that if there were no immediate action, the ANC would call for a strike.

CAPE TOWN - Law and Order Minister Arthur Vlok last night vowed to use his wide-ranging emergency powers to clamp down on violence.
THE Mass Democratic Movement’s firmly-held tradition of non-participation in government-created structures has never seemed more blurred as the homelands erupt in chaos.

Previously, the MDM and its supporters would not back any homeland government. It was inconceivable that any campaign by the MDM to rid South Africa of homelands would ever coincide with the interests of homeland leaders.

But this week in the Ciskei, Major General Oupa Gqozo rose to power and joined the call for reincorporation into South Africa against a backdrop of African National Congress and South African Communist Party flags.

Major General Bantu Holomisa, who led a Transkei coup last year, has also thrown his weight behind the call for reincorporation and has set up mechanisms for a referendum to test Transkeians’ opinions on the issue.

He has surrounded himself with MDM supporters as political advisers and has indicated that at a future negotiating table he is likely to seek an alliance with the ANC.

Homeland legislative assemblies are filling up with MDM-supporting chiefs, many of them recent converts, as the MDM-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa sweeps through the countryside wooing traditional chiefs.

The Conference for a Democratic Future, held in Johannesburg last year to map out a strategy of political action for the Mass Democratic Movement and its allies, may be the key to understanding the homeland uprisings.

The CDF outlined a new MDM strategy of pulling the support base from underneath homeland leaders — rather than simply boycotting them — while wooing those who have mass support.

How far is the MDM prepared to go? Will it, in homelands such as the Transkei and Ciskei, involve itself in government structures geared towards returning these territories to South Africa?

It is likely that they will remain outside these structures and use mass pressure on the ground to push for the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.

In leftwing circles it is widely believed that the government is likely to try and dampen the impact of the MDM and the ANC by pursuing an equivalent of Namibia’s DTA-option, creating alliances in the centre of the political spectrum.

The ANC/MDM response appears to bring closer to themselves those homeland leaders on the fringes of the MDM, such as Enos Mabuza, the liberal leader of kaNgcwane, and try and create their own alliances.

In those homelands where old-style homeland leaders still reign, such as Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu and Venda, the strategy appears to be to step up mass pressure to weaken their position.

Emerging from the CDF was the strategy of rendering some homelands "un governable". Acts of bureaucratic sabotage have crippled Venda and Gazankulu in the last few weeks, while people in Ciskei have been burning their homeland party membership cards.

The CDF also resolved to hold referenda in all homelands to test popular feelings on the return to the republic and the creation of one unitary South Africa. The conference decided to call mass meetings in all the homelands between January and March to mobilise people behind the call of the MDM for one unitary South Africa.

It appears that the MDM had accurately read the mood and tapped into popular demands for reincorporation.

However, its time schedule for such moves has been overtaken by events and "popular referenda", signed with blood and fire, that have taken place in the homelands.

President FW de Klerk’s February 3 speech at the opening of parliament and the release of Nelson Mandela were catalysts that opened up a new political chemistry and led to the overtaking of the CDF schedule.

The MDM is likely to continue to enter into talks with willing homeland leaders.

Odd couples ... the MDM and the homelands.
It suits Pretoria to sweep out homeland tyrants

The replacement of homeland tyrants with more liberal leaders suits Pretoria's purpose.

THE South African government has an interest in getting rid of the more burdensome homeland leaders, political analysts observing the collapsing homelands said this week.

Leaders caught up in dynamics of their homelands and intrigue of their legislative assemblies have been sleeping through a revolution, analysts say. And it may suit the government to remove leaders who refused to move with the trend set by President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech.

When De Klerk visited individual homelands recently to inform them they were living in times of change, leaders like the Ciskei's Lennox Sebe did not seem to listen. Sebe was so indifferent to the rumblings in his homeland that he left for Taiwan.

Gazankulu's Hudson Ntswane expressed surprise at the uprisings in his country, saying he did not understand why it was plagued with violence when "the cause of black liberation had never looked better".

Centre for Policy Studies researcher Mark Phillips said it suited the government to sacrifice some of its more Verwoerdian and corrupt homeland leaders. The government may prefer homeland leaders with popular support — if these came to power the territories would be more stable.

CPS researcher and MDM activist Khehla Shabane noted De Klerk was trying to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations and could not afford to send the army into the homelands to stop rebellions. Troops were sent only to stop looting.

De Klerk has said homeland leaders have a role to play in negotiations and appears to be allowing the replacement of the old-style leadership. He may be hoping for more popular and useful allies at the negotiating table.

Two years ago the government supported Lucas Mangope, chief minister of Bophuthatswana, in the face of a coup in his homeland. But this week the government announced it would not intervene in the Ciskei and it seems set to recognise the new government.

Asked why the government had not come to Sebe's rescue, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha told the Weekly Mail: the situation in the Ciskei was radically different to that in Bophuthatswana two years ago — and in the Transkei at the time of the coup there.

Mangope had been unseated by a small faction inside the military establishment. A number of cabinet members and their families took refuge in the South African embassy and asked the South African government to intervene in order to free the president and restore the government.

Botha said recognition of the new military government in the Ciskei depended on factors such as the efficiency of the government; its acceptability to the population and to the security forces.

Responding to questions on the future of the homelands, Botha said there was no way parts of South Africa could be left without administration. There are people in the homelands who are entitled to schools, churches, hospitals, roads, police and development — irrespective of the eventual constitutional order agreed upon.

"The South African government's attitude is that re-integration is an option. At present it is simply not possible to spell out what the future South Africa will be like," said Botha.
FOCUS ON THE VIOLENCE THAT ERUPTED IN RURAL AREAS AFTER THE DE KLERK SPEECH...

Since FW's speech, 158 'political' deaths

Among the incidents this week are:

- A teacher killed in the Bushbuckridge area of Gazankulu as a general strike crippled the homeland. This brought the death toll in this homeland to 25.
- A stayaway affecting hotels, shops, factories, government offices and colleges, called by the Giyane Youth Congress, entered its third week.
- In Bophuthatswana at least eight people were shot dead as police opened fire on people at a mass rally where demands were made for the resignation of the homeland government and reincorporation with South Africa.
- Natal police have reported that 11 people had died and many more were injured in "unrest-related incidents" in the province.

The abrupt end to years of political repression has sparked violence throughout the country.

- Thirty-nine people were killed in South Africa townships also caught up in the anarchy and bloodshed sweeping the homelands. The worst hit townships are Khutsong and KwaLehong near Johannesburg, Felekesi near Amamzintlo, Crossroads near Cape Town and townships surrounding Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

The mayor of Pietermaritzburg has complained that military and police reinforcements have been sent to the Ciskei to quell political upheavals in the homeland, leaving Natal with a serious shortage of security personnel.

The scale and extent of the unrest has seen both Mass Democratic Movement organisations and the government make urgent efforts to restore calm.

Analysts say that among the reasons for the widespread violence is the years of state repression, crushing the structures through which disciplined political expression could have taken place.

John Aitchison, head of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg, has called upon the ANC to establish internal branches to contain and channel political expression.

Chronic unemployment in the townships has also been cited as one of the causes of the violence.

MDM leaders have responded to the unrest by calling for the formation in the homelands of structures such as street and village committees to organise the youth.
Apartheid falls

Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Venda... events leave no doubt the ANC and Chief power are crushing against the women, at the

PATRICK LAURENCE

TRANSKEI'S Matanzima brothers have fallen, Ciskei's Lennox Sebe has been toppled.
Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope is teetering on wobbly legs and Venda's Frank Ravele is skulking in Thohoyandou.

The events of the past few days have demonstrated beyond doubt that the grand die-off of apartheid is tumbling as the foundation on which it rests begins to disintegrate.

The supreme testament of Hendrik Verwoerd, the unloved high priest of apartheid, and his disciples, Deon de Wet Nel and M.C. Botha, was not petty apartheid, it was the arc of partially self-governing and 'independent' tribal states or bantustans which began in the 1960s and 1970s.

They were integral to the drive to rid South Africa of black citizens. By proclaiming 'black' people to be citizens of one or another of the 11 tribal states, and by coercing and compelling Black leaders into accepting 'independence', apartheid ideologues envisaged a South Africa, in which - in Deon Nel's words - "there will be one black man with South African citizenship."

As far back as 1964 President Botha declared that apartheid was an outmoded concept. But he and his lieutenants assured that the four nominally independent states were established irrevocably.

They were wrong.

Death penalty

In 1967 Major-General Bantu Holomisa overthrew two Transkei Prime Ministers, Chief George Matanzima and Ms Stella Sigcau.

As members of the Transkei government under Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the deposed premiers had voted for the Transkei Public Security Act; the Act made it an offence punishable by death, to advocate the reinstatement of Transkei into South Africa.

General Holomisa, who overthrew power as the chairman of Transkei's military council, took two further steps in 1974, for the ANC and announced that the question of whether Transkei should be reincorporated into South Africa would be submitted to a referendum.

The growing power of the ANC and, to a lesser extent, the PAC, and the rising tide of popular opinion in favour of a reunited and non-racial South Africa, leave little doubt that voters will opt for reincorporation.

Only last Sunday soldiers of Claine's Defence Force, led by Brigadier Josiah "Zapu" Gqozo, overthrew Mr. Holomisa, bringing black rule to a premature end. Within hours, Brigadier Gqozo, taking back the flag of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, declared that his ultimate aim was the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.

Then on Wednesday, thousands of people in Nqabakama in Bophuthatswana marched on the local magistrate's office to present a petition, demanding the resignation of President Lucas Mangope and the dissolution of the tribal state.

The march ended bloodily when Bophuthatswana police opened fire. For the second time in four years, opened fire with live ammunition, killing at least seven people and wounding scores. Later South African troops stood by to help bolster the shaky regime, if necessary, demonstrating once again Chief Mangope's dependence on Pretoria for survival.

The presence of South African security forces recalled their intervention to save Chief Mangope from an attempted coup on February 11, 1976. The coup attempt was foiled by an army of the police and police forces.

Instead of standing out as islands of ethnic harmony —

To use a Verwoerdian metaphor — the homelands have become quagmires, absorbing scarce SA resources of manpower and money.

UP IN SMOKE: Along with the factories the idea of an independent Ciskei was put to the torch this week. Brigadier Gqozo declared that his ultimate aim was the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.

know the score. The release of the whole of the ANC leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, on February 11 sparked huge celebrations in Venda by students and demands for the immediate reincorporation into South Africa.

One episode of great importance to events in the bantustans must be recorded. In 1966 kwandobebe's rulers opted for independence; in the same year they were forcibly by popular resistance to reverse their decision.

In 1967, Chief Minister Majozi Mhlanga tried, with the assistance of his tough-minded police chief Brigadier Hertog, Lerman, to reestablish the pro-independence defiance. By the end of 1968 Mr. Mhlanga had been defeated and Brigadier Lerman forced to vacate his post.

Mr. Mhlanga has since been charged with murder. The charge arises from his role as a leader of the notorious Mkhododzule vigilante group during their operations against anti-independence conspirators.

In retrospect events in kwandobebe marked a turning of the tide, the beginning of the end of the bantustan system. With a broad view of the bantustans, one central conclusion emerges originally designed to buttress white hegemony, they have become weak links in what was meant to be a line of defence.

Situated in a resonant shape on the outer rim of South Africa, they were envisaged as ethnic frontiers against the advance of supra-ethnic black nationalism. They formed an inner perimeter of the states to reinforce the outer perimeter that disintegrated as Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesian fell to national liberation forces.

It was not coincidental that each of these quasi-states formed their own armies and police forces, led, initially at any rate, by South Africans-trained soldiers and policemen. They were hostile to the ANC and the PAC. Their security forces often conducted joint search-and-destroy operations against nationalist guerrillas with South African counter-insurgency units.

Gradually, however, these states became a security liability rather than an asset. South African troops had to move in to Bututung shaky regimes.

There are troops in, or on the borders of, several bantustans now, including Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu and kwazulu.

Instead of standing out as islands of ethnic harmony — to use a Verwoerdian metaphor — they have become political quagmires, absorbing scarce South African resources of manpower and money.

In retrospect it is clear that stability in the bantustans generally — and not merely in the quarter of nominally independent territories — stems, in large part, from a single cause: lack of legitimacy. Their rulers are widely perceived to be marionettes, they took power in their mini-states, with the approval of the ANC and Chief power.
swana, Venda... events leave no doubt the homeland system is crumbling

The image of the banned nationalists leaders as opportunists and calling for an end to the war, the homeland system was exploited to its advantage. The image was manipulated to create a false perception of the leaders as traitors. The ruling party used this to consolidate its power and increase its control.

In the case of the banned nationalists, the lack of legitimacy was compounded by the actions of the ruling party, which used the image to justify their own actions and consolidate their power. The image was used to divide the community and create a sense of fear and uncertainty.

In Venda, the opposition won three quarters of the seats in the 1979 general election. The image was manipulated to create a false perception of the opposition as weak and divided. The ruling party used this to consolidate its power and increase its control.

One thinks of ex-Chief Minister Mwati, who, besides facing charges of corruption and murder, surreptitiously paid an admission of guilt for the murder of a black nationalist. In doing so, he has never been admitted into the hallowed hall of justice.

The ANC leader Mr. Mandela and his followers were arrested and imprisoned on false charges. The ANC, like the rest, has been left with nothing but their words and their memories.

The ANC leader Mr. Mandela and his followers were arrested and imprisoned on false charges. The ANC, like the rest, has been left with nothing but their words and their memories.

Plight symbolised

Late last month, the ANC's statement which symbolises the ANC's plight and that of some of its fellow nationalists.

"Some (bantustan leaders) are quite innocent," he says. "They are men who have served the community in one way or another. Nothing would please me more than that they should be released."

"The key words are: '...they should join us.'" While the masses are pressing for the home leaders to change sides and join the ANC, Mr. Mandela is keenly watching them in his quiet, urban way.

Some have done so already or are seriously weighing their options. A critical meeting was held last month between Mr. Mandela and the Zulu monarch. King Goodwill Zwelithini, and his ANC, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. But the South African government has refused to trade with the ANC, leaving Mr. Mandela and his followers with no options.

One way or another, however, the battle must go on. The question is whether the ANC, like the rest, can survive the destruction.
Homelands now 'calm but tense''

JOHANNESBURG. — "Calm but tense" were the words most used to describe the atmosphere in South Africa's simmering independent homelands yesterday following a week of bloodshed, immense destruction and mob violence.

The wave of discontent, which hit Ciskei and Bophuthatswana and boiled over into mass orgies of destruction in which shops, factories and government installations were looted and burnt, had abated in the face of security force clampdowns. The apparent reasons for the discontent remained, however, with only Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe being toppled by a military coup on Sunday.

Calls for political reforms in Bophuthatswana, Venda and Gazankulu and demands for the immediate resignations of presidents Lucas Mangope and Frank Ravele and Chief Minister Hudson Ntsaweni, respectively, were not answered.

Although South African security forces were seen only in Ciskei, following a request for support from the new military government of Brigadier Gupa Gqozo, the SA government promised to send its troops into the other homelands in the event of outbreaks of civil unrest.

Bophuthatswana security forces were yesterday engaged in mopping-up operations in Garankuwa, the township worst hit by Wednesday's rampage.

Soldiers in Garankuwa were reported to be forcing people from taxi buses to assist in the clean-up. Although there had been few or no reports of serious outbreaks of unrest in either Venda or Garankuwa, the governments of both black states expressed gratitude at South Africa's preparedness to send its in troops in the event of trouble. — Sapa
Homeland turmoil a boost for ANC

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

The violence sweeping SA’s black client states, and its political consequences, will change the line-up of forces when negotiations for a new South African deal begin.

Political upheaval has now engulfed all of the so-called TBVC states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — which, until recently, were considered the showcases of apartheid.

The turmoil there, starting with Transkei’s coup in 1967, has two important common characteristics — are distancing themselves from the SA Government and are lining up closer to the African National Congress.

The first is that there appears to be overwhelming popular rejection of the states’ independence, considered by many a sham since the first of them, Transkei, came into being 13 years ago.

The second common thread is that the states — either through the medium of new governments or in response to large public protests — are distancing themselves from the SA Government and are lining up closer to the African National Congress.

This means President F W de Klerk’s Government will probably be facing the independent states across the negotiating table, rather than having them on his side.

The Government has been placing considerable store by the impact established groups of “moderate” blacks will make at negotiations, as a counter to the expected more radical stance of the ANC.

The expressed desire of the new heads of state of Transkei and Ciskei for re-incorporation, and that of massive public protests in Bophuthatswana and Venda, will also dramatically broaden the ambit of negotiations.

In turn, this will move the concepts of federalism and confederalism higher up the negotiating agenda.

In addition to the four independent states, there are six self-governing homelands. They have autonomous governments, but have stopped short of becoming formally independent from SA.

At least one of these leaders, Mr Enoch Makuzana of Kangwane, has made no secret of his inclinations towards the ANC.

The most significant among the self-governing leaders, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, has long since positioned himself to keep his options open on both the Government and ANC sides.
WHAT a week it was. Full of drama, ecstasy, passion and pain.
How else could one describe the wave of unrest that swept the country this week and continues to do so unabated?
Yes, emotions and tension are still running high, and some people including our leaders and authorities are refusing to admit that the situation is out of hand.
If we could, for a moment, try and put these emotions aside and address the real issues in a sober-manner, we could at least come up with some solutions.
The South African situation today could be compared to the recent events in the Eastern bloc and the communist-inspired countries. Decades of suppression and dictatorial rule by regimes who put their interests above those of their subjects comes to a point.
In our case, the government went ahead and introduced the homeland governments despite strong opposition to these pseudo-independent states.
Since Hendrik Verwoerd, the high priest of grand apartheid who came out with the idea of a "lily-white" South Africa, we have been nothing but high-scale repression, detentions without trial, deportation of those opposed to the system and wanton killings.

The puppets who opted to serve in these discredited institutions simply because they wanted to enrich themselves and their families - as in the case of the Matanzima brothers in the Transkei and the Lennox Sebes - have finally been exposed for what they really are.
They ruled with an iron fist worse than their masters.
No system can survive long if it imposes its will upon the people. And one would have expected Bop President Lucas Mangope to have learned from Transkei, Ciskei and recently in his own backyard. It's not long since he survived a coup - thanks to the South African government who came to his rescue.
They say history is the best-teacher, but some people never learn.
His remarks this week, after more than 100,000 Bop people marched through the streets demanding his resignation and the reincorporation of Bop into South Africa, reminded me of the last days of Ian Smith in Rhodesia.
Mangope said his "country" would not be reincorporated into South Africa in the next 100 years. Did Smith not say almost the same thing when he said majority rule in Rhodesia would happen over his dead body? Well, its been almost 10 years - and he is alive and there's no majority black rule in that country.
What happened to Kwanlebele when the then Chief Minister, Simon Skosana tried, to go against the will of the people by opting for independence in that poverty-stricken and arid land? There was strong resistance, many people lost their lives and the little property there was, was destroyed.
Sikosana died before he could see his dream come true. But greed and power-mongering never stopped Majoz Mahlangu from going ahead with independence, despite strong resistance from the masses.
Mahlangu went a step further by forming a thug organisation called Imbokodo which went on a rampage, killing people indiscriminately. Mahlangu is presently facing a murder charge.
The homelands, we know, were brought about specifically to form a buffer zone for South Africa. Any incursion into South Africa had to start first with these so-called self-governing states.
There will be no need for this now with the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC.
They were also designed to keep South Africa white.

Black people would be temporary sojourners in the cities; our role was to provide labour only and then go back to our so-called homelands.
There will be no need for that now with the scrapping of apartheid laws. Does Mangope and those who still want to cling to this myth not realise this? It beats me.
If we talk of a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa are we not talking of a long-churished dream of all the peoples of this country?
The anarchy and mayhem does not only embarrass the government of the day - who have been accused by the official opposition party, the CP, of being responsible for the violence by their reform policies - the ANC is also embarrassed.
I see it as nothing but madness and it has to stop.
Some people say the poverty of blacks has forced them to fight over taxi passengers. Nonsense. And the sooner we move away from self-pity and the unsubstantiated political analyses that led to the killings the better for us all.
There should be no excuses or cover up about these internecine and senseless killings.
The road ahead will not be smooth and we should not make it worse by unnecessary killings. Let us hope sense prevails.
A WAVE of violence has swept across the country leaving a trail of death, destruction and tragedy in two weeks of deepening turmoil.

Now the government is clamping down on trouble-makers, leaving an uneasy calm hanging over most of the affected areas.

According to unconfirmed reports, more than 135 people have died throughout the country since last Friday.

- In Khutsong, 25 people are believed to have been killed since violence broke out last weekend;
- In the Ciskei, 20 people died and more than 300 were injured in the aftermath of the coup;
- In GaRankuwa, at least seven people died and almost 500 were injured;
- In Katlehong, 25 people died and about 200 were injured; and
- In Gazankulu and Venda, at least 60 people died in incidents of witchhunts, labour and political turmoil.

By Friday afternoon the latest unrest report stated that police had detained dozens of blacks in a crackdown on violence sweeping the country.

Those being detained were “trouble-makers, not black political activists” said a spokesman. The arrests were confined to South Africa’s four provinces and not the 10 homelands.

Meanwhile, ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela is due to start his visit to Sweden this week. He is understood to be anxious to return following Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok’s statement that he plans to crack down on violence.

Violence first erupted in the Western Transvaal’s Khutsong township outside Carletonville, followed by the Ciskei’s coup which resulted in a R10.5 million destruction of industrial complexes and other properties.

In Khutsong, angry residents and members of the local civic association claim they are in a “war zone”.

Unrest also swept through almost the entire Ciskei last week, following the bloody coup.

All that remained of scores of supermarkets, bottleshops, factories, hotels and government buildings were burnt-out shells.

Twenty people were reported to have died and more than 300 injured.

This week South African security forces moved into Ciskei to put an end to the looting and burning which followed Sunday’s coup.

The violence spread to GaRankuwa, west of Pretoria and Katlehong in the East Rand.

In GaRankuwa seven people died and more than 450 were treated for bullet wounds when thousands of residents marched to the local magistrate’s court demanding the immediate resignation of President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and reincorporation into South Africa.

The simmering tension in Bophuthatswana flared up on Wednesday, when more than 60 000 people gathered at a centre in the nearby Mabalane township before winding their way down to Odi Magistrate’s Court.

As the group gathered to present a petition against President Mangope, trouble broke out when Bophuthatswana security forces arrived.

Within minutes violence erupted as defiant residents fought pitched battles, put up burning barricades, gutted cars and set fire to government buildings and businesses.

Bophuthatswana security forces have arrested 99 people on charges of arson and looting, the Bopana news agency reported yesterday.

The agency also said a cache of professionally made petrol bombs was discovered in the back yard of a house in Pho-
keng and two people were arrested.

In Katlehong a group of taxi operators armed with guns, pangas, and knobkerries rampaged through the streets attacking pupils and teachers of at least three different schools, apparently in revenge for the alleged petrol bombing of six minibus taxis.

Later, youths set fire to two taxis and damaged 16 other vehicles before being dispersed by police.

About 700 families, including hundreds of children, marched to Katlehong police station to seek refuge from the unrest.

At least 20 lives have been lost in the township and scores of people have been injured or left homeless in a wave of arson and terror.

There was also widespread unrest in Venda and Gazankulu, where residents demonstrated because they wished the homelands to be reincorporated into South Africa.

Witchhunts, labour and political turmoil brought the tiny Gazankulu and Venda homelands in the far Northern Transvaal to a grinding halt.

During this period more than 60 people were stoned or burnt to death in the wake of the political unrest in the areas.

This week, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha warned that the South African government would not stand by and allow chaos to reign in the Venda homeland.
End this violence

CP Reporter

THE violence raging in Bophuthatswana, Gnarankulu, Venda and Katlehong this week — claiming at least 40 lives — has been condemned from all quarters.

ANC VIEW

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu scoffed at suggestions that his organisation was behind the turmoil, as it worked for peace.

In a statement to City Press he said the stream of allegations was contradictory and unsubstantiated.

"This sort of 'war talk' is totally irresponsible and does nothing to contribute to the resolution of conflict. It is a return to the old approach of looking for scapegoats and hidden instigators to explain people's resistance to apartheid."

Sisulu said the ANC had always called for peace, discipline and order — and the primary reasons for conflict had always been poverty and violence caused by apartheid.

However, the ANC welcomed the popular rejection of homeland tyranies, as the people had never been consulted on the system.

Sisulu challenged Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to hold an independence referendum.

He said the ANC, with the UDF and Cosatu, had during the past few weeks sent peace missions to several areas.

"In Uitenhage our initiatives ended the violence."

In the Ciskei an MDM delegation working with the ANC met the new administration and developed mechanisms which have led to stability in that area."

He and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela had addressed peace rallies in Natal.

Mandela had called for an end to the violence and urged people, irrespective of political affiliation, to work together for peace.

Discussions had been held with Katlehong factions and the ANC had sent peace missions to Katlehong, Gnarankulu and Venda to try to deal with the situation.

Sisulu said a crackdown on political activists and leadership would worsen the situation.

"We therefore call on our people to conduct our mass struggles with maximum discipline and restraint. Our task remains to remove apartheid and replace it with democratic structures. We must act against the perpetrators of mindless violence and looting by criminal elements."

He called on government to "stop making irresponsible statements and creating unnecessary confrontation" and to move to create a climate for permanent resolution of the conflict.

POLICE VIEW

Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok said the police would not show mercy to those who wanted to destroy South Africa's chance for peace.

Addressing the League of Ex-police men this week, he said the SAP would use emergency regulations to stop violence.

"It is going to cause some people discomfort, misery and even pain, but the government and the police cannot be blamed for that.

"Lawlessness and anarchy is unacceptable to the majority of South Africans. They demand protection."

"The time for negotiation and talking has arrived. We will do all in our power to make it succeed. Radicals, activists, and perpetrators of violence who wish to destroy the opportunity for peace must expect no mercy from us."

AZAPO VIEW

Azapo youth coordinator, Muntu Myeza, condemned the bloodbath in Katlehong, Bekkersdal, Carletonville and Natal, saying: "Many black people have lost lives. It is enough."

"Remember 1976. Every home was our home. Every child our child. We became husbands to the widows and parents to the orphans. Black people built a wall of solidarity. Those who fell in the struggle did so like heroes. The fighting within our ranks is smearing that edifice of unity."

The "puppet" states of Lebowa, Venda, Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei had to accept that it was time to reconcile themselves with the rest of "Afrania."
ANC rhetoric fans violence, says Viljoen

Continuing rhetoric about violence and the armed struggle by the ANC was a contributing factor to present violence, Constitutional Affairs and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said on Friday.

Viljoen, who also issued a terse "no comment" when asked if any homeland leaders had approached government about reincorporation into SA, said he believed there were quite a few interests behind the present violence in the homelands and other areas.

He refused to name these interests.

Viljoen said those who claimed violence existed in the areas because there was no free political activity and people lacked places to air their grievances were "unreasonable, particularly as the government has taken giant steps forward to normalise the political process. It makes the use of violence unjustified."

There were continuing discussions in government about the homeland situation, and homeland leaders were being consulted, Viljoen said.
Little by little, the homelands are falling
In one eventful week, a pillar of apartheid bows under pressure

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THE bantustan policy, a pillar of pristine apartheid dreamed up by Verwoerd, exercised by Botha and entertained by De Klerk, last week stood on the verge of destruction.

Observers believe it is only a matter of time before its thread will unravel and weave itself back into the fabric of a united South Africa.

South Africans rose last Monday morning to the news that a coup in Ciskei - apparently similar to the one in Transkei in 1987 - had the previous day removed Mr Lennox Sebe, arch-despot and life president of that bantustan, from his throne.

Addressing a partisan crowd the new leader, Brigadier Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo, said his ultimate aim was re-incorporation.

Gqozo and Transkei's Major Bantu Holomisa have done what years ago seemed impossible: they have set their territories on a route back into the greater South Africa, the one everyone has been talking about with hope and anticipation.

Holomisa last year dropped a bombshell when he talked of unifying the ANC and PAC. He declared, too, that the question of whether Transkei would be re-incorporated into South Africa would be decided by a referendum.

This effectively meant the South African Government's line that the four nominally independent states (Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana) remain independent, was reversed. By Tuesday it was two down and two to go.

On Wednesday the dominies fell. In the Bophuthatswana satellite of Garankuwa, thousands of people marched on the local magistrate with a petition demanding the resignation of that territory's leader, Chief Lucas Mangope, and the abolition of that state.

**FOCUS**

**Incorporation**

Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, architect of grand apartheid and the homeland policy.

"More and more communities around South Africa are beginning to demand that their areas in the homeland are returned to South African jurisdiction. This is a long-term struggle. Clearly it is one that will be fought with increasing ferocity during the coming years."

Indeed. Last week the sudden freedom and reality of possible re-incorporation caused widespread excitement which resulted in looting and destruction of everything that represented the old regime. It was unfortunate that innocent businesses got in the way, but when the people of Ciskei took to the streets it was because they wanted to be part of a united South Africa. They have the scars and a leader to take them back where they feel they belong.

Police opened fire and killed between seven and 11 people; injuring scores. Two years ago, almost to the day, South Africa sent its troops into Bophuthatswana to thwart an attempted coup by mutinous soldiers.

Last week SADF troops stood by as an insurance.

To some degree, the score was slightly adjusted to three down and one to go.

It is a matter of fact though that the people of Bophuthatswana want to be re-incorporated. There is a belief, however, that this bantustan will be the last to fall, firstly because it is the only one of the four with an international border.

Secondly, because it is the only one with some sort of viable economic base - mining and tourism (Sun City, Morula Sun and so on) and thirdly, this is the only homeland with foreign trade missions that are not in South Africa. Israel and Taiwan have Bop trade missions, while Britain has shown an interest in the territory.

And then there is Venda. On February 11, the day that Nelson Mandela was released, huge celebrations by students in Venda accompanied a unanimous cry for re-incorporation into South Africa.

**Trade missions**

This public resistance to independence came more than 10 years after the first (Transkei) accepted its independence. Kwa- Ndebele's rulers were in 1986 forced by popular demand to cancel their nascent independence.

The Catholic Institute for International Relations, in its book on the changing face of policing in South Africa entitled **Now Every**
The article continues...
**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS**

**NOTE**


(p. 174) (continued)


- The following estimates are presented:
  - Community Affairs
  - Immigration
  - Public Order
  - Housing
  - Housing Rehabilitation
  - Law Enforcement
  - Local Government
  - Social Development
  -totals

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**Questions**

- How many of the component estimates have increased?
- What are the significant changes in the estimates for each component?
- What impact do these changes have on the overall budget for the Home Secretariat?
Ball in TBVC regions' court, says Pik

Reunification 'up to states'

It was up to Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei (the TBVC states) to take the initiative and start negotiations with the Government of South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in an interpellation debate introduced by Mr Colin Eglin (DP, Sea Point), he said the Government had made it clear that reincorporation was an option open to them.

It realised that they had had difficulties in getting international economic recognition.

They would have to look at the matter carefully and then start negotiating with the South African Government.

Mr Eglin said the Government should, in the interest of a new South Africa, state that it had a positive attitude towards reunification.

The trend towards unification was going to be inevitable and the Democratic Party was asking the Government to play a leading role.

Mr Botha said reincorporation could not take place unilaterally — the matter would have to be thoroughly studied and legislation would have to be passed by the South African Parliament.

Questions which would have to be addressed included the position of loans these states may have taken out with banks of foreign countries.

Mr Eglin said he was not arguing about the details — but it had to be borne in mind that for years the SA Government had not been neutral.

The choice given to the TBVC states had not been a neutral one, but a Hobson's choice.

"We believe the time has come for the Government to bring down the curtain on Verwoerdian apartheid."

The "disaster of partition" should be left to the Conservative Party, and the Government should state its policy and work for a new South Africa.

Mr Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) said Mr Botha had not answered Mr Eglin's question as to whether the Government was prepared to take steps to make it possible for the TBVC states to rejoin South Africa.

Mr Botha said he did not agree that the states had been forced to accept independence.

Mr Andre de Wet (DP, Nominate) said it was common knowledge that the people of Transkei and Ciskei wanted to be reincorporated.

This was essential for there to be any hope of employment being created for the unemployed. "It is vital that the South African Government look to its interests as soon as possible," Mr de Wet said. — Sapa.
Reunification with SA is an open option

Cape Town -- The initiative for any re-incorporation of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei (the TBVC states) into SA lay with those territories and it was for them to start negotiating on the issue with the SA government, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking in an interpellation debate introduced by Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point), he said the government had made it clear that re-incorporation was an option open to them. It realised that they had had difficulties in getting international economic recognition.

They would have to look at the matter carefully and then start negotiating with the SA government.

Eglin said the government should, in the interests of a new SA, state that it had a positive attitude towards reunification.

Legislation

The trend towards unification was going to be inevitable and the DP was asking government to give a lead in the interests of SA.

Botha said re-incorporation could not take place unilaterally -- the matter would have to be thoroughly studied and legislation would have to be passed by the SA Parliament.

Questions which would have to be addressed included the position of loans those states might have taken out with banks of foreign countries.

Eglin said he was not arguing about the details, but it had to be borne in mind that for years the SA government had not been neutral.

The choice given to the TBVC states had not been a neutral one, but a Hobson's choice.

"We believe the time has come for the government to bring down the curtain on Verwoerdian apartheid."

Tom Langley (CP Southsberg) said Botha had not answered Eglin's question as to whether the government was prepared to take steps to enable TBVC states to be re-incorporated into SA.

Botha said he did not agree that the states had been forced to accept independence.

Andre de Wet (DP nominated) said it was common knowledge that the people of Transkei and Ciskei wanted to be re-incorporated.

"The whole area is calling out for help."

Sapa reports from Gaborone that Botswana's External Affairs Minister Gosiame Chiepe said yesterday that any talk of a "bantustan" amalgamating with Botswana was totally misplaced and unacceptable.

It said that Chiepe, speaking in Parliament, stated Botswana had always been opposed to the fragmentation of SA, which was manifested by the bantustan states shrunken all over the territory.

"Therefore," he said, "any talk of any bantustan amalgamating with Botswana is totally misplaced and unacceptable."

Chiepe said Botswana subscribed fully to the OAU's declaration on the absolute need to recognise and observe colonial boundaries.

Recent media reports have quoted Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope as having said his homeland would not be interested in re-incorporation with SA. Instead he would consider amalgamating with Botswana, as both house one nation, divided by an imaginary border. -- Sapa.
The MINISTER OF EDUCATION (Continued):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>3-year Diploma</th>
<th>Std 10 + Certificate</th>
<th>(d)* Lower than Std 10 + Certificate</th>
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<td>Cowan Sek</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Since a very small number of South African pupils are issued with the matriculation certificate, it was assumed that the question referred to the senior or standard 10 certificate.

130. Mr E W Trent asked the Minister of Education: Which of the following subjects are included in the curriculum of the Fort Elizabeth/ibhayi area?

(a) Accountancy, (b) Physical Science, (c) Biology, (d) Mathematics, (e) Computer Science, (f) Music and (g) other specified specialist subjects are there in each school falling under the control of his Department in the Fort Elizabeth/ibhayi area?

131. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education:

The information is not readily available.

Department: Stationary

133. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education:

(1) Whether any stationery is provided by his Department for the use of primary and (b) secondary school pupils; if not, what not; if so, what stationery is provided to each (i) primary and (ii) secondary school pupil each year; (2) whether paper is provided by his Department for the printing of internal examination papers at (a) primary and (b) secondary schools; if not, why not; if so, how much paper is provided in respect of each (i) primary and (ii) secondary school pupil?

134. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education:

How many pupils at schools in the Western Cape falling under the control of the Department of Education and Training (a) wrote, (b) obtained (i) A, (ii) B, (iii) C, (iv) D and (v) E symbols in, and (c) failed, their 1989 Standard 10 examinations in respect of (i) Mathematics (Higher Grade), (ii) Mathematics (Standard Grade), (iii) Physical Science (Higher Grade) and (iv) Physical Science (Standard Grade)?

135. Mr S S Van der Merwe asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(a) How many citizens of (i) Ciskei, (ii) Transkei, (iii) Venda and (iv) Bophuthatswana were deported from the Republic in 1989 and (b) in terms of what statutory provisions were they deported in each case?
(b) In terms of section 43 of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, 1972 (Act 59 of 1972),(1) India

LBS countries/Zimbabwe/Mozambique: workers

Workers repatriated 14/3/90

136. Mr S S Van Der Merwe asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) How many Black (a) workers and (b) persons from Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique, respectively, were repatriated in 1989?

(2) how many Black (a) workers and (b) persons from each of the above countries had been granted exemption from repatriation on the ground of long service as of the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Statistics on the basis as required by the honourable member are not available. However, the total number of persons (irrespective population group) removed to the countries in question in 1989 is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>5 817</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>4 728</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>1 269</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>843</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>38 758</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the period 1 January 1988 up to 26 February 1990, the following exemptions in terms of section 76 of the Alien Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937) were granted in respect of workers and persons from the following countries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excluding workers, but including the wives and children of workers.

75. Mr P G Soal asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) What amounts were paid in subsidies in the 1988-89 financial year in respect of films in (a) Afrikaans, (b) English and (c) the Black languages?

(2) In respect of how many films in each language were those subsidies paid?

The Minister of Home Affairs:

Funds: subsidies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
<th>(d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Films: subsidies</td>
<td>3 464</td>
<td>3 262</td>
<td>3 558</td>
<td>3 558</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What was the infant mortality rate for (a) Blacks, (b) Coloureds, (c) Whites and (d) Indians in the Republic of South Africa?

The Minister of Home Affairs:

Infant mortality

Infant mortality rate means the number of infant deaths (deaths of children under the age of one year) per one thousand live births.
Three of the four TBVC lands opt for referendum

THREE of the four independent homelands have now taken decisions to hold referendums to decide whether or not to opt for reincorporation into SA.

Bophuthatswana, the only independent homeland which has not taken the step, has, however, not closed the door on such a move.

KwaNkwaMnyama Chief Minister Enos Mbiza has called for the homeland system to be dismantled and a peaceful transitional period to lead into a "democratic non-racial government".

Bophuthatswana Foreign Minister Solomon Radebe said yesterday his country had rejected the SA of the past, which was why it took independence. "The transitional SA is in a state of flux and not yet in place, no one knows what will happen, and the post-apartheid SA is yet to come. We don't know which one we should join."

Radebe said if observer status was offered "Bophuthatswana would be prepared to play a role as an observer state."

He could not say whether or not its opposition to reincorporation would be re-evaluated.

Venda, which has been racked by violence recently, yesterday announced it would hold a referendum on the issue of reincorporation, while Ciskei announced at the time of its coup last week it would hold such a referendum.

Yesterday, Transkei Military Council and the Council of Ministers under the chairmanship of Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa appointed a special five-man cabinet committee to formulate the mechanics of a referendum on reincorporation.

The cabinet committee will work in close collaboration with Transkei government law advisers to formulate an action programme and draft legislation by March 31.

The draft legislation will be made publicly available for comment, Holomisa told Business Day, and after that a date for the referendum would be set. He said Transkei was concerned that planning should be careful and all issues taken into account.

Further criticising the homeland system, Mbiza said he believed much of the present violence was because certain homeland-based political organisations were "intolerant of other political organisations". He said that had not been the case in his self-governing territory.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the violence in Natal, as an example, which has continued for three years, is because of Inkatha's refusal to allow other organisations to exist, and has used forced membership."

Mbiza said he believed that if Inkatha stopped using these tactics the violence would cease.

Business Day was unable to obtain comment from Inkatha late yesterday. Radebe said he believed the present violence in the homelands had been caused by euphoria following President P W de Klerk's February 2 speech unbanning a number of organisations, including the ANC.

He said they were aware of "intimidation and coercion on pressures inflicted by activist groups".

CHARLENE SMITH
Reservoirs of discontent may overflow into SA

GRAHAM LINSWORTH discusses the collapse of the independent homelands dream, and perceptions of the danger they posed to South Africa.

In the Sixties and early Seventies, the old United Party used to warn darkly of the perils of the Government's bantustan programme, that it would set up inside South Africa. The homelands for black nationalism and communism (and the terms were virtually synonymous to many of those old bloedsappe). They were about a quarter right, and in a way they probably did not anticipate. The homelands did not become satellites of the Warsaw Pact or Ghana, but they did become dangerous concentrations of discontent and disaffection.

This carried into the urban areas as well because, until comparatively recently, urban blacks were haunted by the prospect of being "repatriated" to some homeland of which they had only heard. Bantustans had a bad vibe.

In many cases the homeland leaderships to which the South African Government bequeathed independence were anything but the popular choice and not exactly the highest calibre. It never was satisfactorily demonstrated that the inhabitants of the homelands wanted independence anyway.

The homelands have been ticking time bombs. Ciskei went off last week. In Bophuthatswana and Venda the fuse seems to be spluttering. Transkei is defused by the fact that the leadership has clearly distanced itself from the concept of sovereign independence.

The homelands have become centres of disaffection and lawlessness. The venality and corruption of some of the regimes installed by Pretoria has been such as to discredit the very institution of government.

So anarchy rules for a day or two, people's livelihoods are burnt down, the liquor stores are looted and the day of liberation seems at hand.

But then the hangover.

Far from becoming communist launching pads into South Africa, the homelands have become reservoirs of restlessness and lawlessness. Such phenomena are never contained behind borders. Unrest has a terrible propensity to spill over.

Yes, those bloedsappe were about a quarter right.
Homelands in flux
Polls to decide on resuming SA status

Own Correspondent
Johannesburg — Three of the four independent homelands have taken decisions to hold referendums to decide whether or not to opt for reincorporation into South Africa.

Bophuthatswana, the only independent homeland which has not taken such a step, has, however, not closed the door on such a move.

Kwa-Ngwane's Chief Minister, Mr. Enos Mabuza, has called for the homeland system to be dismantled and a peaceful transitional period to lead into a "democratic non-racial government".

Bophuthatswana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Solomon Radebe, said yesterday that they had rejected the SA of the past, which was why they took independence.

"The transitional SA is in a state of flux and not yet in place, no one knows what will happen, and the post-apartheid SA is yet to come. We don't know which one we should join."

Venda, which has been racked by violence in recent times, yesterday announced that it would hold a referendum on the issue of reincorporation, while Ciskei announced at the time of its coup last week that it would hold such a referendum on reincorporation.

Yesterday, the Transkei Military Council and the Council of Ministers appointed a special five-man cabinet committee to formulate the mechanics of a referendum on reincorporation.

Draft legislation will be made publicly available for comment, General Bantu Holomisa said, and after that a date for the referendum would be set.

Mr. Mabuza said he believed much of the present violence was because certain homeland political organisations were "intolerant of other political organisations."

"There is no doubt in my mind that the violence in Natal, as an example, which has continued for three years, is because of Inkatha's refusal to allow other organisations to exist."

Mr. Radebe said he believed the present violence in the homelands had been caused by euphoria following State President F.W. de Klerk's February 2 speech.

He said they were aware of "intimidation and coercion and pressures inflicted by activist groups."

The Ciskei Military Council detained more than 15 high-ranking government officials and executives of parastatals in the past few days "to investigate allegations of corruption."

The MD of the Ciskei People's Development Bank, Mr. Thami Sondiyazi, was detained by three security policemen on Monday at his office in Bisho, members of his staff said.

Mr. Sondiyazi accompanied deposed President Lennox Sebe to Hong Kong.

Other sources said at least 15 senior officials, including two Ciskei Radio journalists, had been detained "on suspicion of corruption."
Who picks up the bill?

Recent unrest in Ciskei and other areas has thrown the system of political riot insurance into the balance. Uncertainty about what is covered by SA Special Risks Association (Sasria) has created myriad problems.

Sasria, through which clients must place all initial riot cover, has been controversial since its inception in 1979. Complications arising from the confused political situation in the regions create a host of problems.

If damage to property in Ciskei proves to have been caused by violence, businesses could find themselves uncovered. Sasria caters for damage caused only by riots and unrest and excludes damage related to or caused by military action.

Sasria MD Rodney Schneeberger left for Ciskei on Sunday to assess the damage. He met with the Ciskei Guma on Tuesday to discuss the situation and then called an urgent Sasria board meeting on his return.

No claims were made on Sasria after the coup in Transkei — nor the attempted coup in Bophuthatswana — so these cannot be used as precedents.

When the FM went to press, Schneeberger could not yet say to what extent damage to property was related to a “military rising.” But it is believed the damage will not be considered the result of military action.

Another controversy centres upon the accounting of business premises. Schneeberger says these will not be covered by Sasria if they were pure theft; only if riot-inspired.

Even if Sasria will pay claims in the riot area, cover is limited. In Ciskei and Venda those insured are covered to a limit of R5m. The current liability of R25m, which is expected to be exceeded, is limited to R10m. Low limits reflect high-risk areas and low premiums. Limits include standing charges — payment of wages while a business is not operating — but not profits lost through interruption of business.

In these circumstances, many businessmen may not have much faith in restocking.

Estimates of total damage range from about R180m. Ciskei Insurance Brokers GM Tony Gray, who claims to handle the bulk of insurance business there, estimates his clients incurred losses from damage to buildings and buses at R35.5m — so far. If contents of buildings are added losses could rise by another R42m. The other losses will come from a number of smaller brokers.

Gray’s clients include Ciskei People’s Development Bank, which owns many industrial assets and property, and the bank’s client, Ciskei Transport Corp, which lost 47 buses, is believed to have incurred losses of about R7.2m. Sun International’s R10m Mdantsane Entertainment Centre was burnt to the ground.

A long-standing problem is that Sasria cover is for a single insured. So the Development Bank, for example, will be liable for any losses over and above R5m by the various businesses falling under its umbrella.

The bank does not have additional cover with overseas insurers or reinsurers, only a self-insurance fund, thought to be not substantial. Others such as Sun International have taken additional cover overseas.

Mibra (previously Minets) director Rod Pearson points out: “Overseas cover may be only in excess of Sasria limits and, therefore, may not always take the place of Sasria cover when the R5m-R10m limit is absorbed.” A further problem is that the limit applies to the entire insurance year. Sasria has the power to reinsure cover but Pearson says it refused to offer reinstatement of cover relating to recent Ciskei damage.

Devious routes

Exactly whom bought SA’s R57.9bn exports and sold its R44.5bn imports in 1989 is not known. As a result of international sanctions, trade is frequently routed through countries where SA’s policies are less controversial, to avoid identifying the source or destination of goods and commodities.

But official figures from our trading partners show the major industrialised countries still play a vital role.


Trade with the US, which headed the list until 1986, was about US$33bn, up on 1988’s US$31bn. Also worth about US$33bn was Italy, 33% up on 1988’s US$25bn and whose trade has shown the most rapid growth. Trade with the UK was valued at US$32bn, about the same as the previous year.

The Republic of China (Taiwan) does not make light work. But IMF statistics show a climb between 1982-1988 from US$400m to US$1.2bn “Exports,” says SA Chamber of Business trade secretary Bess Robertson, “were mainly base metals and...
The Homelands

A clamour of voices

Ever since the Transkei became independent in 1976 — to be followed by Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — the status of the homelands has been the subject of intense controversy. Now that reincorporation of the TBVC is very much on the political agenda, the complexities of the system of ethnic enclaves devised by Hendrik Verwoerd are yet another worrying factor in SA's already explosive racial and economic mix.

Under F W de Klerk, the Nationalists have jettisoned old-style separate development, of which the homelands were the backbone. They failed to stem the tide to the cities; the trappings of independence are being rejected by those they were meant to benefit. From Bisho in the Ciskei to Thohoyandou in Venda, from Umtata in the Transkei to Mmabatho in Bophuthatswana — recent events are testimony to an upsurge of popular revolt against ruling elites.

Transkei and Ciskei's military leaders want to rejoin SA provided apartheid is scrapped. While Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope totally rules out any such suggestion, opposition to him is in reality only checked by the SA Defence Force. In Venda — at the best of times a hotbed of arcane political intrigue and ritual murder — President Frank Ravele, who recently turned down SA's offers of assistance to maintain law and order, is attempting reforms to head off growing opposition. But he may be the next to fall, following the Matanzimas and Sebes.

As far as the self-governing or non-independent homelands are concerned, reincorporation could be "automatic," reckons KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, adding that he believes "the most logical thing would be the peaceful transfer to a democratic constitution." He sees the transition as involving a period of phasing out the various legislative structures and a streamlining — on a regional, nonracial basis — of existing administrative structures such as health and education.

According to Mabuza, the homelands have reached the "point of no return" politically — "and homeland leaders will have to facilitate the transition" to ensure that it is peaceful.

There's little doubt that the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC — and with that the perceived prospect of a black government in SA — has a lot to do with unleashing the clamour for reincorporation. A government spokesman points out: "There is a perception by people (in the homelands) that things are going to be better across the border."

Mabuza (who is on excellent terms with the ANC) says that, in addition to the release and the unbannings, there is also the phenomenon of legal protest marches in SA. Given a general climate of repression in the homelands, the thrust for freedom in SA was bound to spill over into the enclaves. KaNgwane is alone in his relative immunity to unrest. In Gazankulu, Hudson Ntsaweni had to go into hiding two weeks ago; in Venda this week, a crowd of 10 000 marched on the capital and was bloodily dispersed.

But each homeland is different. KwaZulu has the Buthelezi factor. Mangontshu Buthelezi has always been opposed to a spurious independence, preferring to be part of a united and democratic SA, or (as a second prize) some kind of federation. But Zulu nationalism will always be a factor in the
region's political life.

How easy would reincorporation of the four independent homelands be? Assuming that the TBVC states do indicate, through referenda, that they want to return, this would then very largely depend on the willingness of the SA government to co-operate. De Klerk stated on February 2: "In recent times there has been an interesting debate about the future relationship of the TBVC countries with SA, and specifically about whether they should be reincorporated into our country. Without rejecting this idea out of hand, it should be borne in mind that it is but one of many possibilities."

The timing of the return could well depend on the wider reform agenda set by Pretoria. If reform stalls, the concerns of the homelands would be marginalised. Transkei's Bantu Holomisa - who has left to his countrymen the decision on whether to return - has repeatedly said he would not like to lead the Transkei back to an "apartheid SA." In the other: <strong>Khione bantustan, neighbouring Ciskei, the new military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo (see People),</strong> gave notice directly after assuming power in the March 4 coup of his intention to see the territory reincorporated into SA. He shared a platform with local UDF-ANC figures and against a backdrop of ANC and SA Communist Party flags.

Even if conditions were right, there could be no short-cut to reincorporation. The TBVC states were created by Acts of parliament - and would require enabling legislation from both SA and the independent homelands before they could legally become part of SA again.

Fanie Cloete, former chief director of constitutional planning with Chris Heunis and now a visiting research associate at Wits University’s Centre for Policy Studies, says that, under present legislation, SA has no legal powers over the TBVC states. "To extend parliamentary and political sovereignty over them, there will have to be a formal Act of parliament again, like there was when they were granted independence," he states. And this would have to be preceded by talks, the signing of treaties, draft legislation and so on.

Even if there is agreement on both sides, it could take at least six months to get the necessary legislation through parliament and corresponding legislation passed by the homeland legislative authority, he believes.

In constitutional terms, three things could happen:

- A reincorporated homeland could have no government of its own, only a regional authority to oversee local services falling under the State's central structures;
- The ruling authority could retain a measure of independence, like the present non-independent homelands; or
- There could be something like the old provincial council system, with a central body taking decisions on regional matters but still ultimately following the lead set by whoever is running the country.

And what of Pretoria? Does it want the homelands back? John Mugard, director of the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies, says that while the legal process and necessary Acts of parliament could take a long time, he does not see "SA being obstructive at this stage."

Kobus Jordaan, another former constitutional planner with Heunis and now Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, agrees, saying he is convinced the homelands will be reincorporated because they are going to have to be part of SA's new constitutional future. Cloete's belief is that government doesn't want the homelands back at this stage, unless they can be fitted into a confederal structure. He says: "My interpretation of the willingness of government to take them back is not too optimistic. And as long as SA holds the purse strings, they can probably keep them out for a long time."

For taxpayers, a major issue will be the financial implications. Last year, the four independent homelands drained away R6,2bn excluding the indirect costs of development loans which total nearly R25bn (see table).

A lot depends on the future make-up of controlling authorities. If large-scale rationalisation takes place and duplication of services is removed, commonsense says the homelands would cost SA taxpayers less. "It's hard to say, but a lot of money should be saved by pruning up top-heavy structures," Jordaan observes. "Obviously development will have to continue taking place and services upgraded. Money is going to have to continue being pumped in - but I wouldn't think it is going to cost more."

Cloete notes that it is impossible to say what the future cost of reincorporated homelands might be. "If funding becomes part of the bargaining process, the homelands could cost more. For example, something like Transkei's army could become an issue. Should SA continue to finance it, should it be disbanded, or should it become part of the SAPF? All these questions would have to be worked out beforehand."

Holomisa's view is that a returned Transkei would cost SA more - if only because government would then be obliged to improve what he terms the Third World infrastructure of his country. "Our schools and hospitals are terrible and there is a big backlog in our civil service pay structure and fringe benefits. We need to do things like provide fresh water for the rural areas, which is going to cost millions. If we came back, SA could no longer say to us: 'You are independent, find your own money.' We would have to rely on handouts anymore."

He says that, according to a document he presented to Finance Minister Berend du Plessis last year, Transkei would need R1,7bn to make up the backlog in essential services. That compares with the R1,7bn received from SA in the last financial year. "The money saved by rationalisation would be a drop in the ocean, compared to what we need to develop the country."

That's honest. However, politics is about the allocation of resources — and quite evidently, the voices of the homelands are going to be diverse, insistent and demanding.

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### Financing the homelands

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<tr>
<th>Source: Race Relations Survey</th>
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<td>Estimated sources of homeland revenue: 1988/89</td>
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<td>From central government*</td>
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<td>Limpopo</td>
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<td>Venda</td>
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*Includes various transfer payments from central government
I wish I could say that I shed no tear for those homeland leaders who are now under so much pressure to relinquish their positions of power and access to riches beyond their wildest dreams. My Christian conscience, however, says I should actually sympathise with them.

Not because I know that they were victims of the biggest con job ever done on blacks, but because I believe that they were naive to believe that the gravy train could ride on for ever.

Many are the stories told of how people were conned into accepting the homeland status and the quasi independence that led to millions of blacks being stripped of their citizenship rights.

Archipelago

From the time Matanzima was elevated to the paramount chieftainship to suit South Africa's game plan, to the creation of another "nation" of Xhosas a few miles west, to the scattered bits of land — an archipelago in the sea that was regarded as white South Africa — that became Bophuthatswana, and finally the creation of Venda by taking people to a game reserve and plying them with liquor and giving them free suits so that they would vote the right way. All these were done by South Africa.

And now, the Africans of the land are saying no mas. They have had enough of terror and authoritarian rule; of buying "guest houses" for the "people" in some foreign land; of building fancy airports while thousands just across the road from the airport were starving, homeless and jobless; of buying "rain making machines"; of tarring roads which led to their new-found girl friends' homes — and stripping them when the girlfriends ditch them.

As a result of these indulgences by the government the merry-making went on. Sure, there were early signals, but all of these homeland leaders ignored them.

And now people demand their rights as citizens of a larger South Africa, and the situation has become ugly.

Nobody can, or should condone the killings and burnings and lootings in those homelands. Indeed, these actions are tragic, and totally self-defeating.

The days of the homelands are running out.
UDF calls for gradual change

Existing structures will be needed to build new society for the people

udf publicity secretary "terror" lakota...

A new idea has been proposed by the UDF to hold a conference of all political parties to discuss the creation of a new South African government. The conference would be attended by leaders from the UDF, the ANC, the IFP, and other political parties.

The UDF has also called for a national conference to discuss the future of the country. The conference would be attended by representatives from all provinces and would be held in Johannesburg.

The UDF has also called for the release of all political prisoners.

The UDF has also called for the establishment of a new South African government, which would be based on the principles of democracy and human rights.

The UDF has also called for the creation of a new South African constitution, which would be based on the principles of democracy and human rights.

The UDF has also called for the implementation of a new economic policy, which would be based on the principles of redistribution and social justice.

The UDF has also called for the establishment of a new South African military, which would be based on the principles of non-violence and human rights.

The UDF has also called for the creation of a new South African education system, which would be based on the principles of equality and access.

The UDF has also called for the establishment of a new South African healthcare system, which would be based on the principles of universal access and quality care.

The UDF has also called for the creation of a new South African social security system, which would be based on the principles of fairness and adequacy.

The UDF has also called for the establishment of a new South African environmental policy, which would be based on the principles of sustainability and conservation.
time when homeland leaders have been warned Pretoria will trim it expenditure this year.

People 'reject homelands' JOHANNESBURG. — The recent spate of unrest in South Africa illustrated an emphatic rejection of apartheid, Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday.

Mr Mandela said the violence was very unfortunate, "but it indicates the rejection by the masses of the people of the bantustan policy.

"If it came to the test where the views of the people were consulted, there would be an emphatic rejection."

Mr Mandela was speaking after his return from a whirlwind tour during which he met the leaders of four African countries as well as ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is in a Swedish hospital. — Sapa

Small crowd at Mandela concert — Page 5
Violence costs millions for homelands

JOHANNESBURG. — In a week when the Ciskei People’s Development Bank announced that recent riots in the homeland had caused over R60m damage to factory property and contents, the economic toll of unrest in SA’s other homelands is emerging.

The extent of damage to industry in the fortnight of unrest in Bophutatswana could not be gauged last week as industries and the Bophutatswana Development Corporation and Department of Information would not comment as the state of emergency continued in the independent homeland.

But from KwaZulu, the self-governing homeland which has sustained the most prolonged violence, Inkatha Institute executive director Mr Gavin Woods said the violence between warring factions of Inkatha and the UDF had had severe repercussions on the formal and informal economic sectors, particularly for backyard businesses.

But the most profound effect was the disruption of labour.

In the KwaZulu area of Hammersdale the Hebbox factory, SA’s largest manufacturer of denim, has lost millions through absenteeism.

Group PR director Mr Ron Phillips said absenteeism at the factory, which has a complement of 1,540 staff, was running at 100% in November and December.

Mr Phillips said Tongaat and other textile producers in the area, SA Nylons and PAN textiles, while conducting negotiations with community leaders, were seriously considering withdrawing operations.

Mr Woods said the cycle of violence in KwaZulu had become self-perpetuating as youth unemployment runs at 72%.

A similar story unfolds in SA’s other homelands, albeit on a smaller scale.

The damage to homeland economies comes at a time when homeland leaders have been warned Pretoria will trim expenditure this year.
Move to have Homeland Act scrapped

A PLAN for the dismantling of all homelands, drawn up by Lebowa, is to be presented to the homeland's legislative assembly tomorrow, Lebowa chief minister Mr Nelson Ramodike, announced yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference amidst a work stayaway by civil servants that have left the main offices in Lebowa virtually deserted, Ramodike said the plan entailed enlisting all homelands to make a joint approach to Pretoria for the repeal of Homeland Act 21 of 1971.

Ramodike said a consultative conference was envisaged which would involve all homelands - including the TBVC states.

He said he did not agree with demands for the immediate dismantling of homelands. He supported the call by the UDF publicity secretary, Mr Peter Terror Lekosa, for their gradual phasing out.

The immediate dismantling of the homeland is one of the demand by organisations and this has led to the work stayaway.

Ramodike said his cabinet had not decided what to do with the civil servants who are currently on stayaway, calling for educational demands to be met.

Responding to a question on how the stayaway, called by the UDF-affiliated Lebowa Civic Association, would affect his relations with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his planned trip to Lusaka to meet with ANC leaders, Ramodike said this was up to the ANC.

"When I met Mr Nelson Mandela it was by invitation. There was no intention on my part to use that meeting to enhance my status.

"Mr Mandela told me to come back to the Northern Transvaal and try to normalise the situation. We agreed to meet again. I remain open to meeting with all groups, not only the ANC," he said.

Ramodike said it was imperative that although the ANC was seen as the most loved organisation by black people in the country today, it was "important that the ANC recognises other political groups, beliefs and affiliations within the country and be prepared to involve them in negotiations".

Turning to the shortage of books, Ramodike said it was wrong to link the issue with the purchase of ministerial cars.

He said a white official responsible for buying vehicles for Lebowa government would begin before the De Klerk Commission opened over gross irregularities.

He said education department had been mismanaged at head office, resulting in orders for books being submitted to suppliers only late last month.

This should have been submitted between July and October last year. He said however books had already started arriving and were being delivered to various schools by policemen and soldiers.

On calls for the dismantling of his youth organisation, Ramodike said such a decision could only be taken at a conference of the United Youth Organisation of South African (UYOSA).

No date for such a conference had so far been set, he said. UYOSA members were however free to join other organisations, he said.
Homeland leaders in run-up to talks

VAPE TOWN — The first formal talks on a new constitution are to start on April 5 when President F W de Klerk meets non-independent homeland leaders to discuss the structuring of negotiations.

De Klerk announced yesterday that the six homeland leaders and the three chairmen of the Ministers' Councils in Parliament would join him in exploratory talks on the structuring of the process of negotiation and related matters.

The talks are to take place just six days before the first meeting between government and the ANC.

De Klerk said several leaders working within existing structures had requested government to get negotiations off the ground or at least to initiate exploratory talks.

"This has resulted in me inviting the chief ministers of the self-governing territories and the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils of Parliament and their advisers to join me in exploratory talks on the structuring of the process of negotiation and related matters.

"The process of negotiation is a wide-ranging one in which all interested parties should participate. The discussions next Thursday acknowledge the position of these leaders in this process."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said recently that deciding exactly who should sit at the negotiating table would be a difficult process. But De Klerk has now reiterated his determination that those who have participated in government structures should not be left in the cold. They were assured of a place at the negotiating table.

Those attending the meeting will be Ministers' Council chairmen, Kobie Coetsee (House of Assembly), Allan Hendriekse (House of Representatives) and J N Reddy (House of Delegates).

The chief ministers of KwaZulu, KwaNdebele, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, Lebowa and KwaNgwane will be representing the non-independent homelands.
Apartheid chickens are busy laying lots of eggs

I see that the homeland chickens have come home to roost. Many find they have been blown up by their own bomb.

First victim was that old schoolmaster and conservative, President-for-life of the Ciskei, Lennox Sebe, who has done a Houdini following a successful coup in his homeland.

Knowing as I do that in some parts of the Cape truth is a luxury, it does not surprise me that no one can remember exactly where old Sebe has vanished to.

But I know for a fact that the apartheid chickens have come home to lay their eggs from Zweilitsha to Mmabatho, as we will soon hear.

First, old Sebe tried very hard to hide behind a suspect constitution to protect his pals and relatives from the due process of law.

Then the wheel turned full circle and he had to flee from the long arm of the law. Then, in rapid succession, while Bophutatswana’s Chief Lukas Mangope was telling the folk out in Mmabatho that he was theirs for keeps, they were demanding his head.

So he, too, has gone on an unscheduled holiday across unknown borders. Meanwhile, one of his stooges, obviously left holding the fort — one Mothibie — was adamant that unless there was a law against it Bop would never go back to being part of South Africa.

Well and good until you remember that many of the homelands keep their begging bowls pointed in the direction of Pretoria whenever hunger — a perennial occurrence — threatens.

Soldiers in these territories have long hankered to change their khaki uniforms for the civic gown, which gives them unmonitored access to State maphetha; to move from the parade ground to the political platform — in short, to exchange their rifles for bank-guaranteed cheques.

So it is rather ironic that your Gen Holomisa, among others, is one of those who has expressed utter shock at the fact that their country has been living on borrowed or stolen maphetha for almost a decade, while guys like George Matanzima might well be living the life of Riley in Wellington Prison in the sure knowledge that they have a rand or two stashed away in some inescapable Swiss bank.

Now the laws of libel being what they are, and being an old hand at the game, I shall not reveal who told me this about a certain homeland. It seems the Minister of Transport there has hardly passed a driving test while the Minister of Justice has a string of previous criminal convictions.

Meanwhile, up in the north, my old drinking buddy from our Turfloop days, Prof. Hudson Ntshalintshali of the Shangaans — who seemed happier as an academician as far as I am concerned — has a few problems over guys who have been stung into police cells without anybody bothering to give reasons.

Let’s change the subject a bit. I see that the SAP band has made a record of popular songs, one of which is Shosholoza, known as the prison anthem.

Now judging from the things I’ve seen cops doing lately, like toy-toying in the streets and visa-ing all over the place, it does not surprise me that guys like that stormy petrol, ex-Lt Gregory Rockman, and others have been given marching orders for doing what they had been preventing over the years — like striking and marching.
Scrap T'kei labour laws

— Wiehahn

Having just tabled his 400-page report on Transkei, Prof Wiehahn has been appointed by Ciskei's military government to investigate labour laws in that country. Ciskei military ruler Brigadier O.J. Guzo said his government considered the project extremely urgent.

Trade unions operating in the country at present are doing so illegally and that all persons, including women, young people and the disabled, should be treated equally.

Other findings were:

- The rural economy should be developed by way of educational training and a financial programme.
- A small business sector should be encouraged and, if necessary, existing laws scrapped to make that possible.
- The government must do everything to instil confidence and trust and dispel notions of political instability. This would attract international finance and development.
- The dormant National Manpower Commission should be revived to implement the commission's recommendations.
- The Labour Act of 1977 must be repealed and its objectives incorporated in occupational safety legislation.
- Trade unions must be registered, officials must be fully accountable to members, and proper accounts be kept.
- Victimization of employees by employers or vice-versa should be treated as a criminal offence.

Human rights

Prof Wiehahn recommended that employers and trade unions should plan a flexible national strategy for economic development and employment creation in the country.

The report says that freedom of association and organisation is a fundamental human right which must be implemented in Transkei's labour legislation. In the report Prof Wiehahn found that discrimination in employment should become a criminal offence.
FW wants to know

Sowetan Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will hold talks with political leaders already participating in Government structures next week to discuss his meeting with the African National Congress.

He has invited the chief ministers of KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, the chairmen of the three Ministers’ Councils of Parliament to Tuynhuys next Thursday.

De Klerk said he asked them to “join me in exploratory talks on the structuring of the process of negotiations and related matters”.

“The process of negotiation is a wide-ranging one in which all interested parties should participate. The discussions acknowledge the position of these leaders in this process,” he said.

These talks are taking place amidst general discussions in parliamentary circles that at sometime in the near future a major re-alignment of parties participating in government structures would take place.

De Klerk and members of his Cabinet are to meet the ANC on April 11.
Bank seeks 'acceptance'

THE semi-official Development Bank, which has channelled millions of aid into black community projects, has made contact with extra-parliamentary groups to win at least tacit endorsement for its programmes.

It has also admitted that recent dramatic political developments had raised questions about the institutional structures with which the bank had interacted.

In the latest issue of its newsletter Headway, the bank said one of its main objectives was to establish independently the community acceptance of and support for projects and programmes under consideration.

It said this included not taking sides "in the political tug-of-war or to curry favour with particular groupings", but to ensure "the tacit endorsement of as wide a section of the communities involved, was assured for bank-supported projects and programmes".

"The integrity of the bank's approach to development matters is increasingly recognised across the wide Southern African political spectrum.

"The bank's mission — working towards improvement in the quality of life of all people in the region through a more equitable distribution of opportunities and resources — and its focus on the poorer people and communities in Southern Africa as its real clients will not only remain valid in the changing circumstances but are likely to increase in relevance."
Fed up With Mungo

Away with Homeland!
On the road to black

Patrick Laurence

The challenge facing South Africa's white government is to capture the support of a substantial number of black people. Edward Felt observes in his analysis of black resistance in his book, "Spectrum."

Felt's observation, made nearly a quarter of a century ago in his study of the African National Congress, is still pertinent today. President de Klerk needs black allies at the negotiating table, in the political arena and, if necessary, on the battlefield.

M. de Klerk's problem is that his black allies are divided and in disarray among themselves, to the point where they are weak enough to be used by whites to their advantage. This is what de Klerk, like the ANC, has taken two broad steps to ensure.

The establishment of an Anglo-Indian committee, the black "noblemen" and the ANC, who de Klerk hopes to use as intermediaries with the black leaders, is the second major strategy of the government. This has been in place for some time.

The ANC has seen the spectacular changes in the "spectrum" system. Instead of being driven against Mr. Nelson Mandela and the ANC, the homelands leaders appear to be crossing to join the ANC.

The past six weeks have seen some spectacular changes in the homelands system. Instead of being driven against Mr. Nelson Mandela and the ANC, the homelands leaders appear to be crossing to join the ANC.

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ROAD TO BLACK EMAN out as local and homeland leaders look to the ANC

In Soweto the official poll in 1989 saw an over 15 percent, compared to just under 1 percent in 1985, indicating indubitably that township councils had not achieved greater autonomy in the intervening years. The results were announced on the same day that the ANC held its national congress, which many saw as a sign of growing support for the party.

In the rural areas, where the ANC had traditionally been strong, the results were mixed. In some areas, the ANC won a majority of the seats, but in others it lost ground. The party's leaders were hopeful, however, that the results would be a sign of things to come.

The ANC was also growing in strength in the cities, where it had traditionally been weaker. In Pretoria, for example, the party won 40 percent of the vote, up from 25 percent in 1985.

The ANC's success was a sign of the growing discontent with the government's policies, especially the denial of basic rights to blacks.

The ANC's leaders were now looking forward to the next phase of their struggle, as they sought to build on their gains and bring about a more just society for all.

The ANC was also working to build alliances with other progressive forces, both in South Africa and around the world, to ensure that the struggle for freedom and justice continued.

For the first time in its history, the ANC was able to come together as a united front, with all its branches and members working towards a common goal.

The road to freedom was still long, but the ANC was determined to keep moving forward, to ensure that the dreams of freedom and justice for all became a reality.
SADF: money spent in Namibia

293. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether the South African Defence Force spent any money on (a) goods and (b) services procured in South West Africa/Namibia during the past five years; if not, why not; if so, in respect of each such year, (i) how much and (ii) for what (aa) goods and (bb) services?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) and (b) Yes. A separate record of goods and services procured in South West Africa/Namibia during the past five years was not kept. To reply to this question fully would cost approximately RM 0.5 to obtain the information from the general computer data base. The major procurement contracts with suppliers in South West Africa/Namibia were for fresh meat and for road transport and these amounted to approximately RM 13.5 and RM 9.5 per annum respectively.

(i) and (ii) Full away.

Pollsmoor Prison: five persons held

313. Mr D J ALEXANDER asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether five persons, whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, are or were held in Pollsmoor Prison, if so, (a) what are their (i) names and (ii) respective ages, (b)(ii) why and (ii) on whose instructions are or were they held at Pollsmoor, (c) for how long have they been or were they held there and (d) in which section of the prison are or were they held?

(2) What is the age of the youngest person currently held in Pollsmoor?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes.

(a) (i) The same as furnished by the Honourable Member.
(b) Respectively 12, 11, 9, 10 and 8 years.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

TUESDAY, 24 APRIL 1990

1037

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

Own Affairs:

Self-governing territories: use of educational facilities

73. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 35 on 1 March 1988, any further (a) requests have been received and (b) meetings have been held in connection with permission for self-governing territories to make use of unutilised space in (i) schools and (ii) teacher-training colleges falling under his Department; if so, (aa) from which self-governing territories were requests received, (bb) whether such territories were meetings held, (cc) when was each such request received and meeting held and (dd) which schools or colleges were involved in each case?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) (i) Yes,

(ii) no, not to my knowledge,

(aa) Kwazulu Government,

(bb) none.

(cc) March 1990.

(dd) A request has been received in respect of the buildings used for the Mount Edwards Indian High School. In terms of a proviso in the deed of transfer, the site and buildings now revert back to the donor in view of the fact that it is no longer solely utilised for Indian education;

(b) no.

Transvaal

East Rand 44 446 28 409

Central Rand 38 304 29 406

Eastern Transvaal 37 775 23 545

Far Northern Transvaal 18 429 12 451

Western Transvaal 25 038 19 061

Northern Transvaal 54 653 38 809

Southern Transvaal 39 962 25 642

West Rand 33 141 20 575

The Cape is not divided into regions.

Teacher/pupil ratio

78. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

What teacher/pupil ratio was applicable in (a) primary and (b) secondary schools in (i) each of the provincial education departments and (ii) his Department as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) (b)

(i) Cape 1:18.6 1:14.9

Natal 1:21.9 1:15.4

Orange Free State 1:21.0 1:16.3

Transvaal 1:22.9 1:17.1

(ii) On the first Tuesday of March 1989 for public ordinary schools.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
Bantustans in from the cold

Fear of ending up on the wrong side of the negotiations table has brought crashing down South Africa's sociated constellation of independent and non-independent states.

FRANZ KRUGER examines the ructions in the Bantustans in recent months:

KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi

'Every dictator who seeks power and who has a

power base knows that he must be seen as a

powerful person or else he will lose his

dominance. This is why we are now seeing a

rivalry among the leaders of the so-called

independent states. They are all trying to

prove their strength and influence by

competing with each other. This is a

dangerous development for South Africa.'

KwaZulu has not only been competing with other states but has also been

attacking the ANC government. This has led to a severe crisis in the

region. The ANC has had to take action to prevent KwaZulu from

becoming too powerful.

The ANC has made it clear that it will not tolerate any state that

attempts to break away from the national government. The ANC will

use all means necessary to maintain South Africa's unity and

integrity.

The ANC is determined to maintain its position as the leading

party in South Africa. It will not allow any state to become too

powerful and then challenge the national government. The ANC will

use all means necessary to prevent this from happening.

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attempts to break away from the national government. The ANC will

use all means necessary to maintain South Africa's unity and

integrity.
THE Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) "countries" have experienced severe financial difficulties since independence and at present owe the South African Government over R240-million.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mrs Elsa Dry, said amounts owing to South Africa by the TBVC territories in terms of the loan fund for the promotion of economic co-operation amounted to R329 699 312.


Mr M R Madula, head of Venda's Finance Department, said: "Seven years after independence, the Venda government experienced financial problems and we negotiated overdraft facilities, of up to R117 080 000, with the First National Bank."

Senbank advising

He said 46 percent of Venda's budget was financed from South African budgetary aid and 32 percent from its own sources. Mr Madula added that his government had appointed a financial institution, Senbank, as consultant to investigate and prescribe ways to manage the State debt.

Bophuthatswana Minister of Finance Mr Lesley Young said that for the past three years his government had not had to rely on borrowing to finance its expenditures. However, Mr Young admitted they had had some financial difficulties.

Financial problems experienced since independence included the assumption of responsibility for social pensions, excessive overcrowding in schools and an inadequate supply of experienced teachers.

"Hospitals and clinics were inadequate in quantity and quality to deal with illness arising from poor nourishment as well as from inadequate sanitation," he said.

Mr Young believed that Bophuthatswana would achieve total financial independence within the next half-decade. Bophuthatswana might borrow from the Development Bank of Southern Africa for projects but "we never borrow from anyone for day-to-day expenditure".

Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed his government had inherited a situation that has been an on-going process for over a decade as the homeland had been run on an overdraft facility since 1976.

"We have inherited a government at a time when the already untenable financial situation of the country was aggravated by the startling revelations of the Commissions of Inquiry."

It added that his government was still haunted by the ghost of financial maladministration of the previous civilian government led by Mr Kaiser Matanzima.

Ciskean authorities were unavailable for comment.

Mrs Dry would not say that the homelands had overspent because "overspending refers to unauthorised expenditure".

Mrs Dry said that due to a combination of factors the TBVC states started building up budgetary deficits over the past few years.

"It must, however, be kept in mind that SA's contribution to the development of these states had, in real terms, dropped off after independence."

"It became evident that multi-year adjustments were required to restore the balance between revenue and expenditure," Mrs Dry said.

In March, Pretoria announced it was contemplating steps to ensure that the homeland governments exercise financial restraint.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said the overspending occurred despite expert advice available over a long period.
5 leaders in pact with ANC

By Themba Molefe

Tshwane and KwaZulu leaders have thrown their full support behind the ANC with their leaders saying they have been mandated by "the people" to form alliances with the organisation.

For homeland representatives, including KwaZulu and the "independence trustees" and the.different attitudes led by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and internal chairman Mr Walter Sisulu, the organisation's Johannesburg offices yesterday.

Addressing the Press

5 give backing to ANC

"However, I still need to consult with the people who elected me on how to be represented in the ANC," Ramondi said.

KwaZulu Natal leader Mr James Mahlangu said he had a mandate that the homeland should identify with the ANC.

"It is a step in the right direction and the feeling of our people is that talks with the ANC are a call for unity," he said.

Professor Hudson Nisanwisi of Gazankulu said he supported the ANC's negotiations with the Government as being towards a new and peaceful South Africa.

"The Berlin Wall has fallen and so will the Apartheid Wall fall for a new South Africa."

QwaQwa chief minister Dr Kenneth Mopeli, said he supported the ANC's struggle for a non-racial and democratic country.

The fifth leader at the talks was Mr Enos Mabuza, of KwaNgwane.

Earlier a group of religious leaders, including Christian, Muslim and Jewish clergymen, said they were hopeful for a peaceful South Africa. This was after they met the ANC for a briefing on last week's preliminary talks with the Government.
Homelands have 57 government departments

CAPE TOWN — The six non-independent homelands had 57 separate government departments, the Department of Development Aid said yesterday.

With each of these departments headed by a director-general and with its own administrative structures, a bureaucratic maze had been created in those areas which contained 30% of SA's population outside the TBVC states.

BARRY STREEK

The governments of the homelands — Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa — each had an average of more than eight departments.

The six homelands received R4.230.6m in government aid during the 1988/89 financial year, the department said in its annual report.

However, only 2% of SA's GDP was generated by the non-independent homelands.

Sapa reports more than 700 job creation projects had been undertaken during the 1988/89 financial year for which 3.1-million man-days had been used, the annual report said.

R3m had been voted for the job creation programme in the 1988/89 financial year.
Cape Peninsula; old-age homes for Blacks

195. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs: Whether there are any old-age homes for Black persons in the Cape Peninsula; if not, (a) why not and (b) what steps are envisaged by his Department in this regard; if so, (i) what are the names of these old-age homes, (ii) who financed them, (iii) how many persons can be accommodated in each and (iv) how many such homes were built by the Government in the past three years?

B475E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Falls away.

(i) The Langa and Nyanga Homes for the Aged

(ii) The staff of the homes are on the staff establishment of, and paid by the Cape Provincial Administration.

(ii) The Langa Home accommodates 51 persons and the Nyanga Home 24 persons.

(iv) None.

Public Service officials in self-governing territories

21E. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid: [1989/01/31 1:10]

(1) How many officials in the Public Service had been seconded to each self-governing territory, (b) what post was held by each such official, and (c) what was the cost of secondment of such officials, as at 31 December 1989?

(2) Whether all posts in the self-governing territories in respect of which secondment is required were filled as at 31 December 1989; if not, how many remained vacant as at that date?

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

B543E

THE MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

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

(c) The cost of the secondment of the officials amounted to R96 869 000 for the period 1 April 1989 to 31 December 1989.

(2) No. A recent survey indicated that 1 809 of the posts concerned were vacant as at 31 December 1989.

(3) Yes. Numbers will be determined on the basis of stated requirements, the availability of funds and the availability of manpower.
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**House of Assembly**
AIDS programmes in schools

275. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) With reference to her reply to Question No 158 on 21 March 1990, what are the names of the education authorities that are devising AIDS information programmes for use in schools.

(2) whether these education authorities or her Department is sending advice from individuals or organisations in devising such programmes; if not, why not; if so, from which individuals or organisations is advice being sought.

(3) whether any instructions or recommendations are to be conveyed to education authorities regarding the introduction of such programmes at school level; if not, why not; if so, (a) what instructions or recommendations and (b) when?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT

(1) During the AIDS Indaba held on 25 November 1989, initiated and chaired by the Minister of National Health and Population Development, the following educational Departments were involved:

- Department of National Education
- Department of Education and Training
- Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Assembly
- Department of Education and Culture, Administration, House of Representatives
- Department of Education and Culture, Administration, House of Delegates

The importance of and measures in combating AIDS were emphasised. The open invitation forwarded regarding the obtaining of expert professional information on HIV-infection and AIDS and the Department was received favourably. The co-ordination of activities was especially stressed during the Indaba.

(2) and (3) The Department of National Health and Population Development not at most supply medical advice and cannot be prescriptive towards other departments. The Advisory Committee on Health Education, consisting of representatives of the Department of National Health and Population Development and
The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:
(1) Yes, for a protest march on 11 October 1989.
(a) The magistrate considered all relevant facts and circumstances, including a recommendation by the South African Police who were not opposed to the march taking place along the route and during the period determined by the magistrate. The magistrate personally went to great lengths to defuse a tense situation in the interest of the safety of the public. He held several discussions with the applicants and persuaded them to change the route of the protest march away from the main street and to shorten the duration of the protest march.
(b) The town council of Uitenhage refused permission for the protest march.
(c) 10:00-12:30.
(d) According to the estimate of the South African Police about 16 000.
(e) 569 members of the South African Police. 60 members of the South African Defence Force. (22 Traffic Officers also assisted.)
(f) (i) It is not possible to make an estimate of the cost.
(ii) Falls away.
(2) Yes.
(3) No. The time allowed was exceeded by approximately one hour.
(4) No.

Mr Sybrand Louis van Schoor: Inquests

367 Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Justice:
Whether his Department has taken any action against Mr Sybrand Louis van Schoor as a result of the findings of the inquests referred to in his reply to Question No 9 on 27 February 1990, if so, what action; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:
No, the record of the inquests and documents pertaining to the deaths in which Mr Van Schoor allegedly features are still being studied by the Attorney-General, Grahamstown.

Castillo de Belivier: monitoring
375 Mr J H MOMBERG asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:
(1) Whether his Department is monitoring the wreck of the Spanish oil tanker "Castillo de Belivier" off the west coast of South Africa; if not, (a) why not and (b) when did the tanker sink, if so;
(2) whether there is any danger to the tanker leaking oil; if so,
(3) whether his Department has taken any action to prevent oil being so leaked or to minimise the danger of this happening; if not, why not; if so, what action?

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:
(1) Yes, the situation is being monitored by the "Kuswag" aerial reconnaissance during routine flights and all fishing vessels operating in the vicinity of the wreck have been requested to report any sign of spillage.
(a) Falls away.
(b) August 1983.

(2) The possibility exists.
(3) No. The Department of Transport is presently responsible for the wreck and the oil contained within and you are referred to their answer to your identical question for oral reply on Tuesday 8 May 1990.

The Department of Environment Affairs only becomes involved after the oil is spilled into the ocean. The Department's pollution division is ready to deal with any situation in this regard as is prescribed by the existing contingency plan.

TBVC countries: 5A officials seconded
387 Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:
Whether any South African officials had been seconded to the Government Service of (a) Bophuthatswana, (b) Ciskei, (c) Transkei and (d) Venda as at the latest specified date for which information is available; if so, how many in each case?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
Yes, on 27 April 1990 there were:
(a) 269
(b) 490
(c) 78
(d) 246.

B888E

B903E

B916E
Incidents of intimidation in self-governing territories are dealt with by the authorities of the self-governing territories themselves. They have their own police force, their own legal systems which investigate incidents and, where necessary, do follow-up work and in general restrict the perpetration of violence.

Where necessary, liaison takes place between the self-governing territories' governments and the SA Security Police and the police forces of those areas. The Government assists the self-governing territories by helping to tighten up, strengthen and assist their police forces even by means of troops, if necessary, in order to curb intimidators' potential to carry out their threats—viz to commit violence—and in that way to make these threats implausible.

Secondly, one can only intimidate someone to do something to which he objects or which is in opposition to his interests. If one tries to intimidate someone to do something to which he really has no objection, one is not going to meet any resistance in any case. [Time expired.]

Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, the purpose of my question was not for us to get a long academic argument on intimidation. I wanted the facts in respect of intimidation and the practical facts with regard to what the hon the Minister and his Government are doing about it.

In fact this is a question that I put to the hon the State President and which should have been answered by the hon the Minister of Law and Order. Intimidation exists in the independent states and in the self-governing territories, as the hon the Minister said, and in White South Africa.

It manifests itself in consumer boycotts, usually with ten-year-old touts at the head. It also manifests itself in school boycotts, campus unrest, hospital strikes,-necklacing and other forms of murder, as well as arson, assaults and similar violence. The objective of this is very clear. It is to force all Blacks by means of intimidation to support the ANC in order to form a "United Patriotic Front" for talks around the conference table with a hopeless Government.

According to The Argus of five the six remaining self-governing states have already capitulated, and only KwaZulu has not yet given in. [Interruptions.]

Two Americans, after spending 14 days among the people in all sectors of South Africa, said: "The Blacks are terrified of the ANC." "Ter-" was the word they tried. [Interruptions.]

If there are people for whom my heart bleeds, it is those Black leaders who accepted the NPC plans for government structures and co-operated with the South African Government in the interests of Southern Africa as a whole. [Interruptions.] Just listen to what one of them said: This hon Member will probably come back and say that he did not mind being intimidated. I shall countenance to some extent what one of them said. He said:

"The main cause of everything is the unshaking of the ANC, other political organisations and their leaders by the State President. We cannot withstand actions of violence that are brought about by the ANC. I said to Gerrit Viljoen that our hands need to be strengthened."

I feel sorry for this man if that is the man to whom he said: "stop me in my hands." [Interruptions.] He went on to say:

"I see Dr Buthelezi losing more and more support. We cannot solve the political problems in this country with Mr De Klerk and his party. The youth call Mr De Klerk "cousin De Klerk.""

[Interruptions.] This Government has betrayed the people whom I have been referring to. It is too feeble to protect those people. The Government itself capitulated to the ANC. [Interruptions.] The NPC Government has no, but no credibility or prestige among the responsible conservative leadership element of the Black peoples: only among those who refer to themselves and the hon the State President as "comrades." The NPC has prostituted the honour and the prestige of the Whites, especially the Afrikaners, in this country, and it will never regain its credibility. [Time expired.]

Mr P G SOAL. Mr Speaker, the interpellation we are dealing with today is unusual in that it is directed at the hon the Minister of Development and Agriculture. I would have thought it should have been directed to the hon the Minister of Law and Order. Because I would think it is the function of the police to ensure that intimidation does not take place. [Interruptions.]

On the one hand, I can understand the concerns of the hon member for Southpanberg that there might be instances of intimidation taking place. On the other hand, I must, however, understand that the political process in South Africa has been so restricted for a considerable period of time that period of normalization is necessary to allow parties and movements the opportunity to mobilize their supporters. [Interruptions.]

Many organisations would want to mobilise. At this very time the CP is mobilising their members. They are to have a gathering in Pretoria within the next few weeks. [Interruptions.] They are encouraging people to go to that gathering. They are mobilising their supporters. [Interruptions.] They are gathering signatures and reports are that they are also gathering them from schoolchildren. That is the way they are also hoping to mobilise their support. [Interruptions.]

The right wing is mobilising its support. We saw on TV the other night that the AWB, with whom the hon the Minister met the other day, had a great gathering somewhere out in the veld in the Western Transvaal and they are sorting out their commandos in order to mobilise their support. [Interruptions.]

The other groups are gathering arms in order to mobilise their support. [Interruptions.] There have been reports of the theft of weapons during the course of the past few days and we have not yet heard from the hon the Minister of Law and Order whether he has caught those people. [Interruptions.]

The NF is mobilising its support by television appearances and by amending certain pieces of legislation in this House. [Interruptions.]

We in the DP are mobilising our support in that we are holding meetings. [Interruptions.] We are having membership drives and we are... [Time expired.]

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID. Mr Speaker. I just want to explain to the hon member why I am handling this interpellation. It is because the question was specifically limited to the incidence of intimidation in the self-governing territories which fall under my jurisdiction and as far as they do not handle things by themselves. In this case they have the full authority to handle this type of matter themselves and therefore the
hon the Minister of Law and Order does not

*The speech of the hon member for South- panberg assumed the form of a tirade. One thing that
the hon member should, of course, take into consideration when one wants to persuade someone to do something that he specifically does not like, is that one tends to ascribe that to intimidation, because one's own standpoint is so good and reasonable, that if one does it, it goes without saying that this must be the result of some other form of intimidation.

*Mr D S PIENAAAR: You are simply protecting the ANC.

*The MINISTER. It is true that there is a great deal of intimidation. I shall not deny that. The entire purpose of normalising the political process is specifically to remove violence from the process. Before the prohibition on the ANC was lifted, there was intimidation too. It was a big problem.

With regard to that leader to whom the hon member referred, I want to point out to him that each of the leaders of the self-governing territories emphasised and repeatedly requested the release of Mr Mandela and the lifting of the prohibition on the ANC. We complied with their request in that regard. If they are unhappy about the consequences now, in a certain sense they have themselves to blame.

*Mr J J C BOTHA: Mr Speaker, the hon Minister talks about intimidation as if it is a peace-loving act. [Interjections.] If I were to confide in him with a can of petrol and a tyre, he would join the CP. [Interjections.] That is how simple it is. Nationalism is the greatest danger in South Africa today. Nationalism is in the way of the new South Africa. Nationalism must be destroyed—ethnic nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism. Mr Mandela knows that. That is specifically where he is heading, and he does not want to involve the economy.

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The interpellation deals with intimidation in the self-governing territories, and hon members should confine themselves to that.

*Mr J J C BOTHA: Mr Speaker, Mr Mandela's intimidation extends to the self-governing territories. I want to come to that.

People are "burned down" in the national states. I want to read hon members the following from Signpost:

Ministers 28 persone is gedood in die geweld wat Gansgat sedert 23 Februarie geruk het. Die tuinlandregiering het die skuld vir die geweld voor die deur van die MDM. That is the kind of violence to which these people are subjected. And this entire act is an attempt by the ANC to mobilise the Black masses behind it. We say that to combat intimidation meaningfully today, one must take a look at South Africa and admit that there are national states here which have territories at their disposal, and if one admits that, one will have a long way towards combing intimidation. We cannot permit people in South Africa as well as in the national states to be intimidated—not as a matter of principle, but out of fear—that so that they are forced to support these forces of violence. We now propose that the hon the Minister use the only possible method to combat violence. We cannot permit ... [The hon member was cut off.]

*The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Wonderboom has just illustrated the point I was making, viz. that if one should try to persuade a certain person—for example a Black person—to join the ANC, many of them would need no intimidation. If the hon member tried to intimidate me into joining the CP, however, he would come up against considerable resistance. [Interjections.]

*Mr J H HOON: You have no resistance to the ANC.

*The MINISTER: It depends on the person's degree of resistance, and that is why the ANC and the other part ... [Interjections.] If the hon member would shut his mouth, I might be able to speak. It depends on the person's degree of resistance to what is being suggested to him. That is the answer. On the one hand one must combat the people's violence, and on the other one must increase the resistance.

At Groote Schuur we specifically agreed with the ANC that they would combat violence and intimidation [Interjections.] As a result we can now criticise them when cases of intimidation and violence take place. The Groote Schuur talks were a manifestation of progress on the road to a peaceful South Africa, because to eliminate this institution is to make great progress.

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister has just resumed his seat. He must name me one case in which the NP Government has criticised the ANC since 2 February with regard to intimidation in the self-governing states or anywhere else in South Africa. [Interjections.] I want to tell him that I call to mind an image—I am not comparing anyone to anything else—the image of a young dog which goes and lies on its back with limp paws, and its head at the ground with its tail when a stranger, bigger dog approaches it. [Interjections.] That is the image created in one's mind by the Government in respect of its strength as regards the ANC. [Interjections.]

Intimidation is a terrible thing among the Blacks of South Africa, because they are absolutely defenceless. They do not have weapons. Someone said, not to me, but to the man who chaired the meeting with him, that apart from the KwaZulu people, they do not have weapons and they cannot defend themselves. [Time expired]

Debate concluded.

Nanbian Government: extradition

2. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether the South African Government has received a request from the Namibian Government to extradite certain persons; if so, when was this request received;

(2) whether the South African Government has complied with this request; if not, why not.

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, as from 12 November 1979 the administration of justice in Namibia was largely autonomous at the particular judgment and the attorney-general. On 13 September 1989, one Don Adieon was arrested in Namibia in connection with the murder of Anton Lubowitz. On 21 March 1990 Namibia became independent. As from this date the South African Laws were no longer applicable to Namibia.

The question is in what way could South Africa lawfully assist Namibia with the prosecution in any given case after 21 March 1990. Prior to the independence of Namibia South Africa took the initiative in normalising the inter-state administration of justice with Namibian authorities. On 14 March 1990, an extradition agreement was submitted to Namibia as early as 12 January 1990. The matter of an extradition treaty was further on the agenda for discussion by a South African delegation with Namibian authorities on 8 March 1990, but to the effect that those authorities preferred not to pursue the matter to its logical conclusion. Also on the agenda was the procurement of evidence under the Foreign Courts Evidence Act of 1962. South Africa's willingness to cooperate may moreover be gathered from the fact that the documents pertaining to the Extradition Act or extradition treaty and the Foreign Courts Evidence Act of 1962 were already in the hands of the attorney-general on the date of independence.

Namibia is a member of the Common Market and the Southern African Development Community and is a signatory to the New York Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Judgments. The question is, in what way could South Africa lawfully assist Namibia with the prosecution in any given case after 21 March 1990. Prior to the independence of Namibia South Africa took the initiative in normalising the inter-state administration of justice with Namibian authorities. On 14 March 1990, an extradition agreement was submitted to Namibia as early as 12 January 1990. The matter of an extradition treaty was further on the agenda for discussion by a South African delegation with Namibian authorities on 8 March 1990, but to the effect that those authorities preferred not to pursue the matter to its logical conclusion. Also on the agenda was the procurement of evidence under the Foreign Courts Evidence Act of 1962. South Africa's willingness to cooperate may moreover be gathered from the fact that the documents pertaining to the Extradition Act or extradition treaty and the Foreign Courts Evidence Act of 1962 were already in the hands of the attorney-general on the date of independence.

Nothing further was heard from the Namibian authorities until 22 April 1990, when the extradition of certain persons was sought from the State President in a letter dated 21 April, received from the Attorney-General of Windhoek. In the absence of such a treaty having been concluded prior to that date, we were very clear in our response to the request for extradition in pointing out the applicability of our Extradition Act, and section 17 of the Criminal Procedure Act which provides for evidence on commissions. As a matter of fact, the communication from the hon member was very much in the nature of guiding the authorities there in regard to what to do in order to obtain either the necessary evidence or extradition. Until that moment the Extradition Act in general has only been applied on a reciprocal basis as will appear from Schedules 1 and 2 to the Act which, Inter alia, include Malawi and Swaziland.

The initial abovementioned request for the hon the State President to order the surrender of the persons Burger and Maree ... [Time expired]

Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, the consequence of this is that the murder of Mr Anton Lubowitz will probably never lead to the prosecution of his killers. A grave injustice has been done, and the kindest comment I can make about the murder of Mr Lubowitz is that Namibian Government's response to this matter is that they have been less than enthusiastic in their handling
Government drops homeland plan

THE government has finally acknowledged formally that independence is no longer an option for the remaining six non-independent homelands.

It also confirmed that land earmarked for incorporation into the self-governing homelands would not be incorporated if the legal inhabitants of the land opposed the move.

By Education and Development Aid Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe's own admission, the future of the homelands, and the question of whether or not they should be reincorporated into South Africa, has become a matter of "intense discussion".

But, according to sources in his office, he is unlikely to say anything more on the question of reincorporation in his budget debate which continues in Parliament today because it is a "policy matter for higher review".

Opening the debate on his department's budget vote yesterday, Mr Van der Merwe said the government accepted that independence was no longer considered an option for the homelands.

"In the present circumstances it is, therefore, also no longer the aim of the central government. The overriding aim now is the participation of all South Africans in the central political process."

He said the government also accepted that the constitutional future of the self-governing states was a matter to be negotiated.

Up to now, only four of the homelands - Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei - have opted for independence. Since Ciskei's independence in 1981, none of the remaining six - Qwa Qwa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, Lehiwa and Gazankulu - has opted to change its regional government status.
Govt ditches independence for homelands

CAPE TOWN — Government has formally abandoned its policy of grand apartheid by acknowledging that independence is no longer considered an option for the remaining six non-independent homelands.

It has also confirmed that land earmarked for incorporation into the self-governing homelands will not be incorporated if the legal inhabitants of the land oppose the move.

Opening the debate on his department’s budget vote yesterday, Education and Development Aid Minister Staffel van der Merwe said government accepted that independence was no longer considered a worthwhile option by the homelands.

“In the present circumstances it is, therefore, also no longer the aim of the central government. The overriding aim now is the participation of all South Africans in the central political process.”

Van der Merwe said government accepted that the constitutional future of the self-governing states should be negotiated.

To date, only four homelands — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — have opted for independence.

Since Ciskei became independent in 1981, none of the remaining six — QwaQwa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, Lebowa and Gazankulu — has opted to change its regional government status. DP development and spokesman Peter Soal said in debate yesterday that while the administrations of the four indepen-
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Customs Union Agreement

425. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) What amounts were paid over to (a) each of the independent Black states and (b) (i) Botswana, (ii) Lesotho and (iii) Swazi-

land in terms of the Customs Union Agreement in the 1988-90 financial year:

(2) what was the balance that accrued to the Republic of South Africa?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) (a) Transkei R548 915 000
    Bophuthatswana R623 354 000
    Venda R 90 390 000
    Ciskei R221 776 000

(b) (i) Botswana R457 548 000
    (ii) Lesotho R263 643 000
    (iii) Swaziland R186 831 000

(2) The balance that accrued to the Republic of South Africa amounted to R4 877 811 114.
Decentralised footwear firms shine

DECENTRALISED areas manufactured 29.5% of the total footwear production in southern Africa last year.

Footwear Manufacturers' Federation (FMF) executive director Dennis Linde said yesterday the organisation's estimates revealed that the 1989 aggregate output of the 13 states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa totalled 26 million pairs, compared to 62 million pairs in SA.

Linde said the trend was continuing although no comparable figures were available for 1988.

He said the fast growth was due to incentives not available in SA, abundance of labour and weak union influence.

Footwear Journal Shoes and Views writers Geoff Hirsch and Karen ACHMED KAREM

McGugan said in its latest issue the "enormous growth" was despite being handicapped by a lack of trained labour and long distances from suppliers. 6 2 3 1 1 1

They said cumulative joint investment in KwaZulu had tripled in the past 5 years and now exceeded R1bn.

KwaZulu had 21 footwear industries which employed 2 500 people amongst the 250 factories in its four growth points — Isithebe (near Stanger), Ezakheni (Lady Smith), Madadeni (Newcastle) and Ulundi.

"Footwear and related products account for about 8% of employment, while overall employment, mainly of blacks, has doubled in the past four years."

Transkei had three industrial areas — Butterworth, Umata and Etabeni — hosting 183 industries, including three footwear manufacturers, one tannery and one leather-glove factory. (Emp.)

Lesotho had four footwear factories, a tannery and three firms in related fields making products like sheepskin jackets, slippers, leather bags and sandals. It has direct export facilities.

QwaQwa had seven footwear manufacturers, four leather-related industries and one tannery, whereas Bophuthatswana had two footwear manufacturers, one tannery and four related industries.

Government spending on the self-governing states and four independent homelands will increase by 17% to R7,53bn during the 1990/91 financial year.
Abolishing homelands would ‘save millions’

THE abandonment of the homelands policy would result in substantial savings in support and administrative costs in the six self-governing territories amounting to tens of millions of rand a year, according to the authorities.

Duplication of health, education and other services which raised the South African taxpayer’s burden significantly would be eliminated.

The high costs of maintaining legislative assemblies in the six states and the huge amounts spent on pay and perks for assembly members could be pared down to a fraction of current costs.

In this year’s budget, over R5bn has been allocated to the six homelands. Gazankulu is to get R817.8m; KaNgwane
SA pays homelands R1,5-bn

South Africa paid over almost R1,5 billion to the TBVC states during the 1989/90 financial year in terms of the Customs Union Agreement, the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis, said in Parliament on Monday.

In a written reply to a question from Mr Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville), he said the individual amounts were: Transkei R549,92 million; Bophuthatswana R623,35 million; Venda R90,39 million; and Ciskei R221,78 million.

The amounts paid over to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were R467,55 million, R263,64 million and R186,83 million respectively.

The balance accruing to South Africa was R4,878 billion. — Sapa.
Homeland armies accept they will rejoin a future SADF

THE armies of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda have completely accepted that they will be integrated in a future defence force in South Africa, and are preparing for this.
The Transkei army sent five senior officers to meet Umkhonto weSizwe in Lusaka at the weekend, while Ciskei and Venda sent two.
One of the more controversial delegates present was Venda head of state Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana. He was accompanied by SADF Military Intelligence officer Lieutenant Gideon Meiring.
The tall, austere looking Ramushwana, 48, is chairman of the Council of National Unity in Venda and Chief of the Venda Defence Force. The former security policeman, who is fluent in 19 African languages as well as English and Afrikaans, was frequently invited by the ANC delegation to sit at the head table with the likes of Chris Hani and Major General Wally Black.
In an interview with the Weekly Mail he said he had accepted the invitation because he believed all the military forces in the country needed to come together.
He said he believed the ANC had an important role to play in the country, and his meeting with it followed a series of discussions with the Mass Democratic Movement.
"I am willing to talk to all parties, and the ANC is one of the key parties. I am therefore very happy to be meeting with them."
He acknowledged that his defence force still formed part of the SADF Far North command.
Ramushwana said his immediate priority was the problems which his predecessors had left him.
"Clearly there are major problems which require sorting out, such as corruption and ritual murders, for example, I believe we are making very good progress."
The future of the Venda army lay "as part of a united South African army," he said, adding that he hoped to remain a senior officer when a negotiated solution was reached.
Afterwards he described the conference as a "big success" and said he hoped for a follow-up meeting.
He said the conclusions of the event would be "very encouraging" to the Venda Defence Force because "they also want to know what will happen to them in future."
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ANC reacts: FW’s relief move still not enough

By Kaizer Nyatumba

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said it was significant that Mr de Klerk had chosen yesterday to lift the state of emergency, while ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was touring abroad and campaigning for more sanctions against South Africa.

"Clearly," said Mr Kathrada, "Mr de Klerk did not meet with the success that he claims to have got abroad, and he is now trying to water down the effects of Mr Mandela's trip. Mr Mandela is touring the most important capitals of the West as a state guest, and this must be causing some anxiety in Cape Town and Pretoria."

Commenting on the retention of the state of emergency in Natal, Mr Sisulu said the ANC was not asking for half-measures, but wanted the atmosphere cleared for real negotiations to begin. As long as other security legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, remained, the situation on the ground would not change much.

United Democratic Front assistant general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa, who chaired the press conference, told journalists that the violence in war-torn Natal had escalated "precisely during the period of the state of emergency."

The emergency, he said, was not originally aimed at "what the Government called perpetrators of violence", but at activists like himself.

Dismantle homeland

The emergency had never achieved its purpose, but had instead added more blood on South African soil.

Mr Moosa said the violence in Natal would end only when the KwaZulu police were removed from the townships, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was removed from his portfolio as the homeland's Minister of Police, and the homeland was dismantled.

Commenting on the major inroad made by the Conservative Party in the Umlazi parliamentary by-election, Mr Kathrada said it was unfortunate that white South Africa appeared still unprepared "to face the reality of politics in South Africa."

The time when whites made all the decisions was over, and the liberation movement was now at the centre stage of politics.

While the swing to the CP also worried the ANC, the organisation felt the CP threat would continue to exist only for as long as the electorate was made up of whites.

Mr Kathrada said the ANC did not feel in any way responsible for the National Party's poor performance in Umlazi, because it had reciprocated President de Klerk's goodwill to convince "the white voters that the direction of the party was moving in was for the good of the entire company."

"Mr de Klerk has not been elected by us, and we have no obligation to him. We cannot give credit to him for continuing to perpetrate apartheid. However, we are not churlish enough to acknowledge the changes he has introduced," said Mr Kathrada.

ANC said yesterday that President de Klerk's government, despite its decision to partially lift the state of emergency and release some prisoners, had still not done enough to normalise the political situation in South Africa and create a climate conducive to negotiations.

At a press conference attended by local and foreign journalists in the ANC's Johannesburg head office to respond to President de Klerk's speech in Parliament, the ANC said its preconditions for negotiations included the entire lifting of the state of emergency, release of all political prisoners - which the organisation estimates at 3,000 - the return of all exiles, and a host of other issues spelt out in its document on negotiations, the Harare Declaration.

President de Klerk, who now wanted to shift the blame to the ANC for dragging its feet in its preparation for negotiations, had not met all the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration, and he could not therefore expect the ANC to suspend the armed struggle.

"The question of the armed struggle, as clearly stated in the Harare Declaration, is a matter for negotiation. The suspension of hostilities and a possible ceasefire, which we are ready for, must come from both sides," ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said.

Similarly, the ANC would continue calling for the intensification of sanctions against South Africa until such time that "the question of a constituent assembly has been addressed".

Brandish arms

Said Mr Sisulu: "We must also add here that the issue of violence has not been handled sufficiently by the Government, and the rightwing is still able to brandish arms publicly and make threats to defend itself."
The Govt still has to tackle the land issue in rural areas

After decades of colonial rule and apartheid development, land has been carved and recarved, with communities forcibly relocated in accordance with separate development. Most areas scheduled for black occupation have been left underdeveloped. Peasantry, using modern agricultural technology to produce for the market, is stripped of their land by a government that is now demanding that the government "put its money where its mouth is".

They state that since 1986, the Government has adopted more subtle strategies in trying to force people off land scheduled for white development.

Attrition

"As a means to underdevelop the area, public transport has ceased to operate and shops have closed. Expropriation notices have been served on us and promises of other land have been made," said Mr Mwazi Zuma, a spokesman for Roosboom, a former homestead community situated south of Ladysmith on the Durban to Johannesburg main road.

Afrifieldworker Richard Clacey said this week the forced removals of the past had not stopped, but had merely become "forced voluntary removals". Communities have had to face a debilitating war of attrition by the government, he added.

He welcomed President de Klerk's moves to dismantle apartheid and the recent Government statements that the forced incorporation of communities into self-governing territories and the development of independent homelands would no longer be pursued as policy.

— Sapa.
Violence in SA raised at ANC meeting

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

THE African National Congress (ANC) yesterday held a meeting with leaders of the self-governing homelands at 125 Johannesbug head office.

At the meeting, held at the request of the homeland leaders, "a range of issues, including the future of the homelands and the on-going violence in the country" were discussed, according to a statement released by the ANC after the meeting.

All the self-governing homelands but Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu were represented by their leaders at the meeting which was chaired by ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu.

Women return

Meanwhile, the ANC will stage a rally in Soweto tomorrow to welcome home 13 members of its women's section who returned to the country a week ago.

The rally, to be held at Jabulani Amphitheatre from 10 am, will be addressed by ANC national executive committee members Ruth Mompall and Gertrude Shope and ANC returnee Mavivi Manzini, as well as the co-president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) Albertina Sisulu.

Musicians Thembi Mkhize, Tsidii Leokoa and Bayete will perform at the rally.
SWEEPING changes to decentralisation incentives which have cost the taxpayer R1-billion will come as a blow to industrialists in the TBVC states and homelands.

The changes will follow a major investigation by a top-level panel into the current Regional Industrial Development Programme (RIDP).

The Government-commissioned report released this week recommends that the current development policy, which artificially stimulated industry in the TBVC areas, be abandoned.

It said development in these areas has been at the expense of the other development regions identified by the panel.

The panel was headed by Professor Wielman Nkhupe, principal and vice-chancellor of the University of Transkei.

The homeland development regions will now face greater competition from the metropolitan regions of the Cape Peninsula, Durban, Pinetown, East London and Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage, as the emphasis shifts to the development of an integrated southern African economy.

Professor Nkhupe said the investigation into RIDP was launched after the programme failed to generate self-sustaining development despite its R1-billion incentive costs.

The programme was formulated in 1996 and endorsed by SA, Transkei, Hopetown, Swaziland, Venda and Ciskei.

"The RIDP incorrectly assumed that the TBVC states were the only regions requiring assistance. Furthermore, the distorted Government import substitution policies favoured the establishment of industries on the Reef."

The report said the import policies must be rectified. "Regional and sectoral development must be determined by the comparative advantage of each region."

Professor Nkhupe said: "Incentives should not be the drawcard for industrialists. They should move to a region because of its economic advantages."

"The current policy has encouraged many uneconomic industries to settle in the remote regions where incentives ensured their survival."

Artificial

This has created artificial growth points without benefit to the local population. Only 1% of Transkeian household income can be attributed to wage labour in the decentralised industries.

Professor Nkhupe said: "Most firms who settled in the homeland import the raw materials they need from outside the region and then export their product to the PWV and other markets."

"The industries have failed to link up with the economies in the regions where they have established themselves."

The report advocates the slow phasing out of concessions over two years and the introduction of profit-based incentives for viable companies.

Professor Nkhupe said permanent incentives, such as agriculture and transport, also create distortions. A problem existed with short-term incentives, such as wages, which were maintained at a fixed level for a period of seven years instead of being reduced annually.

He said: "This incentive actually conceals a company's unprofitability. If our recommendations are accepted, some fast back industrialists will be in for a shock."

"Profit-based incentives should replace all incentives which discourage self-sustaining industries. Industries which are not competitive without incentives have no right to exist."
Tuynhuys talks with spectrum of leaders

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent
Cape Town
Talks between President de Klerk and homelands, Indian and coloured leaders began at Tuynhuys shortly after 9 am this morning, not announced until late last night, is an apparent bid to draw the leaders into a broad, moderate alliance against the African National Congress.

The urgency of the meeting is underscored by indications that all of the leaders of the self-governing homelands — except Kenzule’s Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — are close to throwing their weight behind the ANC.

The talks follow an aborted meeting with the self-governing territories a few months ago.

Only KwaZulu attended, because ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela persuaded the others not to — much to de Klerk’s chagrin.

It is understood the arrangements for today’s meeting were kept secret to prevent the ANC getting at the leaders again. Mr Mandela’s absence on an overseas tour may also have something to do with the timing.

De Klerk announced last night that, apart from the leaders of the self-governing territories, he would also meet three chairmen of the Ministers’ Councils, and the four provincial administrators.

He would say only that they intended discussing “matters of common concern” and that the meeting was a continuation of his regular meetings with South African leaders.

Free enterprise
Parliamentary sources said Mr de Klerk would probably try to persuade the leaders to unite around a charter of basic democracy and free enterprise values.

The signatories to this charter would enter negotiations as a bloc.

This also would put pressure on the ANC and other socialist-oriented organisations to endorse these values.

The Government has already begun discussions about the charter with other parties inside Parliament.

Although the charter is still in draft form, it is likely to embrace values such as a multiparty democracy, an independent judiciary, a free press, free enterprise, non-discrimination and devolution of power.

Government sources last night dismissed any suggestion that the Government might insist that signing the charter was a condition for participation in negotiations, that they said two charters of values was likely to be supported by most Western governments and this would put pressure on the ANC to endorse it.

Parliamentary sources said they believed today’s discussions might also deal with the whip legislation the Government is apparently drawing up that would give Mr de Klerk the power to take over the administration of self-governing territories if their own administrators collapsed.

ANC external spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said that the government would “closely monitor” the outcome of the Tuynhuys meeting.

Free enterprise

TACTICAL RETREAT: England soccer fans file before a botched charge by Italian policemen. The clash took place before the England-Netherlands game.

Soccer clashes: ‘Ban must stay’

CAGLIARI — The clash between English fans and Italians has reinforced the British government’s contention that English soccer clubs should be banned indefinitely from European tournaments, a newspaper reported yesterday.

British Sports Minister, Colin Moynihan, told the Corriere dello Sport newspaper that the ban on English clubs competing in European tournaments should not be lifted.

Mr Moynihan commented after an estimated 1,000 English fans clashed with Italian police in Cagliari on Saturday before a World Cup match.

Italian police used teargas and truncheons to disperse the crowd after the English fans began throwing rocks, officials and news reports said.

A group of English soccer fans also beat up a Japanese television reporter and cameraman and smashed their cameras in Cagliari yesterday, police said.

A police patrol rescued the two Japanese and took them to hospital for treatment for cuts and bruises.

It was not known how many fans attached the crew and there were no reports of any arrests.

“The violence and the desecration perpetrated by bands of hoodlums reinforces the conviction of my government that the ban on English teams from European cups must not be lifted, but remain in force for an indefinite time,” Mr Moynihan was quoted as saying.

Readlist

English clubs have been banned from European competitions since May 1985 when 39 people died in Brussels during clashes between English and Italian fans before the European Champions Cup final.

In Genoa, European Football Union (UEFA) president Lennart Johansson said the incidents further reduced the chances of English clubs being readmitted to European competitions.

UEFA has been considering lifting the ban but has said its decision would depend on the behaviour of English fans during the World Cup.

Massive security to guard against World Cup violence in Cagliari has upset policemen, who say it is ruining their business.

They claim that the 4,000 police patrolling the town to prevent soccer violence have made it impossible for them to pick up customers in the streets.

Brazil’s Lambada road show has upset the sober citizens of Turin and has been told to cool it — except on Brazilian World Cup match days.

Aerry fitted out with 19,000-watt speakers to blast out samba and lambada rhythms has been banned from the city centre after residents complained — Sapa-AP/Radio 4.

See Page 79.
Tug-of-war for homelands is on

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The tug-of-war between the Government and the ANC for the hearts and minds of the homeland leaders is on.

This emerged from yesterday’s “summit” at Tuyshuys between President de Klerk and the leaders of self-governing territories and Indian and coloured leaders in Parliament.

Some political observers believe all the homeland leaders — except KwaZulu’s Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — are already in the ANC camp.

Not convinced

However, Government and other sources at the meeting said they were not convinced this was so.

They were encouraged by the fact that the meeting had taken place at all — after the original meeting scheduled for April had been aborted because of ANC intervention.

However, there are suggestions that the homeland leaders agreed to yesterday’s meeting only after getting prior approval from the ANC.

Government officials believe that some of the homeland leaders are adopting a pro-ANC stance for public consumption — possibly to placate rebellious citizens back home — while privately taking a more conservative line.

Some leaders stated publicly that they were not ready for negotiations yet and felt certain obstacles still had to be overcome.

Privately, they expressed the wish that negotiations should start as soon as possible — in order to catch the ANC off-guard before it was properly organised.

The homeland leaders may be caught in a cleft stick.

Asked if he was closer to the ANC or the SA Government, Lebowa leader Nelson Ramodike said after the meeting: “I regard the two as co-partners in the struggle to solve the problems of our country amicably.

“For this purpose I am prepared to talk to the Conservative Party or even the AWB.”

He told the press after the meeting that Lebowa “did not see its way clear” to start negotiations yet.

He believed some obstacles, including the Group Areas Act, would have to be removed first.

Government official sources claimed, however, that at the meeting Mr Ramodike took a more conciliatory line and expressed himself in favour of early negotiations.

Mr de Klerk’s statement suggested the same. He said there had been agreement among all participants that real negotiations for a new constitution should be the “highest priority and should start as soon as possible.”
Self-governing territories: Blacks employed

428. [Mr P G SOAL] asked the Minister of Development Aid:

How many Blacks in each self-governing territory were employed in undertakings established (a) on an agency basis and (b) by development corporations for such territories as at 31 December 1989?

**The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-governing territory</th>
<th>Latest specified date</th>
<th>(a) Number of persons employed in undertakings established with the aid of experts outside the self-governing territories</th>
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Self-governing territories: new employment opportunities for Blacks

429. [Mr P G SOAL] asked the Minister of Development Aid: (101)

(a) How many new employment opportunities were created for Blacks in each employment sector in the self-governing territories and border areas (i) by development corporations and other statutory bodies and (ii) through investment by (a) South African and (b) overseas companies in the 1988-89 financial year and (b) what was the cost per employment opportunity created in each of these sectors?

**The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:**

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**Footnotes:**

- (1) Number of product that has been prepared to date.
- (2) Number of product that has been tested to date.
- (3) Number of product that has been approved to date.
- (4) Number of product that has been shipped to date.
The Minister of Education:

Dear Sir,

I am writing to bring to your notice the recent developments in the educational sector. Specifically, I wish to draw your attention to the recent increase in the number of students enrolling in our educational institutions. This surge in enrollment is a testament to the quality of education and the reputation of our institutions.

Enclosed for your reference is a table that outlines the enrollment figures for the past three years.

Yours sincerely,

[Your Name]

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[Table continued...]

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[Signature]
Charity begins...

Pretoria's patience is running out with the increasing financial burden independent homelands are placing on SA taxpayers. Proposals on how to deal with the problem are being investigated by the Cabinet.

President F W de Klerk's government is not opposed to re-incorporation of the homelands and among possibilities being examined is that of an administrator, as with Namibia before independence, and total financial control by Pretoria.

According to FM information, there is also growing impatience with Transkei military strongman Bantu Holomisa. Relations are at breaking point and increased pressure by the SA government — which could take the form of a cut in funds — is not being ruled out.

Part of the problem is that the Department of Foreign Affairs is finding its budget constrained — 80% of its expenditure goes to development aid to homelands — and other programmes are being curtailed. A number of missions are in the process of being closed.

At the same time, developments in central Europe have opened ever more doors to the department (see "SA-Soviet links", p41) and spending by the department may be aimed at establishing interest offices in those regions. And that would be at the expense of the homelands where no return on the investments has ever been evident.

Holomisa earned himself the wrath of Pretoria after he recently announced a 10% wage increase for all Transkei civil servants. He is also pressing Foreign Minister Pik Botha to extradite casino and hotel magnate Sol Kerzner to face charges of bribery. In the department it is, however, felt that with his expertise, Kerzner could still make important contributions to the welfare of the territory. He was noticed at the Union Buildings last week.

Karel Botha
A federation would mean new powers and new boundaries

TONY LEON

While the US and Australia have no special arrangements for the allocation of revenue and loan capital between the various states comprising their federations, other federal concepts do. Canada allows for the pooling of national resources and the distribution of them between provinces on the basis of need. A fiscal commission should investigate the reasonable cost to each federal state and to the Republic, of administering the various subjects assigned to each state in terms of the constitution on the basis of no discrimination as between the states. The FFP's constitutional proposals suggest a Federal Finance Council comprising representatives of the federal and state governments and expert bureaucrats. It would examine state and federal budgets to determine the amount of revenue and loan funds which each state should claim from the federal treasury. Its decisions would be subject only to the combined veto of both majorities in the federal assembly and the affected state assembly.

Tony Leon, MP for Houghton, was formerly a lecturer in constitutional law at Wits.

The most significant difference in our constitutional debate is the division between the expeditors of democracy, who support democracy only because a general election in a unitary SA will almost definitely bring them to power, and the genuine democrats who are committed to something more durable.
ANC Parley with Bantustans
Cross-border maintenance

EDYTH BULDRING
PRETORIA — Maintenance orders in SA and the TBVC states will be reciprocally enforced, according to an Act which came into effect from Saturday, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in a statement.

The object of the Act is to facilitate the reciprocal enforcement of maintenance orders between SA and the TBVC states.

The Act envisages a procedure whereby the transmission of maintenance orders is effected directly between the administrative heads of the departments of justice.

Provisional maintenance orders, emoluments and attachment orders made by a maintenance court in one country may also be registered and enforced by a maintenance court in the other countries, the statement said.
Land Acts must go, says researcher

THE Land Acts restricted economic development in SA and their abolition should lay the ground for a R3bn action programme to promote rural development, the Urban Foundation said yesterday.

Urban Foundation executive director for urbanisation Ann Bernstein said the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act as well as the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts was a vital step towards a new rural development policy for a future SA.

Bernstein and Natal University economic research unit director Prof Gavin Maasdorp yesterday presented the two latest research and policy documents released by the Foundation and the Private Sector Council on Urbanisation at a news conference in Johannesburg. Bernstein said the PSC proposals for rural development were based on the premise that race was not an indicator of potential farming performance but access to land, skills and resources were.

A balance between economic efficiency and equity was essential for successful rural development. The abolition of apartheid laws should be accompanied by a new legal mechanism to resolve land conflicts.

She said rural development was important because those South Africans with the lowest quality of life lived in rural areas.

In 1985, 37% of the population, 12 million people lived in rural areas, and while by the year 2000 only 36% would be rural dwellers, they would then number about 14 million.

It was not feasible to expect so many people to continue to survive on only 13% of the land.

Bernstein said the Urban Foundation proposed the funding of a development programme should be shared by the state and the private sector which the Foundation envisaged could raise R1.7bn on the private capital market.

Maasdorp said government’s decentralisation policy was a failure and should be abandoned.

He said the policy was guided by ideological considerations — the promotion of homelands in SA — and marked by the abuse of government incentives, inefficiency and high opportunity costs.

About half of firms benefiting from government subsidies did not need incentives to ensure profitability, while the others were not profitable even with the subsidies.

See Page 10
Details of the mysterious suspension of Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) president Maphumulo last month will emerge at the organisation's annual conference. There's some doubt, however, whether the maverick tribal chief will turn up to give his side of the story.

Maphumulo, the popular tribal leader appointed first president of the rural-based, ANC-aligned movement but suspended last month at a general council meeting, seems to have gone into hiding. The FM could not contact him this week.

Acting president Sango Holomisa, an Umzimthi advocate, regional representative of the ANC and nephew of Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa, said Contralesa's executive committee would present a full report at the organisation's annual conference in QwaQwa on October 12 following the investigation into "serious allegations of misconduct" made against Maphumulo.

"Though suspended as president, Maphumulo is still a member of Contralesa and should, therefore, attend the conference where he will be given an opportunity to state his case," Holomisa said.

He would not detail the allegations but did confirm that, basically, Maphumulo had at times been acting "without a mandate from Contralesa."

The FM learns from reliable sources that the suspended president had apparently been travelling abroad in the name of Contralesa without first consulting the executive committee and that his attendance at executive meetings was rare.

Reports that Natal representatives of Contralesa, where Maphumulo hails from, were unhappy with the president's suspension and could even break away from the organisation were dismissed by Samson Ndou in the congress's Johannesburg office.

"We have not heard of any discontent from Natal. In fact they seem to be behind the investigation," he said.

Maphumulo, a traditional chief, though stripped of his position by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his involvement with Contralesa and his perceived anti-Inkatha views, claims a following of about 30,000 people in the Table Mountain area of Natal.

Under his leadership the congress, a network of about 50 dissident chiefs and subchiefs with their respective followings, gained support in rural areas to the point where it became a threat to the much bigger Inkatha movement.

The ANC, noting Contralesa's influence in rural areas, has been placing increasing importance on the organisation's role within the broader liberation movement.

Contralesa was formed three years ago by a nucleus of tribal chiefs opposed to the homeland system.
SA plugs TBVC export loophole

Gillian Hayne

GST exemptions for SA traders exporting to the independent homelands — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) — will be suspended on October 1.

The closure of this tax loophole, gazetted recently, is aimed at preventing tax evasion on goods which are supposed to be exported to the TBVC states, but are not, thereby causing losses to the fiscus.

A Commissioner of Inland Revenue spokesman said losses through GST at uncontrolled frontiers were difficult to quantify. Luxury items such as TVs, refrigerators and microwave ovens caused the most concern. Registered motor vehicles were easier to monitor.

Deloitte Ptm Goldby senior tax manager Rob Collins said: "The intention of the regulation, quite clearly, is to minimise the evasion and malpractices which are currently taking place by the fraudulent misuse of the form VB82 which currently allows an exemption from sales tax on any goods exported from SA."

He said under the new system, all export sales to Bophuthatswana would be taxed with purchasers being the lessors. However, those who had farming or manufacturing enterprises in Transkei, Venda or Ciskei (TVC) would be exempt from paying GST, as well as those selling registerable goods.

Because the TVC had similar tax systems to SA, these purchasers would be able to claim a credit from their respective authorities.

Collins said the administrative impact of the change can be substantial. The change affects management and accountings systems.
Until now, goods exported to the TBVC states have been treated in the same way as exports generally (that is, exempted from GST). This arrangement has led to widespread evasion through misrepresentation that goods were destined for TBVC. And the problem is particularly acute with Bophuthatswana, which does not impose a sales tax of its own.

Now, Inland Revenue has gazetted a complete revision of the rules for exports to TBVC, to take effect from October 1, which should have a major impact on evasion.

There is a technical difference of treatment between exports to Transkei, Ciskei and Venda, which have sales taxes of their own, and those to Bophuthatswana. Bophuthatswana is important in relation to evasion for another reason: its jagged borders and proximity to major population centres in SA.

In future, exports to vendors registered in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei will be subject to payment of GST. So will all exports to Bophuthatswana, for the obvious reason that there cannot be any vendors registered there.

Where vendors in SA have acquired goods in Transkei, Venda or Ciskei, they will be allowed to offset the input tax incurred by claiming a credit against their output tax payable to SA Inland Revenue. This provision will make it necessary to set up a clearing house for sales tax receipts between SA and Transkei, Venda and Ciskei — which is the intention of the governments concerned.

The change, which should block large-scale evasion of GST in SA based on misrepresentation by the purchaser that the goods are destined for export to the TBVC, will impose important additional management and accounting requirements on traders.

In particular, invoices and analysis systems will have to record the destination of sales; there will have to be a new method of completing the monthly GST return (VBS); and invoices will have to be split to different
GST loophole closed

By Tom Hooi

Exporters could be hit by unexpected general sales tax changes which make their goods more expensive in TBVC countries — Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

The Government Gazette last week announced that exports to these states would no longer be free of GST from October 1.

Hardest hit will be business with Bophutatswana, which has no sales tax. Casinos and resorts such as Sun City would now have to pay 13 percent tax on goods imported from South Africa, which would bring a big hike in expenses.

GST charged on bricks and building materials — previously tax free — could add significantly to the cost of a new hotel.

Imports from these countries would no longer be free of GST but South African enterprises could claim an equal tax credit.
It’s fiscal anarchy, says auditor-general

PRETORIA — Financial and fiscal controls in self-governing states and black local authorities were severely criticised by auditor-general Peter Wransley in Pretoria yesterday.

Speaking at a Control of Public Institutions conference at the HSRC, he said billions of rands in accumulated overspending and in foreclosed, uncollected income were involved.

"That represented not only fiscal but constitutional anarchy, and had to be a central theme at the negotiating table."

Whatever government lay ahead for SA, he hoped there would be one auditor-general to keep a watchful eye over the whole of the public sector.

"This is not empire-building — it is a healthy understanding of Africa."

The fine fiscal balance between legislative and executive organs had been disturbed by the establishment of self-governing states and, later, independent states — each with its own auditor-general.

In spite of training efforts and visiting restructuring teams, some of the entities — to the detriment of the SA taxpayer — lost effective control over their public funds, Wransley said.

Black local authorities’ finance and bookkeeping were in a critical state.

Wransley said auditing under these circumstances had become impossible in some places and often control instruments became useless because corrective action was simply missing.

SA Law Commission vice-chairman Mr Justice Pierre Olivier said the Commission for Administration should initiate urgently a programme to educate and prepare all public servants for the human rights culture.

"Delivering such a step until a bill of rights appeared on the statute book would be a serious mistake."

"A major change in attitude would be required, the judge said.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the powers of the advocate-general were to be widened dramatically in new legislation to come before Parliament next year.

Coetsee said the advocate-general could, in terms of current legislation, initiate investigations and report on abuse of authority and misuse of power.

For instance, complaints against Ministers, officials and the police in the Press, which often remained unresolved, would get swift attention from the advocate-general.

His authority would be far greater than that of traditional ombudsmen in other countries.

The authority of the advocate-general now included investigations and reports to Parliament on irregularities involving public funds and unlawful enrichment at public expense.

He was not a court of law, however, but an official of Parliament who reported only to Parliament.
Reform gathers pace as Acts bite the dust

One of the country's most emotive pieces of legislation is destined for the scrapheap, accompanied on its journey to oblivion by the angry cries of farmers, some politicians and hardline right-wingers.

The death knell for the Black Land Act of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936—known collectively as the "Land Act"—was sounded in Pretoria this week when President F.W. de Klerk, leader of the self-governing homelands and the Administrators of the country's four provinces agreed that ownership of land should be open to all and not only to whites.

They said the Acts should be repealed "as part of a comprehensive programme to remove all racially discriminatory restrictions on the acquisition of land."

It was also decided that, simultaneously, credit facilities would be opened to allow nondiscriminatory access to the Land Bank and agricultural credit.

Hopping mad

It is, without doubt, one of the most far-reaching decisions yet taken by the Government in its drive to reform South Africa politically.

It means that farmers of another colour would, once the Acts have been repealed, be able to buy land anywhere.

This is the one particularly emotive decision which has got farmers, particularly in conservative Transvaal, hopping mad.

They see their once-powerful grip on who can and who cannot farm the land being broken once and for all.

The extent of their rage will be shown tomorrow when they hold a major protest meeting in Pretoria.

They are protesting even though the Government meeting this week also pledged to protect specific community interests in regard to land tenure.

A special working group is looking into this aspect.

But farmers cannot say they were not warned.

A highly contentious piece of South African legislation is headed for the scrap-heap. NORMAN CHANDLER of The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports on the implications resulting from the repeal of the land Acts.

Fallen away

The Acts expressly prohibited the purchase, by free or white owners or in land or interest in land—meaning no black person could even have a share in a farm (although in some areas this has largely fallen away)—outside "scheduled black areas."

And if a white person bought land in a prescribed area at a sale in execution, for instance, he had to sell it to a black person within a year.

The 1936 Act went further: no black-owned company could acquire or own land unless they owned it before that year. The restriction did not apply to "a legally recognised tribe."

Soon all of this will be history as land ownership is thrown open to all races—apparently irrespective of what white farmers in far-flung corners of the Transvaal may have to say.

The problem is that the resulting upheaval in the country's farming communities may take time to settle down.
New homeland tax rules 'could be illegal'

THE new GST regulation on exports to the independent homelands could be illegal, tax experts said yesterday.

The regulation, which removed the sales tax exemptions on all goods to Bophuthatswana, may have gone beyond the ambit of a regulation in terms of the Sales Tax Act.

Experts maintained the Act required that where such an exemption no longer applied, the vendor should be allowed relief either by way of a credit against tax or in any other manner provided in the regulation. This has not been achieved regarding Bophuthatswana.

One source said the Bophuthatswana government had been advised by an advocate in SA that the dispensation was ultra vires and therefore void.

Ernst and Young tax partner David Clegg said the regulation had gone beyond the mandate because the government was dealing with non-residents. The use of the word "enterprise", which by definition should be a business carried on in SA, was confusing because the regulation affected vendors outside SA.

"For this reason even if valid, the regulation is arguably meaningless." A Beaufort Receiver's office spokesman confirmed that it had not been given a final ruling on the implications of the dispensation. It had only got the letter sent to all vendors.

Deloitte Pim Goldby senior tax manager Rob Collins said that some of his clients had been given incorrect advice by Receiver's offices.

The point of contention was the transfer of goods to a branch in Bophuthatswana. Rulings were given that an inter-branch transfer did not constitute a sale, and as such would be free of sales tax, which Collins confirmed was correct.

However, the vendors were not told that in such instances the GST exemption enjoyed by the SA branch on the purchase of those goods would no longer be applicable.
This reflects yet another sad failure to consult the private sector at the appropriate time — before promulgating important changes to the tax system.

The FM reported the imposition of GST on exports to the TBVC states two weeks ago and last week told how the amendment would have grave consequences for manufacturers who had relocated to Bophuthatswana but bought raw materials in and exported output to SA. In effect, such industries would have to pay almost double GST on imported inputs as well as sales.

SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) chief economist Ben van Rensburg tells the FM the chamber was not consulted in advance. After the announcement, his office was besieged by indignant members whose interests were seriously affected. Sacob is setting up an internal committee of affected members, and inviting members not already involved to join. Van Rensburg doubts whether an additional month will suffice to iron out problems.

Even if negotiations between Sacob and Treasury arrive at a formula to satisfy manufacturers in Bophuthatswana as well as Revenue, grave questions remain.

This is only the latest in a long sequence of over-hasty, impulsive fiscal amendments without prior consultation with affected parties, followed by delays or retractions after the private sector draws the implications of the change to the authorities' attention.

Also questioned is the role and effectiveness of the Tax Advisory Committee, which has strong private-sector representation and ought to be able to act as effective liaison with government. Indeed, that was surely the reason for establishing the committee.

One basic flaw is that members sit on the committee on a personal, not representative, basis — the same problem as with the Economic Advisory Council. What is needed is the participation of representatives who have access to broadly based business opinion.

Committee chairman Michael Katz could not be reached for comment.

It is not unreasonable to say to government that this unfortunate and unnecessary fiasco should be the last. Before the next important amendment to the tax laws, the mechanisms of consultation with industry and commerce should be revived and improved. Government can prevent tax evasion and protect its fiscal interests by changing the tax laws without disrupting business interests unfairly and unnecessarily.
Buthelezi shuns ANC talks with homelands

HELEN GRANGE

ALL non-independent homeland leaders — except for KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — had agreed to act as a united force in deciding principles for negotiations with the Government. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking after a meeting of non-independent homeland leaders at his Soweto home, Mr Mandela said it was regrettable that Chief Buthelezi could not join the briefing on the violence and discussions on negotiations.

Reason

The reason given by Chief Buthelezi for his absence was that he was invited as a homeland leader rather than as leader of Inkathath," Mr Mandela said.

"This is inconsistent, because when President (P W) de Klerk invites him as a homeland leader, he accepts. He has hardly missed a meeting," Mr Mandela said.

Third force

Mr Mandela said it was agreed by all leaders at the meeting that there was a third force orchestrating violence in the townships and that it was not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus as alleged by the media.

The Government had to take full responsibility for the conduct of its own agencies orchestrating
Leaders speak with one voice

THE African National Congress and leaders of the self-governing states, excluding Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, will in future work as a united front to formulate strategies for talks with the Government.

Addressing the media after a meeting with five homeland leaders at his Orlando West home on Friday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said it was regrettable that Chief Buthelezi did not attend.

BY KENOSI MODISANE

Buthelezi had earlier indicated that he would attend only if he was invited as leader of Inkatha Freedom Party and not as a homeland leader.

"This is inconsistent because he has hardly missed a meeting when President de Klerk invited him as a homeland leader," said Mandela.

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Mandela, however, said the climate was not ideal for such a meeting with him.

Commenting on the meeting with the five homeland leaders, Mandela said the ANC had briefed them on the recent violence in the Reef townships "and they all agreed that a third force was involved".

"We all agreed that the violence is not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus but at all a tribal conflict. It is orchestrated by certain faceless forces. And the Government must take full responsibility for the conduct of their own state agencies orchestrating the violence," added Mandela.

He said the leaders had also "agreed to forget the past and speak with one voice on issues and problems." It is the only way problems will be resolved.

Apart from Buthelezi, Qwaqwa's Chief TK Mopeli and KwaNdebele's did also not attend. They were however, represented.
Leaders speak with one voice

THE African National Congress and leaders of the self-governing states, excluding Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, will in future work as a united front to formulate strategies for talks with the Government.

Addressing the media after a meeting with five homeland leaders at his Orlando West home on Friday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said it was regrettable that Chief Buthelezi did not attend.

Lebowa's Mr Nelson Ramotseke, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Alfred Nzo and Kentwane's Mr Enos Mabuza at a press conference after the ANC's meeting homeland leader's at Mandela's house on Friday. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

BY KENOSI MODISANE

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"We all agreed that the violence is not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus. And that it is not at all a tribal conflict. It is orchestrated by certain faceless forces. And the Government must take full responsibility for the conduct of their own state agencies orchestrating the violence," added Mandela.

He said the leaders had also "agreed to forget the past and speak with one voice on issues and problems." It is the only way problems will be resolved."

Apart from Buthelezi, Ozwagwa's Chief TK Mopeli and KwaNdebele's did also not attend. They were however, represented.
THE government's announcement that the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 are to be repealed can only be welcomed. These laws have had devastating consequences for millions of black South Africans, dispossessing them of their land and birthright.

They have created a situation where Africans may own land only in the battalions and whites own 87 percent of South Africa.

Clearly they are terrible laws and must go, but what will be the effect of their abolition? In announcing the imminent repeal of these laws, President FW de Klerk has assured whites that their property rights will be protected. The Land Acts have played their role — they have destroyed black property rights and have entrenched white privilege. To drop them now will have only a minimal effect on the racial distribution of the land; only a tiny portion of blacks have the capital necessary to buy land at current prices.

The timing of the repeal is significant. White ownership of most of South Africa needs to be legitimised before a majority government comes to power. Laws which prohibit one section of the population from land ownership on the basis of race do not bode well for the prospects of white land owners under a black government. In this context, the fundamental ideological shift in government policy is a matter more of expediency than true reform.

Whatever the motivation, the abolition of the Land Acts will have immediate and immense effects in the rural areas. There is potential for both positive results and terrible destruction. If not done carefully, the abolition may lead to dispossession on a far worse scale than that caused by the policy of forced removal.

In most instances black property rights are not reflected in legal documents like title deeds. This does not mean that blacks have no property rights, it means that the state prohibited them from having such documents. Neither are legal restrictions on black ownership of land limited to white areas. There are restrictions in the homelands as well. These are complicated, but most stem from the policy that blacks should not own land, but that their land be held in trust by the state on their behalf.

While the land in these areas may be nominally owned by the South African Development Trust, or a homelands government, or a chief, it is in fact occupied by millions of individual families and communities. In many cases these people have rights to particular pieces of land — whether by grants, certificates of occupation, purchase or inheritance. The fact that these rights are not registered on title deeds is a result of the bizarre and complicated maze of regulations, reservations and overlapping trusts that the state has imposed on black areas.

If these areas are simply opened up to the “free market”, many people who have owned and occupied land for generations may find it sold from under them by the nominal owners of the land. If this happens, there will be as much resistance as there was to the policies of “betterment”, forced removal and incorporation into bantustans.

Rural people have suffered terrible and irretrievable losses through the implementation of these policies. Now the state is introducing reform. It would be bitterly ironic if this “reform” finally dispossesses people of their real rights to land in the name of “private property” and the “free market”.

We cannot wish away the legacy of ra-
cial land laws, it has to be carefully undone in a way which confirms the rights to land which exist in practice and not in documentation. For there to be stability and equity, the legal system must reflect the reality on the ground, and occupants and owners must be given documents that secure their status.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen has commented on the need for transitional arrangements to protect specific community interests, especially those regarding land tenure for traditional communities and agricultural settlements. We hope this means protection for existing rights. But we can do no more than hope. The process of consultation is a closed one and the people whose destinies it shapes are not included. Instead, the matter is negotiated between the government and the homeland leaders — the nominal owners of most of the land in the 13 percent of South Africa set aside for black occupation. They are the very people who stand to gain from the sale of land — land which is densely populated by people who inherited it from their great-grandparents, and full of resettlement camps.

The occupants of this land have not been consulted about the proposed reforms; the government cannot claim that it does not know who they are. Viljoen himself has met some of them. There are rural communities all over South Africa who have petitioned the government about their land rights, whether in the context of removal, incorporation into homelands, secession from homelands, or security where they are.

There are also academics and lawyers who have done work on how the repeal of the Land Acts could be done in such a way as to confirm existing rights rather than destroy them. They have not been consulted or included in the working group which the state has set up with the homeland leaders.

It is a matter of great urgency that the process of developing a new legal framework be opened up to those with a direct interest and that the state draw on the expertise and knowledge of practitioners who have worked in the minefield area of black land rights for years. This is necessary to minimise the potential damage to existing rights and settlements of people who should the Acts simply be repealed in a vacuum.

Beyond the defensive position of protecting existing rights is the issue of undoing the legacy of rural apartheid law and policy. When Viljoen was asked whether the reforms meant that people who had been dispossessed of their land would be given first option to acquire land, he told The Citizen: this principle would lead to a complete revolution throughout the world, beginning in the United States and Australia.

It is cynical to compare the situation of indigenous people who lost their land centuries ago in wars of conquest with that of the victims of forced removals in our country. Here we are talking of communities like the Mnomakgotla, the Mfengu, and the Bakwena to name a few, whose land was expropriated in the last few decades, sometimes less than five years ago. They live in impoverished resettlement camps, and in many cases their land lies fallow, still registered in the name of the government.

If the present government does not have the grace to return such land to its rightful owners, it will find itself faced with innumerable court cases challenging the legality of its expropriations, with land re-occupations and with disillusionment and bitterness. When it tries to sell this land it will completely discredit its new non-racial land market — and rightly so.

Care and consultation are necessary to minimise the potential damage should the Land Acts be repealed in a vacuum and to undo positively the damage caused by this terrible piece of legislation.

Anitka Chabwera is a senior researcher at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies.
Major groups are to attend

By MOSES MAMAILA

THE Venda government has invited major political organisations, including rightwing groups, to a conference to discuss the future of the independent homelands.

The head of the military government, Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, said on Friday the meeting would focus on "the position of the TRC states in the envisaged new South Africa".

The conference will be held between October 30 and November 1.

At least 30 delegations from various organisations are expected to attend. These include ANC, SACP, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, AWB, CP, Boerestaat Party, SACC and Cosatu.

Ramushwana said the Transkei and Ciskei governments had indicated that they would attend. However, the Bophuthatswana government had declined the invitation to attend.

"The intention of the conference is not to be prescriptive to any participant regarding a stand to be taken at the negotiating forum."

"Rather, it is intended to make us aware of the issues which have to be considered in leading our countries across the fairly stormy waters of the unavoidable constitutional adjustments," Ramushwana said.

He said although it was premature at this stage to indicate who would attend.

Among the influential personalities invited were Dr Oscar Dhlomo, former general secretary of Inkatha, and Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya.

The conference will be held at Nwanedi Conference centre in the Mutale district.
Opinion

THE National Party government has announced its intention to abolish the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936. But this is going to be very emotional and controversial.

The Transvaal Agricultural Union is dead-set against any change in the property patterns in the agricultural sector. The government is presumably of the opinion that it will be sufficient "compensation" for the exploitative effect of these acts if blacks are granted access to the Land Bank should they want to buy (white) farms.

It is rather significant that nobody — at least not in CP and NP circles — is asking what the blacks' perceptions of the Land Acts are. Perhaps many of them are still too much "prisoners" of the "old" South Africa to ask this kind of question.

To appreciate the full exploitative nature of the Land Acts, it is necessary to realize that these acts not only prescribed the utilisation of land, but also — and perhaps to a larger extent — the utilisation and exploitation of black labour.

To judge the Land Act of 1913 in a proper historic perspective, we should not only take the motives of the Union Parliament when enacting this act — into account, but also the economic conditions in 1913. At that stage a potential clash was looming between the economic interests of the white (mainly Afrikaner) farmers and the white (mainly English) owned goldmines.

Maintain low wages

Both the white farmers and the controllers of the goldmines claimed that it would only be possible for them to produce respectively maize and gold profitably if large numbers of cheap and easily-controlled black labour were at their disposal.

To balance the potentially conflicting demands for cheap and controllable black labour by Afrikaner and English interest groups, a remarkable (and long overdue) political compromise was formulated by the white parliament in 1913. This compromise has been dubbed "the alliance of maize and gold". It played a tremendously important role in South African history. It proved to be not only the foundation on which the white economy was built for at least six decades, but also the basis for the political success of the SAP/United Party — at least until 1948.

After South Africa was divided into 92% "white" area and 8% "native reserves" in 1913, the Chamber of Mines was granted the privilege of recruiting migrant labour in the Native Reserves. (The area of these reserves was enlarged to 70% of South Africa's territory in 1936.) Although on average less than 40% of the migrant labourers in the goldmines were recruited until 1975 in what were also called Bantustans or Homelands, this nonetheless enabled the goldmines to maintain black wages at a very low level. (The rest of the migrant labourers were recruited mainly in Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Mozambique.)

Similar to serfdom

If we put the real wages of black migrant labour on the goldmines on an index of 100 in 1911, their cash wages were 64 in 1962 and 95 in 1971! (According to the same index the real wages of white miners were 1.260 in 1911, 1.400 in 1961 and 1.600 in 1971!) As a proportion of working costs, black cash wages on the goldmines declined from 16.5% in 1911 to 8.8% in 1960.

In 1936 the ANC requested the Hertzog/Smuts government and the Chamber of Mines to recruit migrant labour only in South Africa, hoping that such a policy would increase black wages. The request was absolutely rejected.

To meet the demands of the white maize farmers, the 1913 Land Act not only restricted black access to land and black tenancy, but also introduced strict measures against "squating" and/or "kaifir farming" on white farms, in order to increase the supply of cheap black wage-labourers. At the same time the "pass" laws were applied much more strictly to decrease the mobility of blacks and to increase their continuous availability. Taxes were also imposed on blacks to force them to earn cash wages. All these measures exacerbated the steady impoverishment of the black peasantry and transformed them into a very dependent, docile and propertyless black proletariat.

If we focus on the lack of legal rights, the dependency and the forced immobility of the black population until, say, 1975, their being in remuneration of serfdom in Europe under the feudal and manorial systems of the 8th and 11th centuries. Interestingly enough, the motives and measures to enforce "serfdom" were very much the same. No wonder Sol Plaatje wrote "The South African Native found himself after the Land Act not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth."

Land Acts crux of apartheid: there's a debt to be paid

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, who teaches economics at the University of Stellenbosch, discusses the impact of the Land Acts in South African history.

Repay apartheid debt

The black "serfdom" introduced by the Land Acts and concomitant measures enabled whites — in ALL sectors of the South African economy — to enrich themselves by exploiting their black "serfs.

Before we abolish the Land Acts, the whites should acknowledge that these acts symbolise a cornerstone of apartheid's exploitation.

The whites should also appreciate at the same time that because of the Land Acts and other measures, an apartheid debt has accumulated on their (white) books and that the repayment of this debt is long overdue.

One way to accomplish such an acknowledgement and repayment, is a property tax — on ALL property — of, say, half to one percent annually for, say, 20 years. The proceeds of this tax could be used as a "Restitution Fund" for land reform, resettlement programmes and housing.

Many whites argued that they never intended any wrongdoings against blacks but were unknowingly trapped in structures created by the Land Acts and other apartheid measures. That may be the case. Nonetheless those structures provoked, and enriched them out of proportion with their own merits. Consequently they ought to be prepared for restitution to settle their alleged unaided debt — but debt nonetheless...
Homeland future grim — Mabuza

ACHMED KARIEM

THOSE who were relegated —by
grand apartheid's social engineering
to distant rural regions ran the
risk of being forgotten when the
new SA arrived, KaNgwane Chief
Minister Enoo Mabuza said yester-
day.

In his address to the Institute of
Personnel Management (IPM)
convention, he said the urban-ru-
rural divide was a reality that kept
people trapped in poverty and un-
derdevelopment.

He said the needs and demands
-of the new urban migrants would
be met before those who lived at a
distance.

Thus, leaders of such political
constituencies needed to partici-
-pate in the present political and
constitutional debate. It was also
their duty to see to the needs of
their people as the future of the
homelands looked grim.

Simply removing racist legisla-
tion would not help the rural
areas, he said. However, redistrib-
ution of opportunity would possi-
-bly help equalise a "very distorted
situation". 
TRIBAL POLITICS

FIGHTING SHY

Mhlambutho Maphumulo, the tribal chief who quickly rose to prominence as first president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa), has apparently decided to end his political career just as rapidly. Despite leaving repeated messages, the FM could not make contact with Maphumulo this week.  

The Zulu chief was stripped of his position by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for criticising the homeland and the Inkatha movement. He went on to build Contralesa to the point where it became almost the rural wing of the ANC and a direct challenge to Inkatha.

Contralesa is also having trouble contact- ing its former leader. It emerges that he was suspended three months ago for apparently embarking on one-man foreign missions in the name of the organisation without first consulting his executive committee.

He didn't show up for the recent congress to elect new leaders and a spokesman for Contralesa's Johannesburg office says Maphumulo is still considered a member, but has not made contact with the organisation for some time. The founding president has now been replaced by Umtata advocate (and tribal chief) Sango Holomisa, a more urbane leader who also heads the ANC's regional office in Umtata and has strong links with the organisation.

Maphumulo fell in with the ANC almost by default. He had to face a barrage of abuse from Ullundu and tried to establish his tribal area near KwaZulu as a neutral zone for refugees from political violence. But Holomisa, nephew of Transkei's military leader Bantu Holomisa, has always been a strong supporter of the ANC.

A surprise new member of Contralesa's executive is Stella Sigeau, member of royalty and president for a time of the Transkei after Bantu Holomisa toppled George Matanzima.
Homelands' tax holiday to be ended

By ROBERT LAING

VERWOERD'S bantustans have been offering customers an amicable service—GST-free shopping.

Vatcom, the government's committee addressing the proposed Value Added Tax (VAT) system, intends ending that.

A Vatcom representative says: "One of the main problems with the previous structure was cross-border trade. There is no customs control between South Africa and TBVC states—the borders are wide open to sales tax evaders."

Government has said VAT on exported goods and services will be "zero-rated"; foreign customers can deduct all indirect taxes that were paid on goods before reaching them in the sales chain.

The TBVC states, however, will not be regarded as foreign countries and will have to pay VAT for their merchandise.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope says he regards the attempt at unilaterally introducing sales tax in his country in a very serious light. "Laws passed by the parliament of South Africa are, in Bophuthatswana, for all intents and purposes not laws."

"There is presently no sales tax legislation in Bophuthatswana. Therefore no agreements relating to collection of sales tax can presently be entered into..."

Vatcom is expected to hear representations until end-November. A Bill enabling the change-over from GST to VAT will probably be introduced early next year. "There will be discussions with the TBVC states, but we still have a fair way to go," the Vatcom representative said.

The government has spent a great deal of effort and money reassuring people that the transition from GST to VAT will have little effect on them. In theory, the final mark-up for an article would be the same for GST or VAT if their rate is equal. In practice, VAT may be higher than GST because vendors could be taxing on tax already paid by their suppliers — causing a tax cascade.

Traders will get "input VAT" credit to restrict the indirect tax from escalating exponentially.

Homeland merchants faced no loss by ignoring GST, it only helped make their prices more competitive. If bantustan governments choose to ignore VAT the South African government will still get most of the article's indirect tax. Homeland traders will be forced to pay sales tax to their South African suppliers from October 1. Ignoring the VAT component will only make their prices marginally cheaper than neighbouring shopkeepers.

Mangope hopes that won't happen: "We need a complete harmonisation of the states to end cross-border evasion."

Mangope has warned Bophuthatswana traders not to apply sales tax: "Instructions have been given to the consumer council to be on the lookout for any unscrupulous traders who may overprice their commodities under the cloak of sales tax."

He said Bophuthatswana has lodged a formal protest with the state president about South Africa's imposition of indirect tax on the citizens of his country.
Tax scheme for TBVC exports 'may be scrapped'

There are strong indications that the new regulation on exports to the independent homelands could be indefinitely postponed, tax experts say.

The regulation, which has been described as "completely unworkable," could be scrapped before its implementation date of November 1, and an announcement on the subject is expected before the end of the week.

The subject was discussed at ministerial level by the Finance Ministers of SA, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei in Pretoria yesterday.

The regulation, gazetted without previous warning on September 7 and originally scheduled to come into effect on October 1, stated that GST exemptions would no longer apply on any exports to Bophuthatswana.

Meanwhile, only enterprises in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei (TVC) -- except those involved in farming or manufacturing -- would have to pay GST.

The complications involved with the regulation had tax experts describing the move as "disastrous." The lack of warning to the TBVC authorities also led to confusion and some dismay.

For Bophuthatswana, a country without a sales tax system of its own, the 13% burden would have made most enterprises uncompetitive.

"The dispensation would have lead to the demise of Bophuthatswana," said one tax expert.

For the TVC countries, where a system of input tax credits was suggested, enterprises feared the refunds would not be forthcoming as they had no knowledge of and therefore had no system in place to cope with such a scheme.

Further criticism levelled at the government was that the dispensation went beyond the power of the law.

One source said the Bophuthatswana government had been advised by a respected advocate in SA that the dispensation was ultra vires and therefore void.

Peter Delmar reports that the Venda government announced yesterday that it was increasing GST to the SA rate of 13% as a prelude to its reincorporation into SA.

The government said in a statement that GST would be lifted from 8% to 13% and that certain foodstuffs would be exempted.

A spokesman for the Venda embassy in Pretoria, V.P. Makwarela, said yesterday Venda hoped to be reincorporated "as soon as the direction of the new SA is clear."
New parties may lead to a second-class deal

THE impending negotiations between the Government and black political organisations is spawning a proliferation of pro-Government parties and groupings within the black community.

These emergent parties, led largely by bantustan politicians, are seen by political commentators as an attempt by the Government to overpopulate the talks and ensure division within black ranks.

Four months ago, Inkatha Ye Nkululeko Ye Sizwe Cultural Movement changed into a political organisation. It is now called the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Since then, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has insisted that he be recognised as such. He has been said to downplay his “other role” as chief minister of KwaZulu.

Acceptance

Ramotsekipu Motso礼拜 in his stead, as Ntsuaniwi has also, done— done to emulate Inkandza of KaNgwane's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, which enjoys recognition and acceptance by the ANC.

In Venda, following the military takeover by Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana in April this year, the overthrown Venda National Party has reorganised itself into a new party known as "Maanda Nga-a-Pfana".

Refusal

Buthelezi refused to attend a meeting called by the ANC, where all bantustan leaders were invited, saying he should be invited in his Inkatha capacity.

Last weekend Grakulu's Ximoko Xa Rikaka held a two-day conference at Chachallani Hall, Giyani, under the theme "From Culture to Politics: Current political trends and the position of Ximoko Xa Rikaka in the new South Africa".

At the end of the conference on Sunday, the XXR had given way to the new party called Ximoko Progressive Party.

Ntsuaniwi made much of the invitation extended to him by Anglican Af

there would remain at the table a crowd of these black organisations that would continue to talk and eventually reach some agreement with the Government in the name of the black people.

During the Lancaster negotiations between ZANU-PF's guerrilla forces and the settler ruling of Ian Smith, British chairman Lord Carrington used Bishop Mazorewa's presence in the talks as a threat to go no deal was dubbed a second class deal if Mugabe and Nkomo were to walk out.

Fears

The proliferation of basically pro-Government organisations that are to take part in the negotiations process is therefore being seen more as an effort to prepare for a second-class deal than as a need by the organisations themselves to stake their claims to leadership roles.

There is however another fear that the bantustan politicians are discarding the "government lackey and puppet" image for their own survival. It is argued by some commentators that Buthelezi's forceful emergence as Inkatha leader, and the now seemingly unquestioning acceptance by everyone that Inkatha is an important player assured of a seat at the negotiations table, is influencing the other bantustan leaders to emulate his efforts.

But, which ever way, one thing is clear. The room and the table at which the talks are to take place will have to be sizeable indeed if it is to accommodate the crowd that is bound to pitch up to decide this country's fate.
TBVC countries win battle over GST

THE criticised regulation making GST applicable to the sale of goods to Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) has been withdrawn, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis announced at the weekend.

The move followed strong objections by organised trade and industry authorities in the TBVC countries.

The regulations had been introduced to prompt the TBVC countries to implement similar indirect tax structures before SA's introduction of VAT.

"The absence of full harmonisation of the indirect tax structures...was eroding SA's tax base, which could not be allowed to continue for an indefinite period" Du Plessis said.

Huge administrative problems had made the dispensation unworkable.

Bophuthatswana Finance Minister Les-

lio Young said the decision had been taken for the TBVC countries to concentrate on bringing their indirect tax structures into line with SA's VAT by October 1991.

"Implementing systems to deal with the GST dispensation would have been pointless, for the short period left before the adoption of VAT," Young said.

He confirmed that Bophuthatswana, the only independent homeland without a sales tax system, was examining options for the introduction of an indirect tax similar to others in operation.

This would pave the way for a clearing house operation whereby input tax paid on goods in one country could be claimed as a credit in the other.

Deloitte Pim Goldby tax partner Ken Boggis expressed relief at the news.
Govt withdraws GST on exports to TBVC states

The decision to charge GST on the sale of certain goods for export to the TBVC countries will be withdrawn, the Minister of Finance Dr Barend Du Plessis has announced.

A statement released by the Minister says this is being done because the adjustment of management and accounting procedures to meet the VAT system has already been planned by trading concerns.

It is felt that this planning should not be interfered with at this stage.

The notice of the withdrawal will be published in the Government Gazette shortly. — Sapa.
Homeland leaders are focus of a tug of war

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had begun a low-key tug of war lobbying for the support of homeland leaders and their constituencies, KaNgwane Chief Minister Enoch Mabuza said in Vereeniging yesterday.

Speaking at the Hollandia Forum, Mabuza called for the scrapping of the homelands which he said had no place in a future democratic constitutional dispensation. He referred to them as "dummy institutions with no political base".

Homeland leaders whose power

base was located in traditional support had lately begun to hurriedly resuscitate defunct political parties in an attempt to gain a measure of credibility and secure a place at the negotiation table.

Mabuza said the National States Constitution Act of 1971, under which the homelands were established, should be repealed.

President F W De Klerk's proposal to scrap the Land Acts would delete homeland boundaries and make it unnecessary to force black people to live in historically designated and limited areas, said Mabuza.

While urgent, the dismantling of the self-governing territories had to be done in an orderly way, he said.

Failure to provide a decent standard of education, to ensure employment opportunities, housing and a reasonable standard of living would inevitably lead to a new wave of unrest in the forgotten homelands.
The concept of reconstituting South Africa will be the focus of the closure speech by Professor Willé of the University of Stellenbosch's Department of Philosophy, presented on the occasion of the 10th Annual Science Workshop.
Boya calls for single non-racial councils

All black town councillors should resign and black local authorities scrapped and replaced by single non-racial municipalities, former Dubeveen mayor Mr Tom Boya said in Pretoria.

Addressing a monthly meeting of the Pretoria Media Club on Saturday, Boya who resigned as mayor and councillor about three weeks ago, said: "The scrapping of racially segregated local authorities would assist us to reach our envisaged new South Africa free of domination and oppression from whatever quarter".

Boya added that Black Local Authorities had no future "because they represent essentially underdeveloped areas characterised by inadequate infrastructures for the provision of basic services such as electricity, sanitation, roads and stormwater drainage."

"All Black Local Authorities have to be incorporated into one economic, non-racial single tax-base local authority," Boya said.

He stressed however that the administrative structures in the black local authorities should be maintained until non-racial local government structures are formed. "This will allow the rendering of essential services to continue."

Another speaker, Mr James Mahlangu chief minister of KwaNdebele, said there was no room for homelands in a new South Africa. He added that blacks were abused by the "white minority Government" and forced into reserves known today as Bantustans or homelands based on ethnicity.

Leaders who operated from the homeland platform were disadvantaged, unpopular and not well-accepted however good their intentions.

Mahlangu stressed that the will of the people should govern and said he would resign as chief minister if his people asked him to do so.

He added: "It is a regrettable misfortune that the exponents of apartheid and white domination have now successfully turned some of our brothers and sisters into a shield against the hard attack waged by democratic masses against apartheid."
Forget, blacks urged

THE people should forget the past and work with homeland leaders who are prepared to work with the ANC, the organisation's deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Addressing more than 20,000 people at an ANC rally at Thohoyandou Stadium in Venda, Mandela said Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana "understands that the only salvation for him is to work with the ANC".

"Ramushwana is now prepared to work with the ANC and I sincerely hope he will follow this direction", said Mandela. However, "any bantustan leader who suppresses his people and runs to the ANC for support will not get it", he said.

Violence

He congratulated Ramushwana for getting rid of "the government that has terrorised our people".

Addressing the question of inter-organisational violence, the ANC leader said the fighting among political organisations revealed that black leaders had not assumed full command of the situation.

He appealed to the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha "to forget the past and accept our hand of friendship".
3 homelands back ANC — Mandela

**Own Correspondent and Sapa**

THOHOYANDOU — Three independent homelands — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — were prepared to throw in their lot with the ANC, which meant the collapse of apartheid, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing about 20,000 at a Cosatu rally in Thohoyandou, Venda, he appealed for people to unite and speak with one voice.

“We should forget about past differences,” he said.

Venda military leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana and other leaders had accepted the offer to work with the ANC, he said.

Mr Mandela appealed to the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha to accept the hand of friendship.

“We are aware that our people are clashing with others, but we should forget about past differences and work as a united force to destroy the apartheid regime.

“The ANC has reached the last mile of the struggle, which is going to be very difficult.”

He congratulated Brigadier Ramushwana for toppling the previous government, which had “terrorised our people”.

The ANC welcomed his efforts to bring about a clean administration.

Mr Mandela warned that homeland leaders must not join the ANC and still suppress the masses.

He urged Venda youths to forget the past and work with Brigadier Ramushwana.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the constitution of a future South Africa would be drawn up by organisations with proven support.

Workers should have a share in the wealth of the country because they had produced it.

Guns that were killing people should be used to protect the masses.

Land should be taken from the “enemy” to be shared by all people, Mr Naidoo said.

Mr Mandela said his trip to the Far East and Asia had been successful. “I want to tell you that the ANC is highly respected worldwide.

“We came back with our hands full. ANC president Oliver Tambo has done marvellous work. He and his national executive committee have raised the ANC to a level it never had before.”

Mr Tambo is scheduled to spend seven days in Lusaka with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and arrive in South Africa on December 14 for the ANC’s conference.
ANC highlights state role in land issue

A report on an ANC workshop on the land question, released by the organisation's land commission yesterday, shows widespread support for intensive state intervention in post-apartheid programmes to redistribute land.

Points raised at the workshop will be taken into account in the formulation of an ANC discussion paper on rural policy due to be completed before the end of the year.

Land commission administrator Derek Hanekom yesterday cautioned that the workshop, held last month, had not been a policy-making exercise. He said the report should be seen as "the beginning of a process of consultation". It was the first time some of these concepts had been critically discussed.

"It gave us a good understanding of people's aspirations. But the main thing to emerge from the workshop was the complexity of the issues," Hanekom said.

Participants included ANC regional delegates, rural community leaders and local and foreign specialists in various land-related issues.

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A simulation exercise carried out during the week-long workshop suggested that a future government was going to find itself squeezed between people's aspirations and the power of the banks, he added.

The report said while nationalisation of land was seen as a means of acquiring land for redistribution, the dominant view was that land should not remain in state hands, but should be "given back to the people".

Arguments against full-scale land nationalisation included that it could cause economic collapse, increase state power and therefore potential for its abuse, and act as a disincentive against people carrying out improvements to the land.

The report argued the initial priority for state acquisition should be unused, abused, or under-utilised land. A second set of criteria would be those based on social considerations, where there had been human rights violations like forced removals.

Although initial discussions proposed the targeting for acquisition of farms owned by companies, this view fell away in favour of a system where taxation and other aspects of agricultural policy should be geared to benefit individually and community-owned farms above company farms.

All land tenure forms should be permitted in a mixed economy, the report said.

Except in cases of unused and abandoned land, and cases of human rights abuses, the workshop adopted the view that compensation be paid for any land acquired by the state. A portion of the compensation — 25% — should be paid in cash and the remainder in industrial and 10-year government bonds.

The workshop examined land claims, for example by relocated individuals and communities to their original land, and the numerous areas of possible disputes.

Such disputes could arise, the report noted, between landowners and tenants, present and historical occupants, and claims based on chieftainship versus those based on civic associations.

It therefore proposed the establishment of a land claims commission charged with arbitrating on conflicting claims.
SA may soon foot R2bn TBVC bill

MIKE ROBERTSON
and EVYTH BULRING

SA WILL have to assume responsibility for debts totalling more than R2bn when the TBVC states are reincorporated.

With all four countries having now indicated a wish to be part of the new SA, Cabinet has instructed officials to prepare an initial assessment of what the cost will be by Friday.

An immediate cost is the R4bn in bridging finance which Transkei, Ciskei and Venda have borrowed from commercial banks since 1986.

The loans have been guaranteed by SA and, given the parlous state of the economies of the three countries, it is likely SA will have to assume responsibility for the loans once reincorporation takes place.

Before reincorporation the three states will ask SA to guarantee further loans, taking the amount to more than R2bn.

This year they are looking for loans totalling R1bn. Cabinet has yet to approve any new guarantees and officials say that if approval is forthcoming, this figure will be severely trimmed.

Last year Cabinet refused to guarantee any further loans to Transkei following a decision by that country to award mass-inequity hikes to civil servants. Transkei responded by using state pension fund money to fund current expenditure.

In its current budget Ciskei indicated it was looking for R44m in bridging finance. After being told by SA officials that there was no chance Cabinet would approve such an amount, Ciskei returned asking for even more — R52m.

Reincorporation will also result in SA assuming responsibility for bloated bureaucracies in the four states. With a future dispensation still to be negotiated, officials have difficulty in assessing just how many of the jobs will remain.

But with personnel salaries making up 47% of total expenditure in Venda and 44% in Ciskei as opposed to the World Bank’s recommended 30%, it is clear that there will have to be big retrenchments.

There are backlogs in education and health which would require large-scale additional spending by SA to achieve parity. Bringing pensions in Transkei and Ciskei on a par with the amount paid to black people in SA will cost about R150m a year.

TBVC states

In addition to assuming responsibility for overstuffed civil services, SA will also have to deal with anomalies in payments to certain officials. In some cases individuals receive salaries totally out of proportion to the work involved. The director-general of foreign affairs in Transkei, according to this year’s budget, receives a salary of R120,000, which compares very favourably with that of his SA counterpart Neil van Heerden.

Transkei’s President Tutor Ndame is paid R120,000 more than the R174,000 which President F W de Klerk receives.

The perception among SA officials is that Transkei is recklessly overspending because it believes that at the end of the day, SA will have to pick up the tab.

Officials are working on the basis that reincorporation would entail a standardisation of tax structure, which would mean the introduction of VAT into Bophuthatswana and an end to the Ciskei policy of having no company tax.

Coupled with the expected phasing out of present decentralisation incentives, it is expected that this will result in the closure of a quarter of the companies operating in the independent states.

Sixteen years after the grand apartheid experiment began, none of the four states is showing signs of becoming financially viable. As a result, even if the NP succeeds in winning support in negotiations for a federal option, it is highly unlikely that the independent states could be reincorporated in their present form.

Bophuthatswana, which has performed best, expects to raise 71% of total revenue of R2,8bn locally this year. The biggest contribution is expected to come from tax on mining companies, totalling R600m.

Ciskei expects to raise 38% of revenue locally this year, Venda 36% and Transkei 56%.

Total SA aid to TBVC states has more than trebled from R1,2bn in 1983/4 to R4,2bn last year. It is expected to total R4,5bn this year. As in the case of all other government spending, aid to TBVC states will be cut by 5% in real terms next year.
JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa will have to assume responsibility for debts totalling more than R2 billion when the independent homelands are reincorporated.

With all four countries — Transkei, Venda, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — having now indicated a wish to be part of the new South Africa, the cabinet has instructed officials to prepare an initial assessment of the cost. The officials have to submit an initial assessment to the cabinet by Friday.

An immediate cost they have identified is the R1.4bn in bridging finance which Transkei, Ciskei and Venda have borrowed from commercial banks since 1986.

The loans have been guaranteed by South Africa, and, given the paltry state of the economies of the three countries, officials believe there is little likelihood that they will be able to repay the loans.
Only the casinos will remain when the homelands go

Lowy 24/11/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

SA Nance Chikelu opted for independence in December. Since becoming the fourth independent homeland, the SA government has pumped about R350m into various forms of aid into the so-called TBVC states.

Despite this, financial viability for all four homelands remains a distant dream and standards of living for the ordinary inhabitants here have on the whole declined. And all four are willing to consider reincorporation into the new SA.

Officials attempting to salvage the wreckage of the failed grant apartheid experiment are discovering that reincorporation could be costly. Just as apartheid spawned a standards class in Pretoria, the biggest beneficiaries of apartheid in the homelands have been both the politicians and the bureaucrats.

Prompted by apartheid planners when they look independence that they would not be worse off than their counterparts in SA, politicians in the independent homelands have awarded themselves salaries which are simply not commensurate with the size of their countries' budgets.

In Transkei, President Nkonka Nkonka earns R150,000 a year and each minister receives R146,000. In Bophuthatswana, which has been the least extravagant, President Lucas Mangope earns R125,000 while his three ministers make R60,000.

The question confronting officials now is what happens to these politicians in reincorporation? If they are to be treated like former politicians in SA, their pension bill will run into millions.

What to do with the bloated bureaucracies of the independent homelands poses an even greater question. A new earning a top salary of R500,000 in Venda, could be accommodated in the health service of a new SA, whatever the final dispensation agreed on. But what is to be done with the chieftain of the Venda defense force who earns R185,901, or Transkei's director general of foreign affairs who earns R219,197.

With the SAPF already cutting its expenditure, there would appear to be little likelihood of large-scale incorporation of their defense force members and the four homelands. It is more likely that the four defense forces would be scrapped entirely, resulting in a saving of about R150m - based on this year's budgets of the TBVC states. On the other hand, the cost in pensions, retraining packages and unemployment benefits would be astronomical. The possibility of large-scale disruption by disgruntled members of the defense forces also needs to be taken into account.

As with the defense forces, there would be no need in a new SA for the departments of foreign affairs of the four homelands. Despite their failure to gain international recognition, this year they plan to spend about R4m. Some officials could be incorporated depending on ability; most would have to be retrained - again at a cost.

Whether the new SA has a federal system or not, there would always be a need to have justice, agriculture, police and other government department officials in the various regions.

Again, depending on ability, there could be some form of reincorporation but with the jobs at the top for the approximately 30 directors-general of the homelands departments or their thousands of senior assistants, all will have lucrative pay packages.

While homeland staffs have been channeling money into the pockets of the bureaucratic class, the quality of services provided to the inhabitants has generally declined.

It is true that in Ciskei, for example, the road to town is better than that in most black schools in SA. Thus, however, is an exception. Simply bringing the spending on health, education, pensions and shelter to the four homelands on a par with that of black South Africans, let alone whites, will take years and cost millions if not billions. Equal treatment in Ciskei and Transkei with those paid to black South Africans will in itself cost an extra R50m a year.

For comparison, at present operating in the independent homelands, reincorporation holds many pitfalls. What, for example, is to happen to the casinos? This year Bophuthatswana expects to raise R4m through gambling tax, and Ciskei R3m. However, does not take into account the amount earned from casino through company tax and personal taxation of their employees.

A task looking at the cost of reincorporation believes it would be unsafe to insist on closing down casinos. At the same time they also believe that allowing gambling throughout SA would result in the demise of the various gambling operations in the present independent homelands. Why go to a homeland casino when you can gamble in Johannesburg?

A compromise, they suggest, is that gambling in a new SA be allowed only in the most underdeveloped regions, which would include all the present homelands.

Existing incentive schemes for industries in the homelands and other decentralisation areas will be phased out from April next year. The replacement scheme has yet to be announced and is expected to concentrate on coastal metropolitan areas like Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town where in belief believed incentives will be most effective. The R4m tax estimated SA will pay in incentive schemes for industries in the homelands this year would almost certainly be scaled down.

Without these schemes, officials estimate that a quarter of the companies now operating in the homelands will go to the wall.

Ciskei is a corporate tax haven, and Bophuthatswana has no sales tax on reincorporation. Companies operating in Ciskei will have to start paying company tax while those in Dikgokhutsana will have to pay VAT.

The creation of free ports or export processing zones could, in addition, form part of new investment schemes. In addition, the difference in ancillary tasks, the new SA, Mangope fees the same way about Bophuthatswana's financial reality. However, points to this not being likely.

Bophuthatswana, which exports tax revenue of about R350m annually from its platinum mines this year, has come closer to achieving financial independence from SA. This has been helped to a large extent by the fact that the salaries it pays to bureaucrats are almost halved those from Transkei.

Nevertheless, more than a quarter of Bophuthatswana's estimated state revenue of R2.5bn this year consists of budgetary aid and development loans from SA.

Transkei is even less viable. It hopes to raise just 5% of total state revenue locally this year - the balance comes from other homelands. The rest comes from the SA taxpayer.

The creation of the homelands was a major step towards a two-state system, at least 6 years the National Party has finally accepted economic realities and dumped grand apartheid.

In constitutional negotiations the National Party, supported by the Democratic Party, will be arguing the need for a federal system will strengthen regional government in SA. But on President F W de Klerk, has abandoned the rhetoric of his predecessors, has argued, the boundaries of these new regions will have to be determined on financial and not political grounds.

The costs of ending the expensive grand apartheid experiment will be large. SA officials argue to make it clear to homeland leaders that bureaucratic costs are going to be slashed, non-viable homelands will not be restored an economically viable entity in a unified SA.
Traditional leaderships must be guaranteed - Ramodike

TRADITIONAL leadership should be guaranteed in a new South Africa but ethnic boundaries created by unsympathetic parties should be transcended, Lebowan Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike said on Saturday.

Ramodike was addressing the launch of the Transvaal region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders in South Africa in Pietersburg.

Traditional leadership was a common heritage of mankind all over the world and had been his system of government, he said.

"In our search for a new constitution for the country it should be one which should guarantee traditional leadership's protection. Throughout the process of decolonisation, liberation movements have developed a negative hostile attitude towards traditional leaders."

But the leader of this self-governing state in northern SA said also: "I wish to appeal to you that your views on the future of this country should transcend the tribal and ethnic boundaries that have been grown for you by those who never had your interests at heart." - Sapa
Self-governing states unhappy

PRETORIA — The six self-governing territories expressed dissatisfaction yesterday with the inadequate way they had been funded.

At a special meeting of the Conference of Ministers of Finance from the self-governing territories, chaired by newly appointed Agricultural and Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers, the broad priorities for the self-governing territories were discussed.

In a statement after the meeting, the Department of Development Aid said attention was drawn to the grave and urgent need for socio-economic upliftment in the self-governing territories.

"In particular the self-governing territories expressed dissatisfaction with the inadequate way they have been funded up to now and the backlogs that have developed as a result."

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emphasised the need for setting priorities in government expenditure.

The fifth meeting of political leaders in SA Governmental Executives will be chaired by State President F W de Klerk in Pretoria today.

It will discuss future regional and local government structures and abolition of the Land Acts.

Present will be Cabinet ministers, members of the Ministers' Councils, leaders of the self-governing territories and the administrators. — Sapa.
Homelands angry over budget cuts

Johannesburg. - The government has angered homeland leaders by telling them millions will be slashed from their budgets in the next financial year.

The six self-governing homelands were told last week that their budgets would be cut by 3% in real terms, leaving them with increases below the inflation rate. The four independent homelands are expected to be given the same bad news about payments from SA.

The cuts are in line with the reductions being forced on all South African government departments by the Minister of Economic Co-ordination, Dr Wim de Villiers.

The self-governing homelands are scheduled to receive more than R3 billion from SA taxpayers this year, and the independent TBCV states are to receive R4.3bn.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, outlined the position at a meeting in Pretoria with Finance Ministers of the six non-independent homelands — KwaNdebele, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane and Qwa Qwa.

Also at the meeting, which was chaired by the Minister of Agriculture and Development Aid, Mr Jacob de Villiers, were Dr De Villiers and the deputy minister of Training and Development Aid, Mr Piet Marais.

The meeting was described as being the first occasion on which the government gave homeland leaders the opportunity to have a direct briefing on the broad parameters of the Development Aid budget.

According to a brief official announcement, the self-governing states' representatives said they were dissatisfied with inadequate funding received to date.

Sources close to the meeting said the ministers were told that police, salaries, administration and government building budgets would all have to be trimmed.

Both sides agreed, however, that there should be a greater emphasis on socio-economic upliftment.
Angry ministers get the message

Homelands told SA is to slash budgets

GOVERNMENT has angered homeland leaders by telling them millions will be slashed from their budgets in the next financial year as part of the cutbacks in state spending.

The leaders are resisting cuts in their huge bureaucracies and point to spending needs for schools, hospitals, roads and job creation.

The six self-governing homelands were told last week that their budgets would be cut by 5% in real terms. This leaves them with increases below the inflation rate.

The four independent homelands are expected to be given the same bad news about payments from SA.

The cuts are in line with the reductions forced on all SA government departments by Economic Co-ordination Minister Wim de Villiers.

The self-governing homelands are scheduled to receive more than R5bn from SA taxpayers this year.

The bill for the independent TBVC states is R4.3bn.

Finance Minister Benard du Plessis and Cabinet colleagues outlined the position at a meeting in Pretoria with finance ministers of the six non-independent homelands — KwaNdebele, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane and Qwa Qwa.

Also at the meeting, which was chaired by Agriculture and Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers, were Wim de Villiers and Training and Development Aid Deputy Minister Piet Marais.

Money for self-governing homelands comes under the Department of Development Aid.

This was said to be the first time homelands have been given direct input on the broad parameters of the Development Aid budget.

A brief official announcement said representatives of the self-governing states said they were dissatisfied with inadequate funding to date.

Sources close to the meeting said the ministers were told that police, salaries, administration and government building budgets would all have to be trimmed.

Both sides agreed, however, that there should be a greater emphasis on socio-economic upliftment.

However, these funds could be increasingly channelled through central government departments and provincial administrations rather than through the homeland governments.

Government, too, might make greater use of initiatives such as the R2bn Independent Development Trust to address socio-economic backlogs in the homelands, generally regarded as being among the most underdeveloped areas of SA.

It is believed government also intends reducing finance to the TBVC states by at least 5%. Most of this money is paid by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The statement said the present state of...
Homelands - General

1991
Homelands to get less money

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis yesterday told his counterparts in the six self-governing states that their 1991/92 budgets would have to be severely trimmed.

This was said at a conference with the six homeland ministers, held to discuss budget allocations.

The ministers said they were dissatisfied with the allocations.

Allocations to the six homelands in the current financial year increased by nearly 30% to R5.971bn.

Gazankulu got R745.5m (R592.8m the previous year), KwaNguni R415.5m (R337.45m), KwaNdebele R234.7m (R236.7m), KwaZulu R251.8m (R1.856m), Lebowa R1.555m (R1.136m) and Qwaqwa R120.3m (R124.5m).

Central Statistical Service said the self-governing states employed more than 190,000 civil servants at the end of last September. Their pay for the third quarter was R766.3m — up by R42.497m on the same quarter in 1989.
Choose Your Fate at FW's Poker Game

A new Coop feature focuses on the future of the self-governing states.
Land reform must redress apartheid's distortions

THE National Land Committee says any resolution to the land question must have popular legitimacy and support for it to work.

In a statement reacting to President FW de Klerk's announcement last Friday of the scrapping of the Land Acts, the Johannesburg-based committee said it welcomed the news that the government would produce a white paper on land reform.

"Until now, the government has formulated its plans in secret," the Committee said.

"We have always believed that any resolution to the land question must have popular legitimacy and support for it to be workable. In particular it would have to recognise and be able to redress the wrongs and distortions that apartheid has meant for black South Africans and society as a whole.

Aspirations

"Such a lasting solution which meets the needs and aspirations of South Africans can only be found through a representative and consultative process," the Committee said.

It reiterated demands of many communities for a new system of land ownership. These included:

- Land lost by black people as a result of forced removals be restored immediately;
- The government must ensure that legislative reform does not deprive black people of existing rights to land; and
- The government must commit itself to a programme of affirmative action that would make land and resources available for blacks, particularly for the landless and women who constitute the bulk of the farming population in the homelands.
Plugging a bad cash flow

NOW that the South African government has begun reincorporating the Ciskei into South Africa, the question is: how much of the bureaucracy will be dismantled?

This week, military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo signed a treaty which spelt out the de facto end of independence. In effect, Pretoria will now appoint key ministers and help the homeland maintain law and order.

Previously, SA had maintained a strict appearance of dealing with the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) only in terms of international diplomatic conventions, however farcical these may have seemed.

Foolish

Communications between officials concerning agricultural projects or road building were bodily rooted through the departments of foreign affairs and ambassadorial fax machines. Where governments embarked on foolish projects, like Matanzima’s attempt to start a navy, Sebe’s unused airport and Venda’s peculiar little university, Pretoria had to smile and pay.

A labyrinthine network of “multilateral technical committees” co-ordinated by the Secretariat for the Economic Community of Southern Africa ensures that everything from postage stamps to cattle dipping get discussed at length by a large number of bored public servants.

ANDREW DONALDSON counts the costs of reincorporation of the homeland into South Africa

Because nothing is decided without being referred back to ministries and cabinets, everything is discussed more than can possibly be necessary. However, the system has done very little to prevent foolish and wasteful projects.

The TBVC states are all in financial difficulties. During the mid-80s, SA insisted on the establishment of “joint financial adjustment committees” for each state, with the Development Bank acting as a facilitator. For Pretoria, the purpose was to impose financial discipline, while for the TBVC states the committees became a channel for articulating demands for development-related funding.

But the frightening truth is that the TBVC states can borrow as if they were sovereign governments without having to pay the price of excess spending: a devalued currency.

The JCFAs may have made undisciplined overdraft borrowing a little more difficult, but the homelands still face what Polish economist Jan Kornai called “soft budget constraints” (which arise because officials are not responsible for the problems of over-spending). When Transkei announced generous public servants’ pay increases last year, Pretoria sent an admonishing diplomatic note, but nobody’s salary cheque bounced.

How should one evaluate the increase in spending of the TBVC regimes and their increased indebtedness?

On the one hand, the relentless growth in the bantustan bureaucracy, conspicuous indulgence in infrastructural excesses, and fraud, incompetence and corruption represent a shameful waste of taxpayers’ money.

On the other, there has been an improvement in the availability of schooling and health facilities. Industrial growth and agricultural development account for some share of the increased spending, as do pensions and social welfare transfers.

Reincorporation of Ciskei into SA, along with other independent homelands, would presumably lead to the standardisation of social services at norms determined by the central government, along with adjustment of the anomalous features in industrial policy and taxation.

But the only real prospect for reduced spending in homelands is on bureaucratic functions and activities which do not require local or regional programmes. Some entire departments, particularly foreign affairs, finance and the auditor-general, will become redundant.

Dismantling the redundant bureaucracy involves paying off public servants, many of whom are earning far more than they could in the labour market. They have become accustomed to privilege and influence and will not go away quietly.

Quality

Perhaps more difficult than closing down superfluous offices will be realignment of state functions into a unified South African government. Restoration of administrative efficiency and discipline, attention to quality of services and standardisation of policies and procedures will bring numerous problems.

Unfortunately, the short-term financial saving from dismantling homeland governments will be slight - perhaps R150-million in Ciskei’s case. But this is not the issue. At stake is the quality of regional government.

The benefits of restructured government in the Eastern Cape cannot be simply stated in rands saved. The Ciskei regime is in trouble not because it spends so much but because it governs so badly.

G. Andrew Donaldson is at the Department of Economics and Economic History at Rhodes University.
Future of TBVC states to be main theme at talks

By Peter Fabricius

The future of the four TBVC homelands will be the topic of the multiparty conference which precedes full constitutional negotiations, President de Klerk said on Monday.

He was speaking at a press conference in Cape Town after talks with Venda leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana about the role of Venda in a new constitutional dispensation.

The Government view was that the states had a "vested interest" in what happened in South Africa and there were various options about their future role. The Government believed the first step was to get the proposed multiparty conference off the ground.

The role of the TBVC states ought to be discussed and an understanding reached at the conference.

Until then the Government would continue with a series of talks with the TBVC states.

It would soon be holding talks with Bophuthatswana leader President Lucas Mangope and the Ciskei and Transkei.

Mr de Klerk said there did not seem to be a common approach among all TBVC states about their role in the future South Africa.

Brigadier Ramushwana said the future of Venda also rested with the rest of South Africa. He said he did not envisage following the example of Ciskei by entering an arrangement whereby the South African Government would help in governing the country in the interim period before re-incorporation.

He said Venda was trying to promote efficiency in its public service. If it managed to do this properly, it would not be necessary to have an interim arrangement with South Africa.

Brigadier Ramushwana was accompanied by fellow members of the Venda Council of National Unity and officials.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels, director-general of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Defence Minister General General Magnus Malan, Deputy Finance Minister Dr Org Marais, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and of Provincial Affairs Dr Tertius Delport and officials attended.
Homelands will take part in talks - FW

THE future of the homelands will be discussed at the negotiating table, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

The TRVC areas had a "vested interest in what happens in South Africa," and would therefore be part of the proposed multi-party conference, De Klerk said.

Speaking in Cape Town after meeting a delegation from Venda, De Klerk said there would be no interim measure similar to that in Ciskei where the Government had placed white South Africans in senior government posts.

He said, however, that both the South African and Venda governments were in favour of sound administration in the homeland.

The future of Venda did not only rest with the people of the homeland, the area's military leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana said.

Leaders

Both leaders said talks which had been going on for some time would continue.

De Klerk also said the Government would meet Bophuthatswana leader Chief Mangope "soon".

Among South Africans at yesterday's talks were Mr Pili Botha, his deputy Mr Leon Wessels, Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Deputy Minister of Finance Dr Org Marais.

Ramushwana was accompanied by senior members of his government.
R100-m to jack up the homelands

A ONE-OFF sum of R100 million was to be made available to the self-governing homelands to meet certain pressing economic needs, Mr Barond du Plessis said.

He said in his Budget speech that this would be made available on a priority basis in consultation with those concerned and would be administered through the Department of Development Aid.

It was provisionally estimated that R70 million of the amount would be spent on education. - Sapa.
Outlay on buying land for
homeland is slashed 76%

CAPE TOWN — Government spending on the purchase of land for the homelands is to be slashed by 76% from R53,5m to R12,7m during the 1991/92 financial year. But expenditure on the 10 homelands is to increase by 24.7% to R911,5m.

No provision has been made for the purchase of property in the four independent homelands, an item which cost R15m last year. This account is expected to increase by R42,9m to R1,15bn.

The cuts in expenditure come in the wake of government’s White Paper on land reform, in which it said the law under which land was to be purchased for the homelands, the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act, was to be scrapped.

Enormous sums of money have been spent over the years for the purchase of land to consolidate the homelands.

This item will now disappear from the Budget, and the R12,7m in the 1991/92 financial year is likely to cover commitments which government has already made for the purchase of property.

The Estimates of Expenditure, which was tabled in Parliament last year, make no provision for a “show grants”, for which R6,1m was budgeted last year.

However, no details were provided of how much would be transferred to each of the TBVC states.

Under the Development Aid vote, R6160m has been provided for the six non-independent homelands, compared with the R529,5m budgeted last year.

KwaZulu is to get R22,7m, Lebowa R1,17bn, Gazankulu R733,9m, Xhosa R413,2m, KwaNdebele R333,7m, and Venda R187,5m.

Health spending goes up by nearly 9%

CAPE TOWN — Government spending on health services would increase by 8.9% to R8175m in 1991/92, with greater emphasis placed on primary health care, said Finance Minister Bere du Plessis.

But despite the change in emphasis on health spending, only 5% of the health budget would go to primary health care, du Plessis said.

"Experience has shown that the health status of a community is influenced to a significant degree by expenditure outside the strict health field, for example in the supply of water for domestic use, sewerage, housing and balanced nutrition," he said.

"Various measures for which funds are being supplied in this Budget...therefore indirectly support the function of primary health care," he said.

Du Plessis said the private sector continued to devote itself to more specialised curative services "for that portion of the population that can bear economic tariffs".

He said that the private sector spent on health services already represented about 45% of the total.

The review notes, though, that these amounts are not strictly comparable for purposes of evaluating the progress of low-cost housing, inasmuch as certain off-budget loci have come into existence that provide various forms of financing in this field.

The review takes note of the serious housing shortage and says it could get worse. It said it was estimated that more than 1.5 million people could be regarded as squatters, as defined at present, while another 1.7 million lived in backyards.

The review says state spending on housing must accelerate and adds that a "leverage mechanism" must be devised in respect of other market funds to deal with backlogs.

It noted that the Independent Development Trust had recently announced that R375m would be made available in each of the following two years for housing.

In addition, it was proposed that the R119m remaining from the R225m allocated in 1991/92 for the purchase of land for black urbanisation be voted in the additional appropriation for 1991/92. This was to have been funded out of the proceeds of privatisation.

It was further proposed that a supplementary R3m be voted for the Department of Planning, Provincial Affairs and Water to supply basic infrastructure.
ENORMOUS CHANGES

Government's land reform plan will enrage political extremists, both Left and Right, but it is undoubtedly the most fundamental change so far in Nationalist policy. It will do as much to shape the new SA as the Tomlinson Commission report in 1955 shaped apartheid by providing the framework for separate development.

In essence, the White Paper and five Bills tabled in parliament this week will:
- Remove all racial discrimination from land ownership;
- Automate convert about 2m leasehold properties in black townships to freehold;
- Immediately release 254 000 ha of SA Development Trust land originally earmarked for incorporation into the homelands for sale (by implication to black farmers) with a further 220 000 ha to follow soon;
- Allow communities on a nonracial basis to determine "norms and standards" for their areas; and
- Greatly speed up the acquisition and ser-

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vicing by the State of land for "less formal towns" and provide for the establishment of a financial and technical support structure to help low-income earners and farmers to acquire land.

The measures affect 189 laws and an estimated 15,000 proclamations which have regulated land ownership on a racial basis for nearly 40 years. Government hopes to have the Bills passed by parliament by mid-June.

The Black Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act, the Black Communities Development Act and all other provisions regulating land ownership on a racial basis will be repealed "finally and unconditionally," according to the White Paper.

But the final rooting out of all race-based measures will be the task of a special Advisory Committee on Non-Racial Area Measures under the minister of justice. This will liaise with all State departments that could be affected by the reforms.

The White Right will accuse government yet again of caving in to black demands, while the radical Left will no doubt condemn the failure to propose either large-scale land redistribution or compensation for loss of land and property rights due to apartheid.

Government's spokesman on the issue, Stoffel van der Merwe, agrees that land was lost owing to apartheid's social engineering but argues that more white land was given to blacks for homeland consolidation. Any attempt to restore land to its original owners would be a nightmare. "We must look to the future rather than the past."

Local Government and Planning Minister Hermus Kriel says while no specific anti-discriminatory clauses are contained in the Bills, once race-based laws are scrapped, common law will prohibit discrimination on the grounds of race, creed or gender. However, individuals will be free to decide to whom they wish to sell or lease their property and he concedes that this could be based on race — just as it could be based on religion, gender or cultural group. Government will not interfere in this process.

The reform measures don't affect the legal status of the homelands, their geographical definitions or their self-governing status. Government says the future of the homelands is under negotiation and can't be finalised in terms of the land reforms.

The system of tribal ownership in the homelands will also remain almost unchanged unless the tribal authorities themselves wish to change it, and even then a 10-year "sunset clause" in one of the Bills provides for judicial review of land transactions to ensure that the tribe is not prejudiced.

The White Paper says the "norms and standards" measures are needed to allay fears in "certain communities" that the repeal of the Group Areas Act will threaten "established community life."

The White Paper repeats government's view that "own affairs" will stay until a new constitution is implemented. Interim provision is made in one of the Bills to provide for
History now deciding that apartheid is a failure.

“This HISTORY,” said Professor F.R. Tomlinson only 10 years ago, “will have to decide whether we were right or wrong.”

History is now poised to complete those deliberations following the death in Worcester in the Cape last month of the “architect of the homeland.”

He is certain to be found to have been wrong — and the irony of the timing of the revolution could not have been more acute.

For in the very week in which Frederick Routhmann Tomlinson died at the age of 83 — some 25 years after the publication of his famous Tomlinson Commission Report — the first of the “independent” homelands took a step toward inexorable reincorporation into South Africa.

The incremental “homecoming” of Ciskei marks the beginning of the end of the grand homelands plan, rendering Professor Tomlinson’s 7-volume, one-million-word report all but obsolete at a stroke.

Undignified obscurity

In Parliament, too, the country’s white legislators are dismantling the laws of the past four decades. The old ideologues and technocrats of apartheid are being overthrown by undignified obscurity.

Professor Tomlinson will nevertheless occupy a permanent place in the modern history of South Africa, and it must be clearly understood for what it is and what it is not.

He cannot fairly be referred to today as the “architect of apartheid” written large. To be sure his memorandum report laid a foundation for the political and social apartheid into practice (and even coined the phrase “separate development”).

But he insisted it was a technocratic “solution” to a “prescribed political problem” — that of the homelands.

“I was asked to do a job,” he said in a rare interview in 1974 shortly before his retirement as secretary of the apartheid Commission. “I was not ideologically committed to the idea of separation except that it is something South Africa has been born with and some idea of separation.”

As chairman of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd’s Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas, Professor Tomlinson spent nearly five years in the early 1960s dynamics up the scattered ethnic enclaves which Verwoerd firmly believed would constitute South Africa’s “black areas.

Professor Tomlinson emerged convinced, but not the homelands could work — but only on the condition that white South African dig deep into its pockets to ensure the “bantustans” a better living.

He subsequently fell out with Dr Verwoerd, who later pulled the “bantustans” financial elements of the plan, and the professor broke a 40-year silence on the implementation of his report in 1974.

He never been consulted since completing the report, he told the South African Agricultural Union.

HONOUR: Professor Tomlinson was awarded the Decoration for Meritorious Service in 1985.

SHAUN JOHNSON

He now believed that the Government had “wasted 15 years” in making only tentative progress in the development of the homelands. “The commission had seen the whole task as stated by Mr. He said, "as an expected act of faith of the white population."

Small scale efforts

“If I am convinced that there was the opportunity at the time of the appearance of the report in 1960, to give great encouragement, enthusiasm and support among the white section of the population by starting large scale ambitious programmes which were designed to be responsible to whites.”

What was at issue were decades of paternalism. Professor Tomlinson said repeatedly that he believed “we whites are in Africa for God’s purpose. I believe that we have important missionary work to do and I am the Tomlinson Commission Report as a part of that work, as part of my Christian duty.”

He expressed “great faith in the ability of black South Africans to manage their own affairs,” saying he “have a very high regard for the potential, still largely dormant, of our black people.”

But Professor Tomlinson totally rejected any possibility of wholesale integration. It was an unacknowledged to the supposed “neutral” expert as it was to the apartheid ideologue Verwoerd.

It is for this reason that he will probably not retain his reputation as a visionary who “saw through apartheid dogma. History is more likely to remember him as a brilliant technocrat whose theories were never properly tested, but were unworkable anyway.

Professor Tomlinson was, despoits his name an Africanist. He had an English grandmother, but his mother’s side of the family had emigrated from South Africa to Germany as early as 1774.

Household notoriety

He completed the academic study of agriculture at Stellenbosch University, eventually completing a PhD at Cornell University.

He started lecturing at Stellenbosch at the age of 26, and became a professor thereafter. He was in this capacity that he was invited to chair the commission which eventually bore his name — he was apparently recommended by J.C. Strijdom, later to become prime minister — and moved from relative academic obscurity to household notoriety.

This was short-lived: Dr Verwoerd effectively gagged him, and Professor Tomlinson’s light veered as he took on long-term tenure as the Director of the Transvaal Region of the Department of Agriculture.

He made a brief comeback, “recalled” in 1965 by Prime Minister F. W. de Klerk as a consultant to the Department of Cooperation and Development, and then retired to his home town of Stellenbosch. In 1965 President de Klerk conferred the Decoration for Meritorious Service on him.

Professor Tomlinson died at the end of February in Worcester, and was buried in Stellenbosch. A long-time academic colleague, Professor E.G. Smith hailed him as a “great Africanist who had an intense love for his country — a great man, a true leader.”

Other historians have yet to have their say.
Instead of which we got important...moral scale effort.

Professor Tomlinson, in his report, states that he believed "we (the British) had to work in Africa for God's purpose. I believe we have important missionary work to do and I saw the Tomlinson Commission Report as part of that work, as part of a Christian duty."

He expressed great faith in the ability of black South Africans to manage their own affairs, saying "I have a very high regard for the potential of the black people..." Professor Tomlinson totally rejected any possibility of wholesale alteration. It was not an unchangeable 'neutral' expert, as it was to the ideological viewpoint.

For that reason, he will prob-ably retain his reputation as a vi- sionary who "saw through" apartheid. History is more likely to re- deem him as a brilliant technocrate whose theories were never properly tested and were unworkable anyway. Professor Tomlinson was, despite his weaknesses, an Afrikaner. He had an English mother, but his father's side of the family had emigrated to South Africa (Germany) as early as 1774.

usehold notoriety

...excelled in the academic study of nature at Stellenbosch University, finally completing a PhD at Cor-}

nel University.

He started lecturing at Stellenbosch at the age of 25, and became a professor, a general in the military, and a professor of the University of Stellenbosch. He was invited to chair the commis- sion on which eventually bore his name. He was apparently recommended by Strijdom, later to become prime minister — and moved from relative ac- ceptance to household notoriety, was short-lived. Dr Verwoerd ei- ther dawa his head, and Professor Tomlinson died at the end of the War, in 1974. He was buried in the family plot at Stellenbosch. In 1974, Boeske conferred the Degree of Achievement on him. When Tomlinson died at the end of the War, in 1974, he was buried in Stellenbosch. A long-time academic Professor Dirk Smith, talked of African who had made the country... great and its arts as "one whole land". Other to have their way.
The budget for the Ministry of Education and Training also faces challenges, with the demand for quality education increasing. The government has been focusing on improving the education system, but funding remains a critical issue. The Ministry of Education and Training has been working towards enhancing the curriculum and teacher training programs. However, there is a need for increased investment in infrastructure to support these initiatives.

The Ministry of Defence is another area that requires careful consideration. Defence spending is crucial for national security, but the budget has been under scrutiny due to allegations of mismanagement and inefficiency. The Ministry has been working on modernizing its equipment and improving operational readiness. However, there is a need for stronger internal controls to ensure that funds are used effectively.

In conclusion, the budget process is a complex one that requires careful consideration of the country's priorities. The government must balance the demands for development and security while ensuring that the budget is used efficiently and effectively. The upcoming budget will be a critical test of the government's ability to address these challenges and make progress towards its developmental goals.
Land reform buries race restrictions

Political Staff

THE government’s long-awaited white paper on land reform is to be tabled in Parliament next Tuesday.

The white paper will outline the government’s approach to land reform following the scrapping of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act.

These measures will remove all racial restrictions on the ownership and occupation of land.

However, the government is expected to provide some protection for communally owned land in the rural areas, particularly that in the homelands.

It is also expected to pave the way for peasant occupation and farming in the 1.2 million hectares of land at present owned by the South African Development Trust.

This land, originally bought in terms of the 1936 Development and Trust Act, was intended for transfer into the homelands, but with the gradual process towards the dismantling of the homeland system this transfer will no longer take place.

The Development Bank of Southern Africa has drawn up plans for the development of black farmers by making use of the SA Development Trust land.

The government is expected to give an effective green light to the Development Bank plan.

The SA Development Trust land includes one of the biggest citrus estates in the world, the 30,111ha Zebelila Estate in the Northern Transvaal.

The Minister of Development Aid, Mr Jacob de Villiers, said in Parliament this week, in reply to a question tabled by Mr Mike Turr (DP, Maritzburg), that the Trust controlled 647 854ha in the Transvaal, 400 106ha in Natal, 111 246ha in the Cape and 88 277ha in the Free State.

He added that arrangements for the disposal of this land would appear in the white paper.

President F W de Klerk said in Maitland on Monday that the government would ensure that rights to “own” community life and schools for those who wanted it would be protected, and existing property rights would not be threatened in the new order.

The white paper is expected to contain the government’s proposals on how these rights will be protected in the wake of the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.
SA cash clamp on TBVC finances

The government has told three of the four independent homelands that it will not guarantee another R1-billion in loans unless they surrender control of their departments of finance to SA nominees.

The move to restore some semblance of order to the chaotic finances of Ciskei, Venda and Transkei has been delayed. The interim step pending a decision on how to reincorporate all the homelands into SA, senior government officials said yesterday.

Homeland finances have reached crisis point:
- Total homeland debt now amounts to R6-billion.
- Transkei has virtually wound down its civil pension funds in an attempt to pay for current expenditure.

Better
- At current rates, it will take only another three years before the two Kei states and Venda are unable to pay the interest, let alone the capital, on their debts.

The finances of Bophuthatswana, which has rich mining and tourism resources, are in better shape.

It has already guaranteed debt totalling R1.46-billion for Ciskei, Venda and Transkei.

In negotiations with Ciskei, the SA government agreed to guarantee new loans — provided the homeland signs over financial control.

The actual amount of loans guaranteed was not made public, but it is understood Ciskei was looking for R440-million.

Guarantee

Senior SA Treasury officials — who will be appointed Ciskei's ministers of finance, administration and economic affairs — will have to authorise every cent spent by the homeland.

Venda is looking to SA to guarantee new loans totalling R139-million to keep its administration running.

The South African government will only agree to this if Venda also agrees to hand over financial control.

For the past two years the government has re-

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

fused to guarantee any overdraft facilities for Transkei. Its military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, is understood to have been running down the state pension fund to finance current expenditure.

Senior officials believe he has almost depleted the pension fund and will soon be forced into negotiations with the government for funds to keep his administration going.

A senior government official said this week that the National Party recognised that grand apartheid had been a "dreadful error".

It was inevitable, he said, that all the homelands would in some way be reincorporated into SA.

Option

The government, he said, believed it could not unilaterally decide on the manner of reincorporation.

Rather, it felt that reincorporation and the question of how the homelands should be represented at the negotiating table should be on the agenda at the first meeting of the multi-party conference.

The chaotic mismanagement and waste of funds in the homelands could not be allowed to continue, the official said.

It had been decided that the only option was to persuade the homelands to surrender "part of their sovereignty" — control of finances and administration.

In this way it was hoped that, when the manner of reincorporation was finally decided at the negotiating table, some progress would have been made in restoring effective government in the territories.
LAND which has been earmarked for the TBVC homelands will not be affected by Government's policy paper - White Paper on Land Reform.

According to the document the Black Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 provided for the reservation of land for the exclusive occupation, use and tenure as well as ownership of black people.

In terms of the 1913 Act, 10 422 437 hectares were made available and an additional 7 186 178 hectares were added between 1936 and 1990.

"As the basis for self-government, the greater part of this land forms the territories of the TBVC states and the self-governing territories.

"The remaining portions of this land situated outside the TBVC states and the self-governing territories totalling about 1 250 000 hectares are held by the SADT," the policy document states.

However in terms of the new undertakings, "approvals and consolidation estimates" some 1 000 000 ha of land is still to be incorporated into the TBVC states and the self-governing territories.
POVERTY LEVELS

MORE than two out of every five South Africans live in poverty and one in 16 lives in extreme poverty, according to the Vatsom report released this week.

The report said 16.3 million people in South Africa and the TBVC countries (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) were living below minimum living levels and 2.3 million were in dire straits. On the Development Bank's estimate of the total population of South Africa and the TBVC at 56.6 million, those living in poverty constitute 44.5 percent of the population.

"The minimum living level differs depending on region and family circumstances, but, roughly speaking, it is people whose total family income does not exceed approximately R600 a month," the Vatsom report said.
TRYING TO MAKE UP

In what will be the most fundamental reform of land tenure in SA's history, government is considering giving blacks full ownership of land they occupy in tribal areas.

It is also considering selling more than 2m ha owned by the SA Development Trust.

Draft legislation to provide for the reforms has been prepared by the Law Review Project.

If it is approved by Cabinet it could be tabled in parliament within weeks. Land reform was discussed earlier this week during the meeting in Cape Town between government and homeland leaders.

Land ownership in tribal areas has long been one of the most sensitive and controversial issues facing National Party reformists. The vested interests of tribal leaders have effectively blocked progress towards freehold title in rural areas of the homelands.

But it is reliably understood that government is now ready to push ahead with what amounts to radical changes to the traditional system of land allocation and occupation. It is apparently satisfied that it will be able to persuade homeland and tribal leaders that they have more to gain by the changes than they will lose.

It is likely that the legislation will provide for title to property to be registered with local magistrates in terms of common law. De facto boundaries to properties will be accepted; stands will not be surveyed unless the new owner asks for it or if surveying is needed when the property is bonded.

The sale of Development Trust land has been pending for some time (Current Affairs May 4). Initially, it was envisaged that a black commercial farming sector would be established on land originally earmarked for homeland consolidation.

Government has been reassessing the future of more than 2m ha of trust land after the official abandoning of the aim of consolidating homelands as part of the grand apartheid scheme.

A lobby within the NP wants some of the land allocated to black farmers as part of an "affirmative action" programme to help to establish farmers who were prevented over the years from obtaining farm land.

At least 1m ha of trust land is now leased to white farmers or used by the State Trust Corporation. Much of it is regarded as "high potential area."

But with State legal advisers now combing the statute books to trace and delete all references to race, "affirmative action" involving only black farmers seems unlikely — though blacks do seem set to benefit most from the availability of land close to existing homelands.

It is generally accepted that 87% of land in SA is reserved for ownership and occupation by whites and only 13% for blacks. The pending reforms are in line with the proposed scrapping this year of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts.
Ownership of communal areas transferred to tribes

CAPE TOWN — Government has decided to protect communal tenure of land by tribes in the rural areas for 10 years, and to transfer ownership of this land directly to the tribes.

But it said it believed "tribal communities should seriously consider the advantages of individual tenure". Nor was it in favour of the expansion of the traditional system of land tenure.

The decision to vest control of tribally held land under existing "tribes" and chiefs is likely to vest control in the very groups that controlled the homeland structures.

The government decision on tribal land could, in the circumstances, expose it to criticism of protecting the power bases of those chiefs over land.

Government said in its White Paper that large tracts of land in black areas were occupied and used by members of the tribe in accordance with the traditional communal system of land tenure.

These rights "cannot be typified under common law and converted into rights recognised in South African law", it said.

Ownership therefore was granted to tribes to give them full right to dispose of their land. To safeguard the interests of individual members of a tribe, the proposed law prohibited the tribe from selling its land to people who were not tribal members for 10 years after the land had been transferred to the tribe unless a court order authorising the sale was obtained.
Mandela: ANC to collaborate with homeland leaders

MATSULU (KaNgwane) — The African National Congress will in future be working hand-in-hand with homeland leaders, deputy president Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Mr Mandela was speaking to about 4,000 supporters — mainly youths — at the Matsulu sports stadium.

Mr Mandela received a rousing welcome from the cheering supporters.

Singing out KaNgwane's former chief minister, Enoch Mabasa, as an excellent politician, Mr Mandela said the ANC did not want to repeat its past mistake of isolating homeland leaders.
Govt nod to TBVC states joining talks

GOVERNMENT yesterday came out in favour of the TBVC states taking part in the multiparty conference on negotiations.

A government delegation, led by President F W de Klerk, met homeland leaders and the chairmen of parliamentary Ministers' Councils, but the meeting was not attended by the heads of the TBVC states.

The meeting agreed that the participation of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei would be decided by the multiparty conference itself.

An ANC spokesman said the organisation regarded the residents of the TBVC states as South Africans and that they ought to be represented at the conference. But the ANC still had to decide whether it was in favour of the TBVC governments being represented in that their capacities as governments.

However, the ANC would not campaign for the exclusion of political parties which operate in the TBVC states, the spokesman said.

Yesterday's conference in Cape Town accepted that the states had a vested interest in future constitutional developments in SA.
Contralesa backs ANC over ultimatum

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) yesterday came out in support of the ANC's ultimatum to government over violence and attacked Inkatha president Mangosutho Buthelezi's support for the carrying of traditional weapons.

Contralesa Natal regional secretary Chief Zibuso Mhlaaba yesterday accused Buthelezi and his KwaZulu cabinet of trying to delay negotiations, insulting the Zulu nation and of trying to distort Zulu customs, culture and history.

Contralesa publicity secretary Siphwe Thusi said sharpened objects did not constitute traditional Zulu weapons and were only used for important celebrations

Mhlaaba also lashed out at government accusing it of funding umpas with arms, transport and money.

Mhlaaba said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok should take responsibility if rogue police members were instigating violence.

Thusi said Contralesa, while in favour of the ANC's ultimatum, was opposed to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's threat to arm the townships if it was not met.

Contralesa was opposed to all forms of violence, he said.
Now chiefs gear up for democracy

By CLAIRE KEETON: East London

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa wants to democratis the traditional chiefs' system.

Their proposal, which has been supported by the African National Congress' national executive committee, is that hereditary chiefs allow communities to choose representatives to the chief's council.

"People will be given an opportunity to elect their own representatives," said the national president of Contralese, Advocate Panzikile Holomisa. He said each administrative area had a chief under whom were several local areas. "There will therefore be more representatives than chiefs in the council, as each locality will be able to elect people," he said.

Chiefs would consult their communities and local structures about this system, which would then be taken to the homeland authorities for approval.

Contralese and the ANC met on the weekend to discuss the role of chiefs in a changing South Africa. The meeting addressed problems that have arisen between chiefs, village committees and civic structures. Holomisa said a source of friction had been the appointment of certain chiefs by homeland authorities. Chiefs opposed to the apartheid system "were removed, banished, detained or deposed and replaced by people more compliant with the regime", he said.

In an attempt to reduce existing tensions, the ANC, Contralese and the civic would co-ordinate structures and consult at a local level "to achieve maximum unity".

Contralese also decided it would give input into discussions on the ANC's draft constitution and on the proposals of the ANC's local government commission. — Elnews
Mike Miller

Into the mainstream

To bring rural poor

New policies needed

The White Paper on Land...
The United Nations (UN) should be involved in the transfer of power in South Africa, says the leader of the ANC-aligned chiefs' body, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Contralesa national president Patekile Holomisa said an interim government constituted by a body which enjoys UN support should take over from the NP government.

Holomisa - a member of the Transkei ANC regional executive and the younger brother of Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa - was addressing the East London branch of the ANC on the transitional period South Africa faces.

He said a Patriotic Front composed of the major liberation movements should be established and then an all-party conference held.

Holomisa dismissed the government's proposal of a "super cabinet" and saw the ANC's signature campaign as a way of pressurising the government into accepting an interim government and constituent assembly.

"Contralesa rejected the view "homeland leaders should be on our side of the negotiating table" as such an approach would "help perpetuate tribalism".

He urged popular leaders not to form new parties but to join national organisations.

"As to the political circus that is on show in the Ciskei under the apparent leadership of Brigadier Gupza Gqozo, Contralesa is deeply disturbed," said Holomisa.

"We are also convinced Gqozo is not his own man. No black South African with all his senses would commit the atrocities he has against his own people, including his army colleagues, unless he is acting on somebody's orders.

"(Foreign Minister) Pik Botha would be well-advised to recall Gqozo to South Africa so that the people of this area can decide for themselves who should rule them in the interim period."

Holomisa said he would not be surprised if the Ciskei people decided to support Paramount Chief Maxhobayakhawuleza Sandile, the only paramount chief in the Ciskei. - Elnews
'Unjust' homelands policy to change

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda wanted to be reincorporated into SA because they had increasing doubts about their economic and constitutional viability, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He agreed that it was no longer justifiable to keep "homelands" blacks from having rights in SA.

Bophuthatswana, however, had a different view because it was doing well, de Klerk said during parliamentary debate on his office's budget.

Government had realised "absolute self-determination" in a heterogeneous society such as SA was not attainable.

"Our democratic and geographic interlinking, as well as the socio-economic realities, made it impossible."

The conclusion was that millions of South Africans still did not have the rights which citizenship normally included. This could not continue unchanged because it was clearly unjust, in conflict with Christian values, in conflict with internationally accepted norms and a certain recipe for resistance, civil war and revolution.

SA had been in a dead end street of increasing unemployment and worklessness and its entry to international markets and modern technology had been systematically restricted.

Poverty and unemployment promoted crime, social instability and violence. Politically and constitutionally the situation had not gone much better. "The policy of separate development was visibly and perceptibly failing."
'Doubts prompt move to rejoin SA

Political Staff

TRANSKEI, Ciskei and Venda wanted to be reincorporated into South Africa because they had increasing doubts about their economic and constitutional viability, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Bophuthatswana, however, was different because it was going well there, Mr De Klerk said during the debate on his vote in Parliament.

"Half of the country's platinum reserves lie in Bophuthatswana and I think more than half of the chrome reserves. Therefore, they are economically viable and have a different standpoint," he said.

Mr De Klerk also said the "realities of our existence" forced the government to the realisation that absolute self-determination in a heterogenous country such as SA was not attainable.

"Our democratic and geographic inter-linking, as well as the socio-economic realities, made it impossible." Mr De Klerk said the conclusion was that millions of South Africans still did not have the rights which citizenship normally included.

This could not continue unchanged because it was clearly unjust, in conflict with Christian values and internationally accepted norms and a certain recipe for resistance, civil war and revolution.

This had also been acknowledged in the document drawn up by the CP MP for Overvaal, Mr Koos van der Merwe, and his team, Mr De Klerk said.
The MINISTER OF EDUCATION

The Minister of Education, Mr. D. W. Botha, made the following statement of policy:

(1) The purpose of the education system is to provide a well-rounded education that prepares students for life in a democratic society.

(2) The focus of education is on developing critical thinking skills and creativity.

(3) The curriculum will be reviewed to ensure it is relevant and up-to-date.

(4) The importance of sports and physical education will be emphasized.

The Minister of Education and

The House of Assembly

On the motion of Mr. H. J. Coetzee, the following resolve was carried:

The House of Assembly, while acknowledging the progress made in education, calls for the implementation of a national literacy program to improve reading and writing skills among students.
Pik warns of finance crisis in homelands

Political Staff

The financial crisis in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei could be worse than suspected, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He said government would place the participation of independent homelands high on the agenda of the first meeting of the multi-party conference.

Government's standpoint was that all options were open in regard to the reincorporation of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei into SA.

Botha, who was speaking during the debate on the Foreign Affairs budget, said control of financial aid to the TBVC homelands would be tightened.

The homelands had been told future payments would be confined to areas which incorporated the harmonising of tax structures, improved the relationship of personal emoluments to total expenditure, and the implementation of an economic and financial planning system. SA would monitor this.

Botha said whatever the homelands decided about returning to SA, they would still have to be administered, and essential services would have to be maintained.
Pik: TVC in dire financial straits

By BARRY STREEK,
Political Staff

THE financial crisis in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei could be worse than suspected, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

He also said the government would place the participation of independent homelands high on the agenda of the first meeting of the Multi-Party Conference.

The government's standpoint was that all options were open in regard to the reincorporation of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei into South Africa.

Mr Botha, speaking during the debate on the foreign affairs vote, said an indication of the financial crisis in the three homelands was Transkei's pension fund, which could already be exhausted.

Control of financial aid to the TBVC homelands would be tightened in the future.

They had been told that future payments would be confined to areas which incorporated the harmonising of tax structures in the homelands, improving the relationship of personal emoluments to total expenditure and the implementation of a system of economic and financial planning.
Tax on Imports from the TRC States

You and VAT

Accounts on imports include payments made for goods and services that are subject to VAT. When paying for these goods, you are required to provide the TRC with an account of the VAT paid.

VAT on TRC goods

- Provide the TRC with a VAT account
- Ensure all payments are recorded
- Keep records of all payments
- Account for all goods imported
- Pay VAT on imports within 14 days

TRC Customs

- Apply customs duties and taxes
- Inspect and collect duties and taxes
- Provide receipts for all payments
- Ensure all payments are recorded
- Keep records of all payments
- Account for all goods imported
- Pay VAT on imports within 14 days
QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Self-governing territories: SA public servants seconded

356. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid:

(1) (a) How many officials in the Public Service had been seconded to each self-governing territory, (b) what post was held by each such official, and (c) what was the cost of secondment of such officials, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available.

(2) whether all posts in these territories in respect of which secondment is required are filled at present; if not, how many remained vacant as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

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

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

(1) (a) and (b) The latest date for which figures are available is 31 December 1990 and, as requested, is contained in the attached schedule:

c) The cost of the secondment of the officials amounted to R106,253,000 for the period 1 April 1990 to 31 December 1990.

(2) No. A survey indicated that of the posts concerned were vacant on 31 December 1990.

(3) Yes. Numbers will be determined on the basis of stated requirements, the availability of funds and the availability of manpower.

POSTS IDENTIFIED FOR OCCUPATION BY SECONDED STAFF: 31 DECEMBER 1990

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**Own Affairs:**

New models: statistics

69. Mr. K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(a) (i) Which schools voted on the new models in the first quarter of 1991, (ii) on what model did each school vote and (iii) where is each located and (b) what was the (i) percentage poll, and (ii) percentage voting in favour of a model, in each case?

B485E
Deaths by intravenous drips: Investigation

*4. Mr A DE WET asked the Minister of Health Services:

(1) Whether she or her Department has been informed of the deaths of approximately 27 persons that were allegedly caused by intravenous drips; if so,

(2) whether an investigation is being made into these deaths; if not, why not, if so, what progress has been made;

(3) whether any action is being taken against the company responsible for the manufacturing of these drips; if not, why not, if so, what action?*

B978E

The MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES:

(1) The Department of Health Services and Welfare: House of Assembly, became aware of the outbreak of a neonatal infection and death of seven babies on 28 August 1990 at the following private hospitals: Park Lane Clinic, Morningside Clinic and Garden City Clinic.

(2) The Department of Health Services and Welfare: House of Assembly investigated the deaths and all relative documents were forwarded to the Attorney-General, Witwatersrand Local Division. The Attorney-General submitted all the clinical information submitted to him to a panel of experts which, at his request was organised by the Department of Health Services and Welfare, Administration: House of Assembly, to decide if the babies in fact died from unnatural causes. The Attorney-General will make a decision as soon as all the reports have been received and studied and the police investigation has been finalised.

(3) The company responsible for the manufacturing of these drips, voluntarily closed the production facility concerned. The Attorney-General is considering amongst others, the question whether any penal responsibility exists in respect of any medical practitioner, institution or any other party because of the death of the persons.

For written reply

General Affairs:

Customs Union Agreement: amounts paid over

330. Mr K M ANDREWS asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) What amounts were paid over to (a) each of the independent Black states and (b) (i) Botswana, (ii) Lesotho and (iii) Swaziland in terms of the Customs Union Agreement in the 1990-91 financial year;

(2) what was the balance that accrued to the Republic of South Africa?

B88E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) (a) Transkei: R502 004 000

Bophuthatswana: R698 416 000

Venda: R 99 580 000

Ciskei: R265 989 000

(2) (a) 16 261

(b) 942

(iii) 7 343

(b) 17 203

(2) (a) 650

(b) 1 379

(c) 2 680

(d) 2 278

(e) 356

(f) 0

(g) 0

(3) **(a) 9 235

(b) 5 858

*Only candidates entered for matriculation examination.

*Higher, standard and lower grade candidates included.
'Ban those weapons'

THE carrying of dangerous weapons in urban areas bore
no relevance to the promotion of the Zulu culture, the
Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa said
yesterday.

Contralesa said the carrying of axes, spear, assegais
and shields at rallies was "a gross distortion of our
people's customs and traditions".

"It is an undisputed fact that the brandishing of
dangerous weapons by Inkatha-supporting bands in-
evitably results in conflict with people they view as
their opponents."

Contralesa said the rejection by the Zulu chiefs of a
ban on traditional weapons was unjustifiable. - Sapa.
Self-ruling territories ‘face disaster’

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa’s self-governing territories were facing “disaster” because of under-development and some rural communities were unable to provide for their most basic needs, Minister of Public Works, Land Affairs and Development Aid Mr Jacob de Villiers warned.

Speaking in the development aid budget debate, Mr De Villiers said urban development and the provision of land for settlement in the cities was crucial in relieving the burden on rural areas.

“The only effective antidote for the disaster the self-governing territories are faced with is economic growth and job opportunities.”

He said that while it was clear a new constitutional dispensation would not solve development problems, it was essential that efforts to tackle them should be channelled through a national strategy that included the self-governing territories.

Mr De Villiers said: “The goal the government has set is not to attempt to lead the self-governing territories to independence — which they do not want in any case — but to make them part and parcel of the mainstream of development.”

He and his department had established a system of co-operation with the territories to determine development priorities.

“The problem of underdevelopment — the provision of infrastructure, basic facilities such as potable water, land for food production, community development, the creation of jobs, education and health, and welfare programmes — is so great, so extensive and so demanding in respect of capital and human resources and expertise that it is indeed one of the greatest challenges ahead of us.

“It is clear that our rural resources are totally inadequate. So much so that it contributes to the inability of the rural communities to provide for their most basic needs of life.

“We must therefore concentrate increasingly on urban development, allowing people to move to towns, cities and metropolitan areas, to accommodate newcomers by making sufficient land available in urban complexes as part of the campaign to ease the burden on rural areas, to offer these newcomers the opportunity to develop their full potential.”

The provision of land for urbanisation must have “absolute priority.”

But Mr De Villiers made it clear the government would limit its role in development to providing essential public services.

“This means private enterprise and initiative form the pivot of the process of development. The government prefers a development process managed by the private sector.”

He pointed out that South Africa had an “extensive infrastructure” of 10 000 private sector non-profit organisations which spent some R2-billion a year on socio-economic development programmes.

This had not yet been fully exploited mainly because of the attitude that the State should play a dominant role.
LP condemns homeland policy

The Labour Party believed in a simple federal structure for South Africa with anything between 15 to 20 nonracial states which would cut through existing boundaries. T Abrahams (LP Wentworth) said yesterday (101).

It does not make sense to have "patchwork-quilt territories like KwaZulu" or to ignore the historical dispersion of, say, the Ndebele and to try to "collect them all together" into a homeland, he said in the development aid debate. Federal boundaries had to be geographic, Mr Abrahams said. "I assume that next year we will not be discussing self-governing territories and the promotion of self-government." The political climate made it unlikely, he said. — Sapa.
More homeland aid urged

The recommendations of the Pickard Commission of Inquiry into irregularities in the Department of Development Aid would be noted and acted upon, Minister of Development Aid Jacob de Villiers said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the budget debate on his vote, he said the move away from an ethnic-based constitution had not come a moment too soon.

One-third of the population lived in the self-governing territories and contributed only 32 percent to the gross domestic product. These people had to be given the means to improve their lot and had to be given access to sources of aid.

The population growth in the self-governing territories, at 4 percent, was far higher than the national average.

Most of these areas spent up to 50 percent of their annual budgets on staff and administration but the priorities were health care, education, provision of land for food, and the creation of job opportunities.

As the country’s natural resources were underdeveloped, urgent attention had to be given to urban development.

Newcomers to urban areas had to be given the opportunity to develop to their full potential, Mr de Villiers said.

People had to be given the technical expertise to develop these areas properly.

He said about 10 000 private organisations were involved in urban development and it was hoped that overseas organisations would also become active in this process. — Sapa.
VALUE-ADDED TAX

WHITHER TBVC?

Among the loose ends still to be tied up before VAT is up and running is the politically sensitive issue of the TBVC countries. The problems are acute with exports from SA, which the VAT Bill treats as fully taxable (exports to other countries are zero-rated).

As things stand, SA VAT will be a cost to importers in all TBVC countries. In Transkei, Ciskei and Venda there will be double taxation — SA VAT plus local GST. Bophuthatswana has no GST but imports from SA will nevertheless be loaded by 12% VAT, including imports of raw materials for manufacturers who have relocated from SA.

A sensible solution would be for TBVC countries to introduce VAT at the same rate as SA and to set up a clearing system to offset VAT debits and credits between members. The agreement should also include a revenue-sharing system to adjust net balances between governments. Obviously, setting up VAT in the TBVC countries will impose major administrative requirements, which are being addressed at the moment.

Clearing system

Under a clearing system, TBVC importers bringing in goods from SA would logically be entitled to an input tax credit in so far as they are making taxable supplies.

Regrettably, unless some way is found to deal with these issues by the end of September, there will be severe dislocations to export trade from SA to the TBVC countries. Imports from the TBVC countries to SA used in making taxable supplies (in respect of which the importer would qualify for an input tax credit) are exempted from VAT in terms of the Bill. Exempt businesses such as certain financial enterprises and individuals will however have to pay VAT on imports from TBVC countries within 30 days.
Greenloof and Brooklyn—A lobby with 2,600 private boxes is at present being erected at the Greenloof Post Office to serve both suburbs. The lobby will be completed during June 1992.

Pretoria North and Onderstepoort—A lobby with 2,000 private boxes will be erected adjacent to the Pretoria North Post Office. The expected completion date is April 1992.

Roslyn—650 additional private boxes will be installed by January 1992.

Silverton—600 additional private boxes will be installed by August 1991.

Vanderbijlpark—A new post office with 1,000 private boxes will be erected. The expected completion date is June 1993.

Villiers and Lynn East—400 additional private boxes will be installed at the Villiers Post Office by August 1991.

Verwoerdburg—1,800 additional private boxes will be installed. The expected completion date is December 1991.

Olifantsfontein—100 additional private boxes will be installed. The anticipated completion date is not yet available.

Hennopsmeer—A lobby with 2,000 private boxes is planned. The expected completion date is June 1992.

Bramley: new post office/postmen's depot

342. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:
Whether any progress has been made in regard to the construction of the post office and postmen's depot in Bramley, Johannesburg; if not, why not; if so, what progress?

The MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:
Construction of the post office and postmen's depot in Bramley, Johannesburg, has not yet commenced owing to other priorities and a lack of capital funds in the current financial year. Planning of the building is at an advanced stage and provided funds can be made available in the forthcoming financial year, tenders for the construction of the building will be invited during 1992.

Development Trust: details of land transactions

343. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid (Eng):
(1) What was the total area of land which had been bought in each province in terms of the Development Trust and Land Act, No 18 of 1938, as at 31 December 1990, and what amount paid for this land?
(2) What area of land was bought in each province in 1990, and how was this added to each self-governing territory and independent Black state in that year and which Black state, remained to be bought in each province as at 31 December 1990?
(3) What proportion of land was bought in 1990 and what area of land was bought in each such territory and independent Black state as compensation for the removal of Black spots and the compensation land remained to be purchased in each province, and what was the total area of land held by the South African Development Trust, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:
(1) Transvaal: 4,876,458 hectares
Natal: 579,339 hectares
Orange Free State: 1,998,988 hectares
Cape: 1,547,381 hectares
TOTAL: 7,903,168 hectares
(2) R1 334,970 838
(3) Transvaal: 15,585 hectares
Natal: 2,156 hectares
Orange Free State: 8,956 hectares
Cape: 17,528 hectares
TOTAL: 44,215 hectares
(4) KwaZulu: 36,638 hectares
Lebowa: —
Ga.upperland: —
Khwezane: —
KwaNdebele: 3,544 hectares
Ovambaland: —
Transkei: —

Certain toll-road companies: agreements

345. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Transport:
(1) Whether his Department has entered into any agreements with two companies, the names of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, in regard to the past and future operation of the toll roads; if so, (a) what moneys are payable by the State to each of these companies in terms of the above agreements, (b) in respect of what items will each such amount be paid, (c) when are these amounts to be paid and (d) what are the names of the companies concerned, if not;

(2) Whether any steps are to be taken to normalise the position, if so, what steps;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:
(1) No, but more than one agreement has been concluded by the South African Roads Board (SARB), because of the complex and protracted nature of toll-road projects. The SARB originally in 1986 concluded agreements with two companies of which was conditional upon agreements being made with the National Roads Act, 1971. As Parliament declined to pass the relevant amendments these agreements terminated on 30 September 1990. Cabinet subsequently approved that the SARB may enter into short-term agreements in terms of existing legislation in order to permit the situation to be reassessed. These agreements terminated on 31 March 1991. Further agreements for the period 1 April until 31 July 1991 have been concluded in terms of which the two relevant companies are currently managing the toll-roads on behalf of the SARB. New draft agreements are being negotiated for a further four-year period.

(a) The agreements prior to 1 April 1991, were concluded on a reimbursement of cost basis only. No claims in respect of remuneration for services rendered to date, over and above reimbursement of cost, have been accepted by the SARB. The current agreements allow the companies to be reimbursed their cost of operation, managing and maintaining the toll-roads. The new draft agreements which are now negotiated, contain a clause concerning the money to be paid in respect of the operation of the toll plazas and routes. As this aspect is under investigation by a private firm of accountants.

(b) The agreements relate to payments for project management, maintenance and operations of the toll plazas and routes. Appropriate remuneration for each aspect is under review.

(3) As the agreements are under negotiation, the Minister does not consider it advisable to make a statement on the matter at this stage.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
(ii) One.
(b) 24 April 1991.
(2) No.
(3) The remuneration package of regional services council chairmen does not provide for pension benefits.

**Transvaal:**
(1) (a) (i) Four.
(ii) Eight.
(b) 30 April 1991.
(2) No.
(3) The remuneration package of regional services council chairmen does not provide for pension benefits.

**Natal:**
(1) (a) There are no regional services councils in Natal, but with regard to joint services boards, which were instituted in terms of the KwaZulu and Natal Joint Services Act, 1990, the position is as follows:
   (i) The Chairman of the Zululand Joint Services Board is in receipt of a pension from the KwaZulu Government.
   (ii) The Chairman of the Natal Midlands and Thukela Joint Services Boards both receive parliamentary pensions. The Port Natal-Ethnose Joint Services Board Chairman receives a pension from the Natal Joint Municipal Pension Fund.
(b) 29 April 1991.
(2) There is no pension scheme for chairman of joint services boards.
(3) Falls away

**Dr Nelson R Mandela High School**
323. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Education and Training:
(1) Whether, as at 8 April 1991, the Dr Nelson R Mandela High School in Cross-roads had any (a) word processors and printers, (b) photocopiers, (c) stereo machines, (d) overhead projectors, (e) over-head projector screens, (f) computers, (g) sport equipment, (h) desks, (i) typewriters and (j) chairs; if so, how many of each;
(2) whether, as at the above date, this school needed more of any of the items referred to above; if so, (a) how many of each and (b) what is the cost or estimated cost of the items needed?

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:**
B841E

(1) No.
(d) One (1)
(c) One (1)
(d) No
(e) Four (4)
(f) No
(g) Soccer: Netball: Athletics:
   Ball: Ball: (1)
   High jump apparatus: (1 act)
   javelins: (1)
   Shot put: (1 ball)
   Discus: (1 disc)
   Starter's pistol: (1)
   Tape measure: (2)
   Ball: (1)
   Standards and net: (1 set)

(2) 483 double tables
(1) No
(j) 1 020 (laboratory chairs not included)
(2) (a) Overhead projectors:

**Self-governing territories: citizenship certificates**
334. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:
(101)
How many citizenship certificates (a) had been issued and (b) remained to be issued as at 31 December 1990, and (b) were issued in 1990, to citizens of each self-governing territory?

**The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**
B892E

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The figures furnished under (a) (i) are projections based on the 1985 census figures as supplied by the Central Statistical Service. The figures will be adjusted pending the results of the census presently being undertaken.

**Pretoria: telephones/private post boxes**
335. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:
Whether any applications for (a) telephone services and (b) private post boxes were outstanding in the Pretoria area as at the latest specified date for which figures are available, if so, (i) how many and (ii) when is it anticipated that the backlog will be eliminated?

**The MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:**
B893E

(i) 4 853 as at 30 April 1991, and
(ii) approximately 3 503 of the waiting applicants will be provided with telephone service during the current financial year. It is at this stage not possible to indicate when the requirements of the remaining applicants, whose applications are being deferred due to insufficient capacity in certain exchanges, will be met.

(b) Yes;
(i) 1 631 as at 30 April 1991 (Alkantrant 23, Groenkloof 305, Brooklyn 150, Pretoria North 70, Onverwacht 6, Rosslyn 500, Silverton 200, Valhallas 30, Vilhets 150, Lina East 50, Waverley 35, Olifantsfontein 32 and Hendraap 80)
(ii) Alkantrant—Negotiations are in progress for the erection of a mail collection point to serve the residents of Newlands and Erasmusloch of which will relieve the demand (for private boxes at Alkantrant). The anticipated completion date is not yet available.
Johannesburg. — An upsurge of Xhosa nationalism was further complicating attempts to bring peace to Reef townships, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Regression said yesterday.

The board comprises prominent human rights lawyers and clerics. Its researchers say Xhosa nationalism manifests itself in the singing of Xhosa songs in praise of Transkei and Pondoland. An East Rand squatter camp has been named after Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa.

The report is the first public acknowledgment from a non-partisan and credible quarter that Zulu chauvinism is fuelling a similar reaction among Xhosas.

The researchers say the Xhosas are adamant that the ANC is a Xhosa organisation with no place for Zulu leaders.

They attribute the upsurge in Xhosa nationalism to an influx of rural Transkeians. ANC leader Mr Chris Hani was recently drowned out by squatters singing tribal songs at Khekhotz, when he tried to put the Zulu contribution to the ANC's history in perspective.

He was speaking after 15 squatters were killed when Xhosa residents of Holomisa squatter camp attacked neighbouring Mandela camp because they had heard Inkatha supporting Zulus were living there.

The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) claimed yesterday that Inkatha had been reported to be responsible for 10 times more acts of aggression during Reef violence than the ANC.

A Case report said the media and monitoring organisations blamed Inkatha for 66% of 146 incidents between July last year and this month, and the ANC for 8%.

The report also claimed the reported use of AK-47s was restricted to Inkatha.

Reacting to the report, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Case had a "highly politicised partisan reputation", and accused it of distorted analysis.

The ANC said the report's finding that traditional weapons were used in 31 of 82 incidents attributed to Inkatha explained why the ANC had called for a prohibition on the carrying of traditional weapons, including spears.
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The Minister of Development and Growth

February 21, 1991

The minister is hereby directed to the following:

1. Release $200,000 for the construction of a new community center in the town ofXYZ.

2. Approve the submission of a grant application for $500,000 to support the development of a new park in the city of ABC.

3. Request the Department of Planning to conduct a feasibility study on the potential for a new hospital in the region.

4. Authorize the allocation of $100,000 for the expansion of the local library system.

5. Direct the Department of Economic Development to prepare a report on the economic impact of the new corporate headquarters for XYZ Corporation.

6. Request the Department of Transportation to develop a plan for the expansion of the city's public transit system.

The Minister of Development and Growth

February 21, 1991
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

TBVC countries: across-the-border activities

60. Mr A E De Wet asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether the Government has entered into any agreements with any of the four independent Black states (the TBVC countries) regarding the operating of members of the (a) defence and (b) police forces of one country within the borders of the other country; if not, what rules or regulations govern across-the-border activities with regard to South Africa and the TBVC countries; (c) whether agreements were entered into; (ii) when they entered into and (iii) what is the purport of these agreements in each case;

(2) whether any transgressions of these agreements have occurred since they were entered into; if so, (a) by whom, (b) when, (c) what were the circumstances surrounding each case and (d) what action was taken in each case?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) Yes

(b) Yes

(i) Non-aggression agreements exist with Bophuthatswana, Venda and Transkei. The non-aggression agreement with Transkei was terminated by Transkei on 10 May 1978. In the case of the police forces, the Government of South Africa has entered into bilateral agreements with Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

(ii) The non-aggression agreement with Bophuthatswana, Venda

and Ciskei were entered into on 15 November 1977, 13 August 1979 and 20 November 1981, respectively. The police agreements between South Africa and Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were entered into on 26 November 1977, 13 August 1979 and 20 November 1981, respectively.

(iii) The purport of the non-aggression agreements are clear from the title. Military co-operation includes joint exercises, the provision of training and of seconded personnel. Joint Management Boards have been established where matters of mutual military interest are discussed. The police agreements provide for co-operation in general on request and has resulted in sound co-operation in such fields as vehicle theft, stock theft, narcotics, forensic services and criminal investigations. Training assistance is also provided.

(2) No.

Reserve Bank exchange rate basket: make-up

361. Mr A Poosthuizen asked the Minister of Finance:

(a) How is the exchange rate basket of the Reserve Bank made up and (b) what is the share of the various foreign exchanges in this basket?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(a) and (b). The composition of the basket takes into account the geographic distribution of South Africa’s foreign trade in goods and services as well as the role played by the major foreign currencies in the country’s flow of foreign payments. It is however not desirable that the weights used to calculate the effective exchange rate of the rand be disclosed, since the management of the exchange rate and the Reserve Bank’s day to day market operations could then be hampered by speculators operating against the Reserve Bank.
Pik: TBVC salaries won't come from welfare funds

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said in Parliament yesterday that he could give the assurance that additional funds appropriated to the TBVC states for social welfare services would not be used for the payment of civil servants.

Speaking during debate on the R1.204 billion Supplementary Budget introduced by the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis, he said a Transkei delegation had recently told him they had launched an investigation to find out whether cheating had taken place. As a result, between R3 million and R4 million had been recouped.

Mr Botha said his department would also do its best to ensure that the best possible facilities were made available to staff opening up South African missions in Eastern Europe.

Assurance given . . . Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Mr du Plessis said in his introduction that finality had not yet been reached on the most effective means, in consultation with the potential participants, of managing the various special aid programmes.

The funds being made available to the TBVC states was a further attempt to promote social welfare services.

Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said his party's point of view was that the TBVC countries were independent and should be helped to remain so.

There should be particular understanding for the problems faced by staff members opening missions in Eastern Europe.

Mr Botha said there had been no transgressions of the non-aggression and bilateral agreements South Africa had with Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

In a written reply to a question from Andre de Wet (DP Nort), he said similar agreements with Transkei had been terminated by that homeland on May 10 1978.

The non-aggression pacts encompassed military co-operation, including joint exercises, the provision of training, and seconded personnel. — Sapa.
ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday paid tribute to traditional chiefs who attended a Soweto rally yesterday, calling for the release of political prisoners.

The rally, attended by more than 10,000 people, marked the anniversary of the 1976 student uprising in Soweto.

Mandela said the ANC would work towards a democratic South Africa.

The PAC, Inkatha and other organizations also staged rallies and prayer services in Soweto and other centers yesterday.

About 1,000 people attended a memorial service at Soweto's Regina Mundi church, organised by black consciousness organizations, including the Black Consciousness Movement.

Deaths by late yesterday.

However, it was reported yesterday that police were not present at the protest, which was attended by about 2,000 people. Police said they were not aware of the protest.

In Johannesburg, more than 5,000 protesters lined up outside the city's police headquarters, with speeches made in support of the marchers.
Mr J H HOON: What about documents for...

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Roodepoort must contain himself! The hon the Minister may proceed.

The MINISTER: The hon member for Roodepoort asked who would ever have thought that the Government would have to return and pay for one's wrongs according to the law, or one returns not having done anything—one has fled and one is a South African citizen [Interjections] A South African citizen on the left is just as good as a South African citizen on the right, as the Piet Rudolphs and the Wit Wolwe—the whole bunch of them!

Mr J H HOON: Who has paid thus far?

The MINISTER: The rights of a man with citizenship have to be respected. This does not mean that one has to hand over the government to him. That party suspects this Government of having spent millions of rands on getting these people back. That is not the case. They believe that thousands upon thousands of people who are not being declared are being cowed. [Interjections] That is not the case. This Government is not prepared to give up the sovereignty of this country in its negotiations to get the exiles back. [Interjections] This Government will negotiate with commission, but will not allow him to interfere in the domestic business of South Africa. [Interjections] The vast majority of exiles are South African citizens—fugitives, unfortunately, whichever way hon members want to interpret it—in all respects.

As regards the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, I want to say that a certain value may be attached to this. He can help us with aid organisations and finance. This is acceptable, but he cannot be allowed to interfere in any way in the sovereignty of this country, in the domestic business and discipline of the country...

Debate concluded.

Self-governing territories: police forces

Mr P H GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order (10)

Whether he has taken any steps to integrate the police forces of the self-governing territories into the South African Police Force; if not, why not; if so, what steps?

B1235E INT

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER Mr D F CHATTERTON (before reply): Before going any further, I would like to make the following introductory remarks. The self-governing territories attained their status in accordance with the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, No. 2 of 1971, which provides in section 3(1)(a) as follows:

(1) Any legislative assembly may—

(a) for the area for which it has been established, make laws, not inconsistent with this Act, in respect of any matter referred to in Schedule 1:

Schedule 1. inter alia, provides in item 21B as follows:

Subject to the conditions determined by the Minister of Law and Order of the Republic, the establishment, control, organisation and administration of a police force.

All six self-governing territories have, since the Act came into effect, opted for their own police forces. The self-governing Territories Constitution Act is still in force and the various police forces remain functional entities. Any incorporation of such forces will be the result of negotiations between the South African Government.
and the self-governing states. If consensus on the incorporation of these forces into the SA Police is reached, it will have to be legitimised by the passing of legislation in Parliament. The incorporation will, of course, take time and will entail, inter alia, the redemarcation of the structure of the SA Police, namely Police regions and districts, which at present apply, and amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act and the Prisons Act which are still in force in these territories.

The direct reply is no, no formal representations for the integration into the SA Police of any of the police forces of these self-governing territories have thus far been directed to the Government or to me. Should any such request be made, the South African Government would obviously give it consideration. However, any decision regarding the possible incorporation of the police forces of the self-governing territories will be a political decision. This can only materialise after negotiations between the Governments of the various self-governing territories and all other interested parties who will be participating in negotiations on a future constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

In the interim the status quo will therefore have to prevail and these forces will continue to function in accordance with existing legislation. However, the SA Police and I have an open mind as far as this issue is concerned. It is necessary, recommendations in this regard will be made, with the primary aim of serving the better interests of the SA Police, the forces referred to and, specifically, policing in South Africa in general. In the meantime that he has done nothing either to substantiate a number of reasons why such steps are necessary and essential, namely the transition envisaged by Dr Verwoerd for the independent states need to come back into one national police force, because the constitutional tendency is back to the so-called "one nation".

Secondly, if one speaks to farmers living in the areas bordering the self-governing states and people in towns which are close to those within the self-governing states, the following becomes clear. There is duplication, there are bad channels of communication and there is ineffective crime prevention and law enforcement. We have seven official police forces in South Africa.

However, the most important reason why there ought to be incorporation relates to the imminent period of transition, which requires stability and law and order. How can we go through a transition with any degree of stability if there are seven official police forces, half a dozen unofficial militias, commandos, military groups, "skietkommandoes" and self-defence committees? How can we say we are effective if there is no national police force? The hon Minister of Law and Order ought to take the initiative, through negotiation—I accept that—to pool into one national police force. The South African police force the six police forces of the self-governing states, as well as those unofficial militias, self-defence committees, etc. There should also be a greater regard for the all-party civilian supervision in the Police Force.

If the hon the Minister's department is not able to move into transitional gear, this country will not have stability during the transitional period. He needs to take the initiative, because law and order is prerequisite for success in the constitutional field. He cannot sit back and wait for applications to arrive. He needs to take the initiative in consultation with others. I would suggest he is not fulfilling his duty by sitting back. Various militias and official police forces provide backing, in one form or the other, for their political masters in the game of constitutional changes. How can the hon the Minister blame the one political leader, who has an unofficial police force, for not carrying on recruiting if he allows the others to go on with an official police force to use that force to back him up? This is the scenario into which we are moving. [Time expired.]

Mr P J P CASTRO: Mr Chairman, it is clear from the hon the Minister's reply that neither he nor his department has taken any steps to pursue the possibility of re-incorporation. No representations have been received, but he has done nothing either to substantiate a number of reasons why such steps are necessary and essential. We were constitutionally carved up into homelands. Now the trend is to return towards one state. As a result the various police forces envisaged by Dr Verwoerd for the independent states need to come back into one national police force, because the constitutional tendency is back to the so-called "one nation".

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Mr M J MENTZ: Mr Chairman, as in the past we only have to look at what the DP is calling for in order to know exactly what the NP is going to do tomorrow. [Interjections] We know that what the DP is advocating here today will be merrily implemented. Regardless of what the hon the Minister may say about this, it is the logical consequence of the argument of this Government.

It is of course also true that at this stage many of those forces consist of a majority of communists and ANC members. [Interjections.] Moreover, with the formal legalising of communism to take effect this week, it is even with the SA Police as they are now—to keep communists and ANC supporters out of the SA Police. [Interjections.] Our Security Forces were the only remaining obstacle to the way of a violent takeover of the State by communism and the ANC. To prevent this, the takeover of our Police from the inside is on the agenda of the ANC and the communists, and with this hon Minister's stated aim that the Police Force should reflect the numbers of the population groups, the takeover of the SA Police by the ANC and communists, and with that the takeover of the State, is at hand. This Government is playing this country into a scandalous situation. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I would like to finish my reply before referring specifically to what the hon member said in his speech.

I was saying this included the basic training of Police students and management training for senior members. In an attempt to co-ordinate management and administration and to maintain co-operation in general, a coordinating committee between the SA Police, the TBVC states and the six self-governing territories was established. The primary aim of this committee is to bring recruiting, training and promotion to an equal level with that of the SA Police. These meetings are chaired by a major general of the SA Police on my instruction. The committee comprises mainly the commissioners of the aforementioned police forces. The co-ordination which can be said to be taking place is making a large contribution towards increasing the good co-operation between the SA Police and these forces. As the same time it is also contributing to a large extent to improving policing in these areas so as to bring it on par with that of the SA Police. This is the one thing that bothers the hon member.

I would like to say that these police forces, as I have indicated, have been instituted in terms of the constitutions of these self-governing territories. That hon member now expects me to change that after negotiation, but I think it is only fair to say that around the negotiation table for a new constitution for our country, including these self-governing territories, this will be negotiated to determine what should look like in the future. Therefore I think it will really be putting the cart before the horse if I were to try to negotiate one big police force on the basis we have not had the time to negotiate the constitutional future of our country. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

Mr J VAN ECK: Mr Chairman, I just want to say to the hon the Minister that he can make a start with this process now. If having one police force for the whole of South Africa is meaningful, there is no need to wait until after the negotiation process has been finalised. [Interjections.] The security forces in the self-governing territories which have been used for decades to enforce separate domination also remain one of the most important factors which can wreck the entire negotiation process in the new South Africa. The self-governing territories are going to remain part of South Africa and will be part of the negotiation process. Therefore one cannot simply ask themselves how they would feel if they were in the ANC's shoes and had to rely on Umkonto we Sizwe's protection and neutrality. [Interjections.]

To crack down on the political partiality of our Security Forces it is essential that, firstly, all police forces in South Africa, inside and outside the boundaries of the self-governing territories, be united in one force. As the hon member for Durban Central said earlier, we cannot have several forces. Secondly, neutral monitoring units should be established to monitor police forces. NP is going to be outside the boundaries of the self-governing territories, investigating and exposing all cases of
alleged political partiality, such as the blood bath at Swatteville.

The hon. Minister may perhaps look at the multiparty conference as a starting point where that central monitoring role can be determined and where the matter can be settled, but then on condition that the police forces of the self-governing territories become part of a central national police force in South Africa.

Mr P H P GASTROW: Mr Chairman, this hon. Minister has the choice, firstly, of saying that they will wait until the negotiations have been concluded and then sort this out—which is what he is doing today—or he can say that he is primarily interested, as Minister of Law and Order, in stability and law and order during the transition period. I believe he ought to choose the second. [Interjections]

We are talking about a transitional period during which one wants a Police Force which has the broad respect of the population as a whole. The hon. Minister must take steps to achieve that—be it not doing it now. The negotiations will decide whether, in addition to a national Police Force, regions can complement the Police Force. I agree that that is an open question, but is the hon. Minister interested in stability during transition or not, or is he going to hide behind legal-technical excuses, saying that he is not touching the status quo because of the Constitution? I suggest that the hon. Minister is abrogating his responsibility. Steps need to be taken now, otherwise the SA Police Force will not be able to cope on its own with so many other police forces and milits around. The hon. Minister needs to do something now.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, one can understand why the DP are sitting in those benches and we in these. [Interjections.] They are really putting the cart before the horse now. [Interjections.] It is a terrible charge against the hon members that we are implementing their policy better than they can proclaim it! [Interjections.]

The fact remains that the hon. members cannot expect us to take away policing powers which were given to independent territories in terms of legislation in a constitution. [Interjections.] I am in favour of looking at these and of negotiating, but the SA Police cannot anticipate the negotiation process.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

We have an open mind about this and in the meantime, in order to make sure that the standard and balance are maintained, we are training and assisting in the training of all these people. The co-operation is good and we go out of our way to co-ordinate, because we are more concerned about security than those hon. members.

I agree with hon members and I am in favour of having one big police force in the country—it would be more manageable—but one has to do it the right way. We are doing it the right way, hon. members are suggesting the wrong way. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Ermelo has communism on the brain. I fail to understand it.

*Mr J H HOON: You are a minion of the communists!

*The MINISTER: The hon member for Kemnay can say that I am a minion of the communists, but it is not true. [Interjections.] I want to beat communism in South Africa. They have already lost against the communists—that is the point. [Interjections.] The hon members are so afraid of communism that they have run away. [Interjections.] They should instead stand up with us and fight communism!

*Mr J H HOON: It is because you are a minion of the communists!

*The MINISTER: They run away, they do not want to fight communism: that is why they are now accusing me of being a minion of communism. [Time expired.] Debates concluded.

QUESTIONS

Hindicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Monitoring of seaworthiness

* Mr J H MOMBBERG asked the Minister of Transport:

Whether the seaworthiness of vessels in (a) international waters and (b) South African territorial waters is subject to any monitoring;

1941

if so, (i) who is responsible for carrying out such monitoring, and (ii) in terms of what statutory or other provisions is this done, in each case?

B119E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(i) With regard to international waters, monitoring of seaworthiness is done by the states which own ports (port state) and with regard to South African territorial waters by the Department of Transport specifically.

(ii) In international waters as well as South African territorial waters, monitoring is done in terms of international conventions and local legislation of the relevant port state.

Mr J H MOMBBERG: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon. the Minister, I just want to ask him what laws and conventions affect the seaworthiness of vessels?

B119EZ


* Mr J H MOMBBERG asked the Minister of Defence:

Assault at Doornkop base

(1) Whether he or the South African Defence Force has been informed of an incident in which a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister’s reply, was

allegedly beaten up at the Doornkop military base; if not, why not; if so, what is this person’s name;

(2) whether an investigation is taking place into this incident; if not, why not; if so, what progress has been made in the investigation;

(3) whether any (a) suspects have been traced and (b) arrests have been made in connection with this incident; if so, what are the relevant details?

B1189E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) to (3) The matter is at present being investigated by the SA Police and is sub judice. No further information can thus be made available.

Strategic oil reserves revenue allocated to roads

4. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:

(1) Whether any of the revenue from the sale of strategic oil reserves has been allocated to roads; if so, how much, if not;

(2) whether it is the intention to allocate part of the above-mentioned revenue to roads, if not, why not; if so, how much;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1189E

The MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

(1) Up to now no specific allocation has been made to roads from the funds derived from the sale of strategic oil reserves;

(2) It is the intention to allocate part of the revenue from the sale of strategic oil reserves to roads. The hon. the State President had already made his intention clear during the discussion of his budget vote when, amongst other things, he announced that “In view of the fact that the road user has also made an important contribution to the creation of those funds, a contribution towards the maintenance of essential road infrastructure will also receive special attention, particularly where secondary roads are concerned.” With regard to the amount to be allocated to roads, a comprehensive

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! It appears to me that the hon. member for Pinetown, who puts the question, is not interested in the answer.

Mr. R. M. BURROWS: Mr. Chairman, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that I am holding this earphone close to my ear in an attempt to hear while all this noise is going on.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! At the same time the hon. member for Pinetown is carrying on a conversation with another hon. member across the floor of the House! The hon. member may proceed.

Mr. M. BURROWS: "The Minister: in addition to assistance with food, this scheme also makes provision for financial assistance regarding housing, transport, and other necessary expenses... [Interruption.]

(c) The unemployed:
During 1985 the said Department introduced a special scheme to provide relief to unemployed persons and their families in order to enable them to provide themselves with the basic necessities. This scheme is aimed specifically at persons who are unemployed as a result of the prevailing economic climate. According to this scheme:

- War veteran's pensions: R320
- Foster parent allowances: R212 per child
- Maintenance allowances: R304 per parent
- Child allowances: R92 per child

In addition to the increase in basic pensions it has also been decided to increase the attendance allowance paid to people who need the assistance of a second person for their daily needs, from R26 per month to R50 per month.

Mr. Chairman, on a point of order: When we ask to table information from time to time, hon. members make insinuations that we are trying to evade questions. When we try to reply in full on matters that according to our insight are of an urgent and serious nature, hon. members make accusations that we are delaying the time of the House.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The time for replying to oral questions has expired in any case. The remainder of the hon. member’s reply will nevertheless be recorded in Hansard.

According to this scheme an adult may be paid R228 per month and a child below the age of 18 years, R69 per month. An increase in these tariffs is being considered at present.

No. A statement will be issued only after the two said committees have concluded their work and made recommendations.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
(a) and (b) The South African Government’s aid to the TBVC States for the financial years 1988-89, 1989-90 and 1990-91 is set out in schedules 1-4, whilst aid to other independent African states during the aforementioned financial years is set out in schedule 5.
**D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE**

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<th>1988/89</th>
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**GRAND TOTAL**

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* 1) Actual expenditure
** 2) Estimated expenditure

**NOTE:**

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

**SCHEDULE 2**

**AID TO BOPHUTHATSWANA**

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**A. DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE**

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<td>Relief of distress</td>
<td>612,576</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special Job creation</td>
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**B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS**

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**C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)**

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**D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE**

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**GRAND TOTAL**

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* 1) Actual expenditure
** 2) Estimated expenditure

**NOTE:**

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

**SCHEDULE 3**

**AID TO VENDA**

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**A. DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE**

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**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY**
### SCHEDULE 4

**AID TO CISKEI**

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#### B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS

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<td>Common monetary area</td>
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<td>3,559,250</td>
<td>4,335,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>99,576,534</td>
<td>106,570,642</td>
<td>119,915,067</td>
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</table>

#### C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1988/89</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>11,344,730</td>
<td>27,058,928</td>
<td>15,078,000</td>
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#### D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1988/89</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manpower provision</td>
<td>11,551,110</td>
<td>14,549,855</td>
<td>10,964,806</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flour subsidy</td>
<td>1,762,451</td>
<td>1,130,893</td>
<td>921,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical assistance</td>
<td>928,541</td>
<td>545,222</td>
<td>197,236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries of Judges</td>
<td>191,541</td>
<td>401,041</td>
<td>204,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>14,433,643</td>
<td>16,627,011</td>
<td>12,288,575</td>
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**GRAND TOTAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1988/89</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>428,311,714</td>
<td>508,117,017</td>
<td>591,822,288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NOTES:

* 1) Actual expenditure
* 2) Estimated expenditure

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non recoverable financial assistance</td>
<td>7 134 183</td>
<td>1 200 522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief of distress</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Job creation</td>
<td>2 479 372</td>
<td>2 095 036</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>302 956 807</td>
<td>357 860 436</td>
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**B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tax compensation</td>
<td>10 322 361</td>
<td>12 621 392</td>
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<tr>
<td>Customs union</td>
<td>86 655 000</td>
<td>90 390 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common monetary area</td>
<td>2 601 173</td>
<td>3 559 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>99 576 534</td>
<td>106 570 642</td>
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**C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 344 730</td>
<td>27 058 928</td>
<td>15 078 000</td>
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**D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manpower provision</td>
<td>11 551 110</td>
<td>14 549 855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour subsidy</td>
<td>1 762 451</td>
<td>1 130 893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical assistance</td>
<td>928 541</td>
<td>545 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries of Judges</td>
<td>191 541</td>
<td>401 041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>14 433 643</td>
<td>16 627 011</td>
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**GRAND TOTAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>428 311 714</td>
<td>508 117 017</td>
<td>591 822 288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1) Actual expenditure
** 2) Estimated expenditure

**NOTE:**
Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

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**1973**

**SCHEDULE 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>422 798 436</td>
<td>461 127 339</td>
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**B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tax compensation</td>
<td>33 141 862</td>
<td>40 523 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs union</td>
<td>180 498 000</td>
<td>221 776 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common monetary area</td>
<td>4 794 133</td>
<td>6 561 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>218 424 995</td>
<td>258 860 732</td>
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**C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 544 730</td>
<td>20 359 114</td>
<td>11 649 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manpower provision</td>
<td>17 570 022</td>
<td>17 112 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour subsidy</td>
<td>454 378</td>
<td>322 036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical assistance</td>
<td>432 276</td>
<td>573 049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries of Judges</td>
<td>345 508</td>
<td>726 976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>18 802 184</td>
<td>18 734 341</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**GRAND TOTAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>1990/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>671 570 345</td>
<td>769 081 526</td>
<td>950 649 702</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1) Actual expenditure
** 2) Estimated expenditure

**NOTE:**
Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

---

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY**
Homelands 'can now be drawn in'

The second reading of the Development Aid Laws Amendment Bill was approved by all three Houses yesterday, with the Conservative Party in the House of Assembly voting against it.

In a declaration of vote, Andrew Gerber (CP Brits) said: "It makes possible the incorporation into South Africa of the self-governing territories."

Kobus Jordaan (DP Umlangla) said it was important that the leaders in the self-governing territories could now be drawn into the administrative process during the transitional period to a new constitution.

Jurie Mentz (NP Vryheid) said the Bill prepared the way for joint decision-making.

The Bill was supported by the House of Delegates, the House of Representatives and the House of Assembly after a division. — Sapa.
the various methods which can be employed to estimate future water demands, but water itself is not the limiting factor for the growth of the PWV Area, as water can be imported from elsewhere. With the rise in the standard of living of communities there is an increase in the water demand per person and the total demand can thus increase for many years even if the population remains constant. Should there be no implementation of existing water-supply sources in the future and should there be no implementation of water restrictions, it is estimated that about 12 million people in the Vaal River supply area could be supplied with water.

The following figures give an indication of the order of size of population growth for which provision was made in the water demand projections and the water resource development proposals:

Population growth in the Vaal River supply area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Million people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to expectations, about 65% of these people will be residing in the PWV Area.

(3) Not at all.

Vote No. 28: Programme 3

456 Mr J J BOTAHA asked the Minister of Development Aid: (a) (1) Whether, with regard to Vote No. 28—Development Aid, he will subdivide the amount of R 504 177 100 under Programme 3—"Assistance to governments of self-governing territories", according to aims; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

457 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

(1) Whether he will furnish the names and other particulars of (a) all prisoners who have been refused release by the Government and (b) the hunger strikers who are not political prisoners; if not, why not; if so,

(2) (a) in respect of the prisoners who have been refused release by the Government, (i) what are their names, (ii) what crime or crimes was each convicted and (iii) on what date did each apply for release and (b) in respect of the above-mentioned hunger strikers, (i) what are their names and (ii) what crime or crimes was each convicted?

458 The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

(1) and (2)

Due to the extensive information required by the hon member with regard to each individual case, it cannot be provided within the scope of this reply. However, should the hon member be interested in details of a specific case he is most welcome to approach my office whereafter I will make the information available to him on a personal basis.

459 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

What (a) amount and (b) percentage of the education budget of his Department was spent in (i) the Republic; (ii) the Orange Free State; and (iii) Natal on (a) pre-primary, (b) primary, (c) secondary and (d) tertiary education during the latest available 12-month period for which figures are available?

460 The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) (b)

(i) (aa) R23 278 million (i) (aa) 1.50%
(ii) (aa) R4 709 million (ii) (aa) 0.35%
(iii) (aa) R15 671 million (iii) (aa) 6.20%

(iii) (bb) R1 277 705 million (iii) (bb) 23.00%
(iii) (cc) R130 041 million (iii) (cc) 2.35%
(iii) (dd) R5 600 million (iii) (dd) 0.60%

(iv) (dd) R14 166 000 million (iv) (dd) 0.25%

Information in respect of Public Ordinary School Education and teacher training only, according to the 1990/91 printed budget (C'sector).

Certain school's management board meeting: pamphlet!

88 Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether, immediately prior to a management board meeting at a certain school, particulars of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, a pamphlet was distributed on the grounds of this school, if so, (a) in terms of what regulations and/or directives, (b) with whose permission, (c) what are the particulars of the incident and (d) what is the name of the school concerned.

(2) whether his Department is contemplating any action in this regard, if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when,

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Yes,
DEFENCE units must be formed by trained soldiers of the ANC and PAC to protect blacks from harassment by organisations such as the CCB, trade unionists said at the weekend.

Delegates attending the third national congress of the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union in Johannesburg were told that defence units should be formed by all cadres of the liberation struggle.

These could come from the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Azanian Peoples Liberation Army "as a matter of urgency".

In one of the resolutions adopted by the congress, Saccawu said: "These units must be equipped and armed for defence. "Members of the community must be urged to join them regardless of political affiliation because they will be expected to democratically run, control and monitor such defence units." The union also resolved to work hard towards the "total eradication" of the homeland system.

To achieve this the union pledged to vigorously campaign in all homelands with the aim of gaining more support to help destroy them.

During elections Ms Edna Sithembhe became the first woman to be elected as first vice-president of Saccawu.
African Bank’s strategy pays off

THE African Bank emerged from a difficult period with a 15% increase in net taxed income to R571,423.

In the six months to end-March total assets rose to R245m from R214m.

CE Jack Theron said although it had been a difficult year, the African Bank was in a far stronger position because of the "tremendous improvement" in its capital base. Concerns over the company’s under capitalisation were addressed at the beginning of the year when it opened its shareholding to all races.

The company's ordinary share capital increased by R255,000 in the six-month period and a further R600,000 has been received since then. Applications from the Ciskei People's Development Bank for 400,000 shares and the National Sorghum Breweries for 800,000 shares are the latest shows of interest.

Theron said he felt comfortable with the company's performance which was keeping pace with the requirements of the Deposit-Taking Institutions Act.

The group's past bad debt experiences have resulted in a more selective lending policy, with a significant increase in the home loan business in the TBVC states and homelands.

"All our housing loan business is in the black areas but we have not experienced any of the problems of other banks," Theran said.

While admitting that the African Bank was still too small to be really competitive in the banking industry, Theran said he was following a specific strategy "By taking over and bringing together small divisions of financial institutions and development corporations solely doing business in black areas, we can establish a greater position of strength."

To this end the bank had acquired the Sibasa Savings Bank from the Venda Development Corporation and the Lebowa Savings outlets from the Lebowa Development Corporation.
Homelands' complaints

PRETORIA — The six self-governing territories say they are being underfunded, a problem which is retarding upliftment of their people.

The claim was made at a meeting in Pretoria on Friday attended by the territories' finance ministers and chaired by Public Works, Land Affairs and Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers.

Purpose of the meeting was the planning of the territories' budgets for the 1992/93 financial year.

Main complaint of the six finance ministers was a lack of funds for development and job creation.

KwaZulu Finance Minister Dennis Matide said unemployment and poverty, just as in the major urban areas, were worsening in KwaZulu. This intensified the need for development funds, he said.
Development Bank to make R4bn available

THE Development Bank of Southern Africa will make R4bn available for development projects over the next three to four years.

Bank spokesman Frans van Rensburg said yesterday funds were for development in SA, the independent homelands, self-governing states, Lesotho and Mozambique.

Loans would be granted to national, regional or local government structures or their development agents.

Van Rensburg said almost R1bn had been disbursed in the past financial year, an increase of 36% compared with 1989/90.

Bank loans could be repaid over periods as long as 40 years, as most projects were infrastructural.

The bank's Lebowa project manager Alwyn Coetsee said Lebowa had applied for R750m worth of loans for the development of water schemes, transport and energy infrastructure.

Coetsee said 22 water development projects, valued at R161m, were in the identification phase, with a further five approved for funding of R69m.

He said water schemes required massive subsidisation due to the high costs of building a dam wall, laying pipelines, and technical support.

The bank had recently supported small water development schemes where communities took responsibility for initial development and maintenance.

The SA government would provide R500m to the bank this year and next year through the Industrial Development Corp.

Funds were also generated on the capital market.

The bank had provided R600m for the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme since 1980, Van Rensburg said.

Financing was available for rural and agricultural development, business and entrepreneurial development, human resource development, bulk infrastructure development and urban development.

Van Rensburg said development funds were also made available by the Independent Development Trust, Urban Foundation, SA Trust Corp and the Small Business Development Corp.
Search under way for new health plan

Pretoria Bureau

A model for a new health dispensation for South Africa, focused on decentralising health services, has been proposed at a conference of Ministers of health and welfare from South Africa and the self-governing territories.

It was proposed that it was time that attempts were made to arrange health services in such a way that they were more accessible and affordable.

A document said there were signs that the health status of inhabitants was deteriorating and that the present system was no longer affordable.

Local authorities, including regional services councils, should form the base of any future health dispensation — and all other services built on this base.

It was also established at the conference that the distribution of medical practitioners in the self-governing territories (Lebowa, QwaQwa, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and KwaNdwane) was unsatisfactory compared with the rest of the country.

There was one doctor for 15,625 people in the six territories, against one doctor for every 1,099 in South Africa.
Government Gazette
Staatskoerant

PROCLAMATION
by the
State President
of the Republic of South Africa

No. 67, 1991

AMENDMENT OF SCHEDULE 1 TO THE SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES CONSTITUTION ACT, 1971 (ACT No. 21 OF 1971)

Under section 37A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971), I hereby amend Schedule 1 to the said Act by—

(a) the substitution for item 2 of the following item:
"2. Education, and with the approval of the Minister of Education and Training the provision of education outside the area, but excluding education provided by a University or College which gives tertiary education and is established by or in terms of an Act of Parliament."

(b) by the substitution for item 7A of the following item:
"7A. The provision of financial assistance to persons in the area concerned who carry on or undertake to carry on farming operations, and the exercise of control in respect of such financial assistance provided."

(c) the substitution for item 15 of the following item:
"15. A direct tax—
(a) on—
(i) citizens or any particular category or group of citizens;
(ii) the income of citizens or any particular category or group of citizens,
whether the citizens concerned are or reside within or outside the area, provided they are or reside within the Republic;
(b) any or all non-citizens who reside, work or carry on any trade, business, profession or occupation within the area;

688—A
(c) property situated in the area;";
(d) the insertion of the following item after item 20A:
"20B. Fire brigade services;";
(e) the substitution for item 30 (a) and (b) of the following item:
"30. (a) Tribal and regional authorities referred to in section 12 and other local institutions of a similar nature.
(b) Institutions or bodies other than such institutions as are referred to in paragraph (a) which have, in respect of one or more areas (whether contiguous or not) outside the area of jurisdiction of any institution contemplated in that paragraph, similar powers and functions of any such mentioned institution;";
(f) the insertion of the following item after item 32A:
"32B. The conservation and utilisation of water sources and resources including the prevention of pollution, and other activities which can change the natural occurrence of water sources and atmospheric precipitation;";
(g) the insertion of the following item after item 32B:
"32C. Sectional titles;"; and
(h) the insertion of the following item after item 32C:
"32D. Appointment of commissions of inquiry.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Twentieth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-one.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

J. DE VILLIERS,
Minister of the Cabinet.

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

ADMINISTRATION: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE

No. 1633 12 July 1991
COMMUNITY WELFARE ACT, 1987
ABOLITION OF REGIONS
ALTERATION OF REGIONAL LIMITS
ALTERATION OF NAMES OF REGIONS
ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONS
ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL WELFARE BOARDS

By virtue of the powers vested in me by sections 6 and 7 of the Community Welfare Act, 1987 (Act No. 104 of 1987), I, Christian Jeffrey April, Minister of Health Services and Welfare of the Ministers’ Council of the House of Representatives, hereby amend Gov-
Stand on ‘homeland’ prisoners explained

WASHINGTON — President George Bush decided to lift sanctions after concluding that political prisoners still held in the homelands were not covered by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, a legal justification issued by the White House says.

The document also stated that SA law and practice had been sufficiently reformed in recent months as to “provide assurances” that there would be no further political convictions, as defined by the Act, in the “foreseeable future”.

Bush’s decision that the Act’s five conditions had been filled has been sharply attacked by sanctions proponents in Congress on the grounds that it failed to take into account 164 prisoners held in Bophuthatswana, most of them soldiers and officers involved in the 1986 coup attempt.

Congressman Ron Dellums, echoing ANC lawyer Mathew Phosa, said Bush had “in a de facto way, recognised Bophuthatswana as an independent state”.

Lawyers for Human Rights in Pretoria on Tuesday asked US ambassador William Swing to forward to Bush a letter purporting to be from the Bophuthatswana prisoners currently on hunger strike, pleading for their cases to be taken into account.

The White House statement said prisoners held in the TBVC states had not been counted because the CAAA “does not include reincorporation of the so-called ‘independent’ homelands as a condition for lifting sanctions”.

Officials further explained that to have included TBVC prisoners might also have meant making the lifting of sanctions contingent on the ANC’s releasing those it is still holding against their wills.

Instead, it was decided to focus on those prisoners in the custody of the central government and to treat homeland administrations as “other groups”.

The US embassy had “exhaustively reviewed the cases of persons incarcerated or otherwise detained by the government”.

ANC President Nelson Mandela told ABC’s Ted Koppel that there were “still a large number of prisoners who are covered by the definition agreed upon by the ANC and government” and criticised the US for “imposing its own definition”.

The White House statement said the CAAA was clear on this. Its standard “applies only to persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained without trial”.

Recent amendments to the Internal Security Act, new restrictions on detention with judicial review, and other reforms permitting free political activity made it unlikely that there would be further “convictions . . . for offences constituting ‘persecution for political beliefs’”.

The statement also noted the agreement between government and the ANC on the release of political prisoners was founded in the “acceptance” by all sides of “the essential integrity of the SA judicial sys-
TBVC states in line for Vat handouts

VAT HAS opened another channel for disguised handouts to the TBVC states.

SA will administer the Vat systems for Transkei, Venda and Ciskei for free. Bophuthatswana has hired experts from Britain to implement its system.

All four will have access to SA legislation, forms and explanatory literature and their public servants are being trained by SA officials.

Under Vat there will be a net outflow of funds from SA to the TBVC states in the form of input credits because they buy more from SA than they sell to it.

A central clearing house will be established to facilitate these transfers.

Because it would be prohibitively expensive to calculate the exact amounts involved, the credits will be a function of gross domestic product, imports and exports of each state, says Central Statistical Service deputy director Hilda Botha. The amounts involved are not known because the formula has not been agreed on.

All the TBVC states will introduce Vat on the same date and at the same rate as SA.

Inland Revenue chief director Trevor van Heerden says that because the TBVC states have no border controls with SA, they are the only ones to which SA exports are not zero rated.

The nominally independent TBVC states had little option but to follow SA and charge the same Vat rate.

"Had they not done so they would have received no input credits from SA," says Mr Van Heerden. "They would still have had to charge their own GST. This would have had disastrous inflationary effects and would have made their goods less competitive.

"They are similarly prevented from reducing the Vat rate below that of SA because they would then receive proportionately less credit from us."

The advantage for the SA receiver of having the same system in all the TBVC states is that it is more easy to police.
Homelands on line for electricity

Staff Reporter

HOMELANDS and other underdeveloped areas of southern Africa will be getting electricity following an agreement between Eskom and the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA).

The partnership, signed yesterday, will ensure these companies use their full resources to achieve this goal.

A joint committee between Eskom and the DBSA has been set up to liaise with governments and local authorities.

The homeland of Kangwane has already benefited from this type of liaison.

Rescor, the Kangwane electricity supply body, has obtained a loan of R17-million. It is estimated 4 000 households in the rural and urban areas of the homeland will get electricity through the project within the next two years.

The provision of electricity to townships in South Africa will also be considered by Eskom if representations are made by township authorities.
Developing communities anywhere.
I did not lie about funding, says Botha

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha yesterday denied that he had lied at a news conference last month when asked about government funding of Inkatha. Botha said the question asked of him, and what he had denied, was not whether government funded Inkatha but whether it did so through its payments to the KwaZulu government.

Botha was responding to a Press report this week which implied that the ANC would not be getting any money from the government. He said he had been referring to a question in which a journalist stated that the ANC had been given a donation to the ANC by the government at the time when that money would have contributed to the violence.

During a news conference yesterday taped for the Agnus TV program, Botha took exception to questions that he had lied and -- in a reference to a Business Day editorial -- that he had told a "breathing lie". He said he had been responding to a question in which a journalist stated that the ANC had been given a donation to the ANC by the government at the time when that money would have contributed to the violence.

Botha said he had told the Press that the ANC had not been given any money by the government.

He said he had been referring to a question in which a journalist stated that the ANC had been given a donation to the ANC by the government at the time when that money would have contributed to the violence.

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Homeland leaders to join front

JOHANNESBURG.—Leaders of four self-governing and independent homelands yesterday indicated they planned to join the African National Congress, Pan African Congress and the Azanian People’s Organisation in a patriotic front of anti-apartheid groups.

High-ranking officials from Transkei, Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele agreed after meeting ANC leaders yesterday that there were “no obstacles” to the formation of a patriotic front between the ANC and ruling political groups in their territories.

The ANC and PAC called for a patriotic front in April. This was endorsed by Azapo and the Congress of Traditional Leaders and a launch conference will be held in Cape Town next month.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said an “emergency” meeting was called yesterday, mainly to discuss the Inkhata scandal disclosures.

A statement after the meeting condemned the government for “destabilising homeland governments that they consider to be progressive and anti-apartheid”.

The ANC delegation, headed by chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, included deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

The PAC previously opposed the participation of homeland and self-governing territory leaders in the front.

But PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation had “no objection to their involvement as long as they turn their backs on the past and agree to calls for an interim government.”
Homeland leaders line up for patriotic front

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ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said after yesterday’s meeting that many obstacles to forming the front had been overcome.

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But PAC spokesman Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation had “no objection to their involvement as long as they turn their backs on the past and agree to calls for an interim government”.

He said discussions were continuing between a PAC-ANC committee and representatives from other independent states, including Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

He said there was a possibility that the Labour Party would also agree to attend next month’s conference.
PROCLAMATION
by the
State President
of the Republic of South Africa
No. R. 71, 1991


By virtue of the powers vested in me by section 36A (2) and (3) of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971), I hereby amend—

(a) Proclamation No. R. 37 of 1976: Reservation of certain land for the occupation or acquisition by Blacks in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971), by the insertion after regulation 7 of the following regulation:

"7A. A general plan which represents the subdivision of land referred to in the Schedule hereto may, with the consent of the Minister, be altered, amended or partially or totally cancelled by the Surveyor-General: Provided that where such alteration, amendment or partial or total cancellation affects any public place, the Surveyor-General has, prior to such alteration, amendment or partial or total cancellation, been advised by the Minister that the provisions of the law relating to the permanent closing of any public place or portion thereof have been complied with.", and

(b) Proclamation No. 205 of 1981: Reservation of certain land situate in the Province of Natal for the occupation or acquisition by Blacks under the provi
sions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971), by the insertion after regulation 4 of the following regulation:

"4A. A general plan which represents the subdivision of land referred to in the Schedule hereto may, with the consent of the Minister, be altered, amended or partially or totally cancelled by the Surveyor-General: Provided that where such alteration, amendment or partial or total cancellation affects any public place, the Surveyor-General has, prior to such alteration, amendment or partial or total cancellation, been advised by the Minister that the provisions of the law relating to the permanent closing of any public place or portion thereof have been complied with."

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Eighth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State-President-in-Cabinet:

J. DE VILLIERS,
Minister of the Cabinet.

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GOVERNMENT NOTICES

ADMINISTRATION:
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

No. R. 1737 26 July 1991

EDUCATION POLICY ACT, 1967

TEACHER TRAINING


SCHEDULE

Government Notice No. R. 1903 of 22 October 1976 is hereby amended by the substitution for the proviso to paragraph 2 of the following proviso:

"Provided that the particulars specified in subparagraphs (f) and (g) may be omitted if a separate, full statement, firstly, in respect of the teaching subjects passed, with an indication of subjects passed with distinction, and secondly, in respect of the relevant other subjects passed, with an indication of year levels, is issued to the holder of the certificate."

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GOEWERMESTSKENNISGEWINGS

ADMINISTRASIE:
VOLKSRAAD

DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS EN KULTUUR

No. R. 1737 26 Julie 1991

WET OP ONDERWYSBELEID, 1967

ONDERWYSERSOPLEIDING


BYLAE

Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1903 van 22 Oktober 1976 word hierby gewysig deur die voorbehoudsbepaling by paragraaf 2 deur die volgende voorbehoudsbepaling te vervang:

"Met dien verstande dat die besonderhede vermeld in subparagraaf (f) en (g) weg gelaat kan word as aan die houer van die sertifikaat 'n aparte, volledige verklaring, eerstens, ten opsigte van die onderrigvakke waarin geslaag is, met 'n aanduiding van die vakke met onderskeiding geslaag, en tweedens, ten opsigte van die betrokke ander vakke waarin geslaag is, met 'n aanduiding van jaarvlakke, uitgebreik word."
Elderly ‘shy off political bodies’

HORRIBLE stories of torture, intimidation and arson have led traditional leaders to question their future role in a new South Africa.

Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike said this at the weekend while addressing a meeting of school principals and mogoshi in Lebowakgomo.

The elderly population had become increasingly alienated from some political organisations because of the conduct of self-imposed leaders acting under the cloak of these organisations.

He said his United People’s Front was formed in consultation with the leadership of the African National Congress.

"It would prove inconsistent of us to do the opposite of what we have been preaching all along," adding that their political alliance was guided by their views and objectives for the future.

He said reports that the UPF was formed to establish ANC presence in the territory was "mere speculation".

Sapo.
Homeland policy may be dumped this week

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The National Party is expected to abandon the Verwoerdian dream of tribal homelands this week, new secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has indicated.

Dr Van der Merwe confirmed to the Observer yesterday that the new NP constitutional plan to be discussed at a federal congress on Wednesday is "the formal end of the homelands policy, although we have been moving in that direction for some time".

Watershed

He stressed that the new plan was a negotiating position, not a fixed policy, and that if the inhabitants of any particular homeland wanted it to remain as a separate region, this would be negotiable. But it would no longer be NP policy to have "homelands", he said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer told the Observer: "This is a watershed moment. There was an ideological watershed on 2 February 1990, when President F W de Klerk turned his back on the apartheid policy, and now we have the practical watershed of the whole vision being dumped."
Our decision not to pay Jalc - Holomisa

TRANSKEI was not instructed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to withhold payment to Jalc Holdings the homeland's ruler, Major-General Bann Holomisa, said yesterday.

In a statement from Umtata, Holomisa said the decision not to pay Jalc, which built houses in Transkei, was taken by the homeland administration "without any input from RSA Foreign Affairs".

Botha is being sued for R25 million by Jalc for allegedly instructing Transkei not to pay the money owed to Jalc.

Holomisa said the reverse was true, that Botha's department tried to pressurize his government into paying Jalc. Any suggestion to the contrary was "a pack of lies".

Poor and defective workmanship were the reasons Transkei had refused to settle its account with Jalc.

Holomisa said he had met with Botha in Cape Town on June 8, 1988, where the issue of Jalc had been discussed.

"I informed him (Botha) that the matter could not be handled at the political level. I advised the minister to tell Jalc to observe channels of communication," he said.

A meeting was also held with Jalc, where Holomisa told a representative of Jalc, Mr Chris van Rensburg, why his government would not pay any more money to the company. - Sapa
By TERRY BETTY

THE construction industry has asked the Government to delay the implementation of Vat in the TBVC states for six months. (10)

With only three weeks to go to Vat-day, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei have yet to pass the required legislation. But they have started to send out Vat registration forms.

A Transkei Inland Revenue spokesman says the Vat Bill must still be "channelling through the corridors of the military council". (TIMES)

A Bophuthatswana official says its Bill has not had its third reading. (13)

Colin Mester, chairman of Conccon, says many sub-contractors and suppliers in these states have not registered. This will make them uncompetitive because they will have to pay Vat on their inputs without being able to claim input credits.

British

They will also be unable to issue Vat invoices which enable customers to claim input rebates.

Mr Mester says that because South Africa had a six-month lead after promulgation of the Vat Act, it is unfair to expect vendors in the TBVC states to get their act together in a few weeks.

Inland Revenue chief director, tax policy development, Trever von Heerden, says if TBVC Vat systems are not up and running in time, it is possible to backdate legislation to September 30. But this means vendors will have to charge as if they were including Vat in their prices.

But confusion will reign if the TBVC states do not change their tax laws by September 30 because the GST system will remain in place.

If this happens vendors will pay Vat on goods bought in SA and have to levy GST on top of this without qualifying for rebates.

Building Industries Federation of South Africa (Bifa) economist Charles Martin says such doubts have caused confusion for those involved in major projects in the TBVC states.

Dr Martin says: "It is difficult to tender for new contracts when there is uncertainty about tax."

The first TBVC registration forms were sent out last week. Bophuthatswana employed British experts to help implement its system and mailed forms before SA did.
unwelcome, Refugees
Homelands a haven for
by Patrick
Kangane
"African Coward flings his trump"
Tough Bill to stamp out bribes

Political Correspondent

A TOUGH new Bill designed to stamp out bribery and corruption was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Corruption Bill, which is based on recommendations of the SA Law Commission's report on bribery, aims to "criminalise corruption anew in order to provide for proper combating of that evil".

The short Bill avoids elaborate definitions in a bid to prevent restricting the categories of persons who may be bribed.

It also envisages providing for those instances where a benefit is offered to persons other than the bribee himself or his family.

Implications for homelands

The Bill, which will be considered by Parliament in 1992, also proposes criminalising corruption committed outside the Republic of South Africa if this has an effect inside the country.

This could have major implications for acts or alleged acts of corruption committed inside the "independent" TBVC homelands, in particular.

The Corruption Bill also envisages providing for an "unlimited discretion" in the assessment of sentence within the punitive jurisdiction of the court concerned.

A memorandum attached to the Bill states that "all interested parties" were consulted by the SA Law Commission during its investigation.
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'Each policeman has
to adhere to code'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Every member of the police forces of South Africa and the six self-governing territories will have to give a written undertaking that he or she accepts the police code of conduct contained within the National Peace Accord.

This was announced after a conference in Pretoria yesterday where Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and his counterparts from KwaZulu, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane and Lebowa fully committed their police forces to uphold the letter and spirit of the accord and to implement it as soon as possible.

The accord commits the police to behave impartially and with restraint in dealing with political crime.

The conference also resolved that:

- All the provisions of the accord would be reflected at all levels of training and re-training.
- Joint units would be established to investigate violence and unrest-related crimes.
- Joint units would be set up to investigate complaints on police conduct.
- Each self-governing territory would appoint a member of its police force to serve with the SAP and members of the community on the proposed Police Board.
- Copies of the police Code of Conduct spelt out in the peace accord should be made available to every police official and that every member of all police forces within the country should be required to give a written undertaking that he or accepts and understands it.
- The self-governing territories should use SAP Reporting Officers to avoid duplication.

The conference also discussed cross-border policing and training.

Among those at the meeting were: Minister of Development Aid Jacob de Villiers; Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers; Gazankulu Chief Minister and Police Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi; QwaQwa Police Minister R H Mopeli; KwaZulu Minister Without Portfolio N J Ngubane; KwaNdebele Deputy Law and Order Minister S J Mabona and KaNgwane Police Minister M S Giniela.
Mdlala: 'no talk of hit list'

CP Correspondent

LAKALE Kaunda, the Natal Witness reporter who was first to interview self-confessed military intelligence agent Sipho Madlala, this week denied Madlala told him about a security police hit list.

Kaunda said the only name of a person supposed to be killed, and mentioned by Madlala, was that of trade unionist Alfred Ndlovu.

Kaunda was giving evidence at the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court inquiry into the death of former head of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) Chief Mhlabaunzima Maphumulo, who was gunned down on February 25.

Madlala - who confessed to being part of a plot to murder Maphumulo - told the court he had seen a two-page hit list at the Halfway House police station in the possession of Det. WO Piet Scott.

He said he told Kaunda about this but had asked him not to publish it.

Madlala said Ndlovu's name was second on the list behind that of local ANC leader Harry Gwala.

Kaunda also pointed out that some parts of the transcription of their recorded interview were incorrect and the tape itself was inaudible.

Madlala had earlier refused to answer questions related to contents of the tape as he believed it had been edited. He also said he had made the interview as part of a security branch plot to infiltrate the ANC.

City Press reporter S'Busi Mngadi told the court about his meetings with Madlala. The inquiry was adjourned to October 21. Meanwhile, the house of an interpreter at the inquiry, Themba Qwelane, was set alight last week. It could not be established if the attack was connected with the inquiry.
Govt, homelands meet

The urgent need to effectively integrate the SA government and the homelands in a management process to govern the country as a whole was acknowledged at a top-level meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

Attending yesterday's conference were seven SA Ministers, six deputy Ministers and Ministers from each self-governing or independent homeland.

Meeting chairman and Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers said the meeting strongly emphasised the need for a coherent policy framework for socio-economic development and development assistance in the transition period.
Sebe return plans slated

THE Congress of Traditional leaders of South Africa (Contralese) has urged the South African Government to reconsider their plan to return former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe to the homeland.

Sebe, who was overthrown in March last year after allegations of corruption, has been offered indemnity from prosecution and R2.3-million. (10 f) (£25)

Contralese national president Patekile Holomisa said the money should rather be used to ease the plight of Ciskei civil servants dismissed during a strike earlier this year. — Enews 6/10/91.
Public sector seen as likely to expand

Paper critiques ANC

Deep cloud...
Hani hails homeland leaders, but slams township councils.

The Agenda Correspondent.

Kwa-Nyamandla: National Congress endorsed homeland leaders' strategy of working within the apartheid system, as long as they had a mandate from the people. Hani, one of the leaders, said there was a struggle to keep the system in South Africa, working for the rest of the country.

The ANC, which had been in exile for many years, was still looked upon as the most effective in fighting for the people. The strategy of working from outside had not been abandoned.

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Chieftaincy 'must turn democratic'

CHIEFTANCY will have to undergo radical changes in a new South Africa, according to president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa Chief Patekile Holomisa.

He was speaking at the weekend at a two-day Contralesa conference in Pretoria on hereditary rule in a future South Africa.

In the light of the ongoing violence in the country, Holomisa warned of "tribal strife and conflict" spilling over into the new South Africa.

Chiefs could, however, become instruments of peace and unity if chieftaincy got its due recognition, Holomisa, an advocate of the Supreme Court in Umtata, predicts that chiefs as hereditary rulers "will remain in place". However, they would have to be elected by the members of their community, he said.

With the democratisation of traditional authority, the chief-in-council, in particular, would have to be elected by the community.

"This is where organisations such as residents' associations, amongst others, will come in."

Whatever decisions the chiefs took would therefore be informed decisions, Holomisa said.

Contralesa had taken it on itself to ensure that as long as chieftaincy lasts, it will be transformed into a modernised and democratic institution.

On the judicial front, chiefs would be accepted as the legitimate arbiters in disputes involving members of their communities or those of neighbouring localities, while at a legislative level the Great Place was the legislative seat. - Sapa.
LAND 1

CURRENT STRUGGLES

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 have always been seen as one of the cornerstones of apartheid. During the last session of parliament, the government formally removed racial restrictions on land ownership by abolishing these acts. But people's struggle for land is not yet over. The effects of this apartheid law and the policy of forced removals remain.

While very few white farmers remain on land in South Africa, the question of who owns and benefits from land in South Africa has not been resolved. Many communities are at the moment engaged in bitter struggles about land.

What are the main themes of these struggles?

RESTORATION OF THE LAND

Many communities, uprooted from land they had owned or occupied for generations, have never even attempted to return to their land. At the moment, there are 20 rural communities around the country actively involved in attempts to return to the land they regard as theirs. And there are probably many more people who wish to return, but have not yet organised themselves. Many readers will have heard of the Ngkoty people's story of forced removal and return. They occupied their land in defiance of the government two years ago. After protracted negotiations and court cases they have recently won the right to return to their land.

But there are many other communities who have not been so fortunate.

Since November 1990, the Belo long tribe of Macharie and the communities of Goedewonde in the Transvaal, Oranje, Charlestown and Reebokliek (in Ntlatleng) and Ma chantown (in the Border region) have all tried to reoccupy their land. Only some of the people of Goedewonde and Reebokliek have been able to return to their land, but the position of these communities is still insecure as they await the outcome of court actions and negotiations. Other communities, like the Mfengu of Tshikwana and the people of the farm Doorkop near Middelburg, have been engaged in protracted correspondence with the government and land owners about their right to have land restored. They have had no success yet.

DEVELOPMENT

Most communities that won redress from the government are now working to develop their land. This is because the area has been deliberately neglected by government which until recently was trying to push black people out of "white" South Africa. Residents of townships like Thembeka (near Louis Trichardt), Ruster (near Venterdorp) and Lawankemp (near George) are now trying to improve their housing, services and facilities at an affordable cost.

Water supply, health and education facilities are serious problems in many rural settlements. In areas such as Debredor and Diggakruin (in South Eastern Transvaal), Mooplaan and Kwela (in Border region) and Mazinvane's Kop in the Natal Midlands, there is severe overcrowding.

Because of previous policies which tried to force all black from "white" land, areas like these became a refuge of homeless people and now there is not enough land for farming.

These areas need to get a share of available resources to develop their settlements and improve the everyday lives of people living there. In particular, women in these areas are struggling to demand the right to help determine priorities for development, since they are often the ones who must run the household and when the men are working in the cities.

RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

To develop their areas, communities will have to work through strong accountable local government structures. Under apartheid, local government was used by officials to control and oppress communities. In the new South Africa, communities will have to think about how they want to administer their areas. This raises many questions about the role and composition of current structures - for instance should they be the civic, residents' associations, community authorities or tribal authorities?

Should they be hereditary or democratically elected? Which structures will serve the community best? Can all sectors of the community (for example, women, youth) participate equally?

At the moment the government is trying to change legislation about rural local government. Several communities feel that the proposed changes are not a great improvement on the present apartheid legislation. They want to work out a whole new system that will serve their needs and have the support of their people.

While there is a lot of discussion about development and local government in urban townships, there has been little about rural local government.

BANTUSTANS

Under apartheid, the government established bantustans and cast millions of people into the "care" of these puppet governments.

Communities in the bantustans feel excluded from the debates and discussions about the new South Africa. In particular, people living under the rule of Bophuthatswana have seen little change or improvement in their situation. Repression has continued, and the South African government is unresponsive to people's pleas for assistance. So even though the South African authorities are making concessions about reform in "South Africa" they still refuse to take responsibility for people in the bantustans.

Communities who were forcibly incorporated and who opposed Bophuthatswana face continued harassment by bantustan police and vigilantes. The tragic story of Braklaagte in the Western Transvaal was told in an earlier edition of Learning Nation. Other communities such as Thornhill and Pelican in the Border region are affected by similar problems in relation to the Ciskei Unconstitutional agreements for a new government. Include the land and people of the bantustans there will be no real change in South Africa.

FARM WORKERS

AND LABOUR TENANTS

The National Manpower Commission has finally recommended that farm workers' conditions of employment should be controlled by legislation. This is a major breakthrough for one of the most exploited sectors of workers in our country. But their rights to land and housing has not been addressed. Farm workers live at their places of work and need to have some form of security or offer of an alternative place to live if they are evicted. Their situation is becoming worse as more and more farmers are deciding to reduce the number of their employees. These farmers fear future legislation over wages, unionisation and working conditions. Homeless and unemployed, evicted farm workers face a desperate future.

The problem may be even harder for labour tenants. These are people who farm land in exchange for working a few months a year for the farmer. In many cases, the families of labour tenants have lived on the particular farm for generations, often witnessing the selling of land from white farmers to white farmer. But they have no legal right to this land. They are also farmers and in most cases have no desire to go into wage labour. But when a farmer decides he no longer wants them on the land, they have no legal right to stay even though they have invested in housing and livestock and may have lived there much longer than the current "owner". The land claims of labour tenants has to be addressed in a creative way which offers both tenants and farmers entrenched security of occupation.

There is no mention of their situation in the new legislation on land.
PRETORIA. — About a million hectares of SA Development Trust (SADT) land still had to be incorporated into homelands including Bophuthatswana, Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Mr Jaques de Villiers said yesterday.

He said in a statement that all land transferred to Bophuthatswana in terms of Proclamation No 101/1991 had been acquired by the SADT in decisions taken by central government as far back as 1978.

Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North and spokesman on Development Aid, Mr Peter Soil, said the DP was opposed to the incorporation of Bophuthatswana into the homeland of South Africans lose their citizenship rights

— Sapa
Arrests, raids as Ciskei simmers

Weekend Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — More than 100 people have been arrested, political meetings have been disrupted and door-to-door raids made in Ciskei in a government crackdown on political protest.

According to Ms Marion Sparg, a member of the African National Congress's executive committee and Border ANC official, police have made raids in Mdantsane township near East London. She said military police and soldiers had targeted youth movements and civic organisations.

According to Ms Sparg, detentions in the Ciskei continued as the military government invoked Section 26 of the National Security Act, allowing indefinite detention.

Ms Sparg said that on Thursday night meetings of the South African Communist Party in the region were broken up by the army.

A house, bottle store and vehicles belonging to a member of the African Democratic Movement near King William's Town were torched on Sunday.

The situation in the Ciskei remains tense as the state of emergency goes into its third day and VAT protests are expected.

The area also has experienced much turbulence over the introduction of the headman system, which allows election of headmen who are not of aristocratic background.

Meanwhile, the Ciskei government has ordered chief magistrates and public prosecutors not to grant bail to people charged with political offences.
JOHANNESBURG. — The Ciskei-Border region has committed itself to the National Peace Accord and has opened the door to a "regional conflict resolution process" which is to be followed up at a National Peace Committee meeting to be held here on Thursday.

This is the gist of a decision taken at a closed meeting in Johannesburg yesterday between a senior delegation from Ciskei and committee chairman Mr John Hall.

The meeting follows the recent declaration of a state of emergency in Ciskei.

"We are starting a process which is encouraging and must chew the apple bite for bite as we go along," Mr Hall said.

Arrested

The ANC has expressed "grave concern" for people held under Ciskei emergency regulations at the weekend.

A statement by the ANC said among those arrested were Mr Sam Kwelela, a member of the ANC regional executive, and Mr Amos Mpeia, an executive member of both the ANC and the Residents' Association.

ANC spokeswoman for the region, Miss Marion Sparg, said the two men were arrested while marking out sites for the homeless in Dimbaza.

Ciskei police refused to confirm the whereabouts of emergency detainees, an ANC spokesman said. — Sapa
Nod for Viljoen in multiparty talks

A MEETING between the Government, homeland and tri-cameral parliamentary leaders yesterday voted that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen should negotiate on their behalf with other parties over moves to get a multiparty conference off the ground.

The meeting, held at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, was chaired by President FW de Klerk and attended, among others, by Viljoen, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Dr Hudson Ntsamayisi of Ciskei, Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike, kaNgwane leader Cephas Zitha, the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils - Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, House of Representatives (coloured) leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse and House of Delegates (Indian) leader Dr JN Reddy - and provincial administrators.

After the meeting the Ministry of Constitutional Development said in a statement there had been general agreement on the urgency of the multiparty conference becoming a reality.

The meeting dealt exclusively with the planning of the multiparty conference and had agreed on the basic issues, the statement said.

Chief Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa and Prince SK Mhlungu of KwaNdebele could not attend but their administrations were represented.

See picture on page 2.
ANC claim 250 held — denied by police

The Argus Correspondent
EAST LONDON. — About 250 ANC members have been arrested in Dimbaza near King William's Town, bringing the number of members detained since the Ciskei state of emergency was declared to 278, the ANC claims.

Among those arrested were an ANC regional executive member, Mr Sam Kwelita, the chairperson of the Dimbaza Residents' Association, Mr Vuyisile Hadoni and an executive member of the ANC and the resident's association, Mr Amos Mpola.

The ANC's Border publicity secretary, Ms Marion Sparg, said Ciskei police were still refusing to confirm the whereabouts of emergency detainees.

"Repeated calls to police stations throughout Ciskei have resulted in simple denials that any detainees are being held in their stations," she said.

"Many of our members have been held for more than a week now in terms of the emergency regulations. Friends and relatives have approached police stations where they are believed to be held to take them fresh clothing and food parcels. "In all cases," said Ms Sparg "they are told that no emergency detainees are held in that particular station."

The ANC has also claimed that in Komga, near East London, armed PAC supporters led by a South African Police special constable roamed the township on Sunday night attacking residents.

"About seven people were wounded by pangas and axes and stoning also took place," said Ms Sparg.

Several ANC members were also confronted and asked whether they still belonged to the organisation, she said.

She also accused South African security elements of planning a coup in the Ciskei.

The alleged plotters were planning to replace the Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, with Chief Lent Maqoma, in a move aimed at preempting the Border Peace Committee's plan for an interim administration to replace Gqozo.

"It is obviously difficult to prove, but we have no doubt a coup is being engineered," she said.

It was becoming "increasingly evident that the De Klerk government is going to have to bow to the demands of the Border Peace Committee."
ANC claims PAC attacks

EAST LONDON. — The local branch of the ANC has alleged that armed groups of Pan Africanist Congress supporters attacked residents in the Komga location on Sunday night. Police in Komga denied any knowledge of such incidents. PAC officials could not be reached for comment.

SA denies coup claim

EAST LONDON. — Allegations that South Africa's National Intelligence Service was planning a coup in Ciskei to overthrow the administration of Brigadier Opupa Gqozo were without substance, a spokes-
man for the SA embassy in Ciskei said yesterday. The charge d'affaires at the embassy, Mr Iain Heath, said he was amazed the ANC could make the accusations.

The Border ANC claimed on Monday the plan was intended to pre-empt attempts by the Border Peace Committee to persuade SA to appoint an interim administrator in Brig Gqozo's position.

A co-chairman of the Border Peace Conference steering committee, Mr Andre de Wet, said yesterday he too had heard reports of a planned coup.
Ciskei minister denies ANC report of coup plan

BISHO — Ciskei's Minister of Manpower has denied an ANC allegation that there is a plan to overthrow the Ciskei government.

Mr Lent Maqoma said last night: "In the interests of all people of Ciskei I feel duty-bound to set the record straight about the alleged coup to overthrow the present head of state.

"As a result of this coup I would be installed as head of state, according to the ANC's Miss Marcia Sparg."

"I categorically deny this and wish the authors of the statement to bring forth the supposed information in their possession in order for its origin to be traced."

Mr Maqoma said the only road to peace in the region was through negotiation. — Sapa.
314 'held in Ciskei'

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — At least 314 people have been reportedly arrested in Ciskei since the homeland's ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, proclaimed a state of emergency there last Tuesday.

It is uncertain how many of those arrested have been detained under the emergency regulations, how many are routine arrests and how many are still being held.

The figure excludes the reported 300 arrested at Izolli last Sunday — 83 of whom have appeared in court, some being charged and others released.

Miss Marlon Sparg of the ANC said another 18 people had been arrested yesterday.
Azasco hits out at homeland leaders

THE Azanian Students Convention yesterday accused homeland leaders of having a double agenda.

Azasco president Mr Sipho Maseko was reacting to the consent by homeland leaders and triameral parliament representatives that Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrie Viljoen should negotiate on their behalf with other parties over moves to get the multiparty conference off the ground.

This agreement was reached at a meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria at the weekend.

The meeting came a week after the Patriotic Front conference convened in Durban by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Maseko said the homeland leaders' participation in the PF had reduced it to a "pathetic front".

He said: "Azasco's refusal, and that of the Black Consciousness Movement as a whole, to participate in the PF has been vindicated.

"This meeting has proved beyond reasonable doubt that these bantustan leaders are not redeemable.

"There is no way that these leaders can be part of the freedom movement, yet still be madly in love with this Government.

"Azasco believes this is the time when we need a real PF, which will isolate these puppets and their mentor," Maseko said.
Family to see ‘assassin’s’ body

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are waiting for the family of an alleged Transkei “assassin” to identify his body, after he was shot dead when police intercepted him in Soweto just before midnight on Tuesday.

The Transkei’s consular representative met Soweto police yesterday morning and was asked to arrange for the man’s next of kin to travel to Johannesburg to identify him.

Police intercepted the man after receiving information that a would-be assassin was on his way from the Transkei with “plans” to kill policemen, a police spokesman said.

A taxi the man was travelling in was intercepted by the police in Moroka, Soweto, but the suspect ran away and attempted to shoot at the police.

Police fired a shot, fatally wounding the man, and found a loaded 9mm pistol and an emergency Transkei travel document in his possession, the spokesman said.

Twelve 12 ANC supporters have been arrested at Wembezi near Estcourt in the Natal Midlands for allegedly possessing illegal guns.

In another incident at Wembezi, a man was killed and another was injured on Wednesday when a handgrenade was thrown into a house. — Sapa
Not-so-silent women join hands to fight for rights

Beauty Mkhize of the eastern Transvaal village of Driefontein stands at the helm of the newly formed Rural Women’s Movement, a unique “bottom-up” organisation drawing together women’s groups across the Transvaal platteland.

A blast from a policeman’s shotgun at a community meeting nearly nine years ago set her on course for this role. It resulted in the death of her husband Saul, who had headed the fight of the Driefontein people against forced removal.

Mrs Mkhize soon became the only woman member of the Driefontein Council Board of Directors, the non-statutory representatives of the community. Her transformation was remarkable. There was little to recall the lightly charming woman Saul had brought from Johannesburg to keep his Driefontein home.

The struggle for Driefontein’s survival and her fight to surmount her husband’s killing became one, says Mrs Mkhize. “It was important for me to be with the Driefontein community,” she recalls.

Driefontein and neighbouring kwaNgema won a reprieve from forced removal in the mid-'80s. It was the first sign that the Government was about to abandon its policy of “black spot” removals.

Mrs Mkhize says it is no coincidence that the Rural Women’s Movement, launched at Lobethal Mission in Lebowa at the weekend, includes many organisations from areas which have struggled against removal or incorporation into homelands.

As her husband’s death changed her, so the prospect of removal transformed other women. “Just being threatened — that’s where they changed,” she said.

“The question of ploughing — they tell you not to plough because you must move.”

“I know if I cannot plough I am not going to live. How am I going to start a new life somewhere else?”

The common threat meant “we started thinking of each other and of ways to come together and share our difficulties”.

The Rural Women’s Movement is simply structured, with each village organisation retaining its autonomy. It is open to “all oppressed rural women who wish to join our struggle for women’s rights”.

The 120-odd women who adopted the constitution earlier this month spanned a wide age range, sported ANC pins and ZCC badges, sloganed T-shirts and print dresses. Discussion flowed in Sotho, Zulu and Tswana.

The aims outlined in the constitution speak of the deprivation and alienation that rural women feel. They want equal rights to the land, access to literacy and training, an end to social practices and laws which disadvantage women.

Many of the delegates were keenly aware that the fact that they were not literate and not fluent in English kept them out of political forums. They made a claim for “a say in political matters at a national level and in our communities” and called for closer links between urban and rural women.

The formal business of the launch workshop was preceded by a day of sharing handicrafts and other skills and a night of self-performed entertainment. In building an organisation of those who have suffered greatest oppression it is important to focus on achievements and knowledge as well as problems, Mrs Mkhize insists.

The Rural Women’s Movement certainly has no monopoly on organising women in rural areas. For instance, the Housewives’ League and ANC Women’s League have a rural constituency. But those organisations are controlled from the urban centres and often their programmes are dictated by their urban base.

The Rural Women’s Movement has little urban dilution. At the moment it links organisations in 26 communities — many of them already serviced by development agencies and with ongoing projects. The Transvaal Rural Action Committee has worked actively toward the birth of the umbrella body, but has no representation on its executive committee.

Despite their easy consensual style, most of the 120 women who attended the launching meeting are fighters. They have faced demolition, conducted land invasions, weathered vigilante attacks, endured exile from their homes. The battles were desperate, but in a way simple. They were facing up to a juggernaut state to prevent the very destruction of their communities.
PROKLAMASIE
van die
Staatspresident
van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 110, 1991

WYSIGING VAN DIE REGULASIES WAARBY DIE PLigte, BEVOEGDHede, VOORREGTE EN DIENSVoorwaarden VAN KAPTEINS EN HOOFMANNE VOORGESKRYF WORD: PROKLAMASIE 110 VAN 1957

Kragtens artikel 2 (7) van die Swart Administrasie Wet, 1927 (Wet 38 van 1927), wysig ek hierby die bogemelde regulasies deur Regulasie 24 daarvan deur die volgende regulasie te vervang:

"24. Aan 'n kaptein wat erken of aangestel is, word die toelae betaal wat die Minister, in oorleg met die Tesoure, of in die algemeen of ten opsigte van 'n bepaalde kaptein bepaal en hy word by uitdienstreding weens ouderdom, swakheid of op ander goeie en voldoende gronde 'n aftredingsloetoe toegestaan teen dié tarief wat die Minister in oorleg met die Tesoure bepaal: Met dien verstande dat die voorgaande bepalings met betrekking tot die betaling van 'n aftredingsloetoe, in die geval van 'n waarnemende kaptein slegs van toepassing is indien sodanige waarnemende kaptein by uitdienstreding 10 jaar of meer jaar diens voltooi het: Met dien verstande voorts dat 'n waarnemende kaptein wat by uitdienstreding vyf jaar of meer diens maar minder as 10 jaar diens voltooi het, met die goedkeuring van die Minister, 'n gratifikasie toegestaan kan word, bereken teen die helfte van sy toelae gedurende die laaste maand van sy werlike diens vir elke volle jaar van diens."

Gegewe onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die eerste dag van November Eenduisend Negehonderd Een-en-negeentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.
Op las van die Staatspresident-in-kabinet:

J. DE VILLIERS,
Minister van die Kabinet.

PROCLAMATION
by the
State President
of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 110, 1991

AMENDMENT OF THE REGULATIONS PRESCRIBING THE DUTIES, POWERS, PRIVILEGES AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF CHIEFS AND HEADMEN: PROCLAMATION 110 OF 1957

Under section 2 (7) of the Black Administration Act, 1927 (Act 38 of 1927), I hereby amend the above-mentioned regulations by the substitution of Regulation 24 thereof by the following section:

"24. An appointed or a recognised chief shall be paid the allowance as the Minister may determine in consultation with the Treasury either generally or in respect of a particular chief and, upon retirement from service on account of age, infirmity or other good and sufficient cause, shall be awarded a retiring allowance at such rate as the Minister may determine in consultation with the Treasury: Provided that the foregoing provisions in regard to the payment of a retiring allowance shall, in the case of an acting chief, only apply if such acting chief on retirement from service has completed 10 or more years service: Provided further that upon retirement from service as an acting chief who has completed five or more years service but less than 10 years service, may, with the approval of the Minister, be awarded a gratuity calculated at the rate of one-half of his allowance during the last month of his actual service for each complete year of service."

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria on this First day of November, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-one.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.
By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

J. DE VILLIERS,
Minister of the Cabinet.
WET OP ARBEIDsvERHOUdINGE. 1955

MEUBEL- EN BEDDEGOEDNYWERHEID: TRANS-VAAL: VERLERING VAN KOMS


D. VAN DER WALT,
Direkteur: Arbeidsverhoudinge.

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DEPARTEMENT VAN NASIONALE GESONDHEID EN BEVOLKINGS-ONTWIKKELING

No. R. 2766 22 November 1991

VERKLARING TOT STOFBEHEERGEBIED KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 27 VAN DIE WET OP VOORKOMING VAN LUGBESOEDELING, 1965 (WET NO. 45 VAN 1965): STADSRAD VAN BRITS

Ee. Elizabeth Hendrina Venter, Minister van Nasio- nale Gesondheid, na ooreenkomst met die Minister van Handel en Nywerheid en Toerisme en na oorwe- ging van 'n verslag van die Nasionale Adviserende Komitee op Lugbesoedeling, verklaar hierby kragtens artikel 27 (1) van die Wet op Voorkoming van Lugbe- soedeling, 1965 (Wet No. 45 van 1965), die reger- bied van die Stadstraad van Brits tot 'n stofbeheer- gebied vir doeleindes van hierdie Wet, met ingang van die datum van publikasie hiervan.

E. H. VENTER,
Minister van Nasionale Gesondheid.

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DEPARTEMENT VAN ONTWIKKELINGHULP

No. R. 2779 22 November 1991

ALGEMENE REGULASIES VIR STAM- EN GEMEENSKAAPSPOWERHEDE

Hierby word vir algemene inligting bekendgemaak dat dit die Staatspresident behaag het om kragtens die bevoegdheid hom verleen by artikel 17 van die Wet op Swart Owerhede, 1951 (Wet 68 van 1951), die regulasies wat in die Bylae hierby vervat is, uit te vaardig ten opsigte van stam- en gemeenskapsowerhede.

BYLAE

WOORDOMSKRYWINGS

1. In hierdie regulasies het 'n uitdrukking waaraan 'n betekenis in die Wet op Swart Owerhede, 1951 (Wet 68 van 1951), gegee is, tensy onbestaanbaar met die sinsverband, dieselfde betekenis en beteken—

"Departement" die Departement van Ontwikke- lingshulp;

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LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

FURNITURE AND BEDDING MANUFACTURING IN- DUSTRY: TRANSVAAL: EXTENSION OF MAIN AGREEMENT


D. VAN DER WALT,
Director: Labour Relations.

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DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT

No. R. 2766 22 November 1991

DECLARATION OF DUST CONTROL AREA IN TERMS OF SECTION 27 OF THE ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION PREVENTION ACT, 1965 (ACT NO. 45 OF 1965): TOWN COUNCIL OF BRITS

E. Elizabeth Hendrina Venter, Minister of National Health, after consultation with the Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism and after consideration of a report by the National Air Pollution Advisory Committee, hereby declare in terms of section 27 (1) of the Atmospheric Pollution Prevention Act, 1965 (Act No. 45 of 1965), the area of jurisdiction of the Town Council of Brits to be a dust control area for the purposes of this Act, with effect from the date of publication hereof.

E. H. VENTER,
Minister of National Health.

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DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT AID

No. R. 2779 (10) 22 November 1991

GENERAL REGULATIONS FOR TRIBAL AND COMMUNITY AUTHORITIES

It is hereby notified for general information that the State President has been pleased, under and by virtue of the powers vested in him by section 17 of the Black Authorities Act, 1951 (Act 68 of 1951), to make the regulations contained in the Schedule hereto in respect of tribal and community authorities.

SCHEDULE

DEFINITIONS

1. In these regulations any expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Black Authorities Act, 1951 (Act 68 of 1951), shall, unless inconsistent with the context, have the meaning so assigned thereto, and—

"area" shall mean an area proclaimed by the Minis- ter for a tribe or community in terms of section 2 (2) of the Act;
DEEL I

Erkennung en aanstelling van raadsmanne

2. Die kaptein of hoofman van 'n stam ten opsigte waarvan 'n stamowerheid ingevoeg artikel 2 (1) (a) (i) van die Wet ingestel is—

(a) erken as raadsmanne van die stamowerheid die persone wat kragtens die reg en gebruikte van die stam saam met hom die stamregering van die stam uitmaak; en

(b) kan te eniger tyd daarna met die instemming van die erkende raadsmanne van die stamowerheid een of meer ander persone as raadsmanne van die stamowerheid aansien:

Met dien verstaan die getal raadsmanne kragtens subregulierase (a) en (b) erken of aangestel, nie meer mag wees as die getal raadsmanne deur die Staatspresident ingevoeg artikel 3 van die Wet bepaal nie.

3. (1) Waar 'n gemeenskapsowerheid ingestel is ten opsigte van 'n gemeenskap of twee of meer gemeenskappe gesamentlik, en raadsmanne aange- wys moet word, word die raadsmanne gekies op 'n vergadering of vergaderings deur die departementele verteenwoordiger vir die doel belê, op welke vergade- ring of vergaderings hy voorsit, deur die volwasse lede van die betrokke gemeenskap of gemeenskappe wat op so 'n vergadering teenwoordig is, deur die opstek van hande of deur geheime stemming of op sodanige ander wyse as wat die departementele verteenwoordig na goeddunken kan bepaal.

(2) Die persone gekies ingevoeg subregulierase (1), word deur die departementele verteenwoordiger as gekose verklaar en word geag as raadsmanne van die gemeenskapsowerheid aangestel te wees vir die doel- eindes van die Wet en hierdie regulierase.

chatmen die person who in terms of the provisions of section 3 of the Act is or was as chair- man of a tribal or community authority; (10)

“community authority” shall mean a community authority established in terms of section 2 (1) (a) (ii) of the Act or deemed to be established in terms thereof;

“Department” shall mean the Department of Development Aid;

“Director-General” shall mean the Director-General of Development Aid;

“departmental representative” shall mean an officer in the Department designated by the Director-General;

“Minister” shall mean the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs and of Development Aid;

“stores” shall also mean—

(a) all material and articles held in stock for issue;

(b) all articles of equipment issued for use or in use;

(c) all livestock purchased from moneys derived from the Treasury established in terms of section 8 of the Act, or otherwise acquired;

“the Act” shall mean the Black Authorities Act, 1951 (Act 68 of 1951).

PART I

Recognition and appointment of councillors

2. The chief or headman of a tribe in respect of which a tribal authority has been established in terms of section 2 (1) (a) (i) of the Act—

(a) shall recognise as councillors of the tribal authority those persons who by virtue of the laws and customs of the tribe constitute with him the tribal government of the tribe; and

(b) may at any time thereafter, with the concurrence of the recognised councillors of the tribal authority, appoint one or more other persons as councillors of the tribal authority:

Provided that the number of councillors recognised or appointed in terms of subregulations (a) and (b) may not exceed the number of councillors determined by the State President in terms of section 3 of the Act.

3. (1) Where a community authority has been established in respect of a community or two or more communities jointly, and councillors are to be designated, the councillors shall be elected at a meeting or meetings convened by the departmental representative for this purpose, at which meeting or meetings he shall preside, by the adult members of the community or communities concerned present at such meeting, by a show of hands or by secret ballot or in such other manner as the departmental representative at his discretion may determine.

(2) The persons elected in terms of subregulation (1) shall be declared elected by the departmental representative, and shall be deemed to have been appointed councillors for the community authority for the purposes of the Act and these regulations.
4. (1) Die raadsmanne van 'n gemeenskapswaar- 
heid kies uit ewe gekies 'n voorzitter op 'n vergade-
ring gehou onder voorstellers van die departemente-
le verteenwoordiger, deur stemming op die wyse 
soods deur die departementele verteenwoordiger 
bepaal.

(2) Indien die ampt van voorzitter om enige rede 
vakant raak, word 'n voorzitter in sy plek gekies op die 
wyse voorgesteld in subregulatie (1).

(3) Tensi die gemeenskapswaarheid anders beslis, 
beklee die voorzitter sy ampt vir die tydperk waarvoor 
hy as raadsman aangestel is en terwyll hy 'n raadslid 
is.

(4) Indien die voorzitter om die een of ander rede 
三级 in vergadering van 'n gemeenskapswaarheid aan-
wesig is nie, wys die raadsmanne teenwoordig uit die 
geledere iemand aan om by daardie vergadering as 
voorzitter op te tree.

Ampstermy en amptsvoorwaardes van raads-
manne

5. (1) Die ampstermy van raadsmanne van 'n 
gemeenskapswaarheid is vyf jaar.

(2) By die verstrekking van die tydperk word 
raadsmanne aangestel op die wyse in regulasie 3 
bepaal.

6. (1) Die setel van 'n raadsman van 'n gemeen-
skapswaarheid raak vakant indien—

(a) hy deur 'n bevoegde hof geestelik gekrenk 
verklaar is;

(b) hy te sterwe kom;

(c) hy uit sy setel bedank; of

(d) so besluit word deur die gemeenskapswaarheid.

(2) Indien die setel van 'n raadsman van 'n gemeen-
skapswaarheid vakant raak, kan die gemeen-
skapswaarheid iemand in die plek van en vir die onver-
streke tydperk van die ampstermy van so 'n 
raadsman aanwys.

DEEL II

Proedure by vergaderings of ander verrigtinge 
vun 'n ouwerheid

7. Die prosedure wat gevolg moet word by vergade-
ring of ander verrigtinge van 'n ouwerheid, is in 
ooreenstemming met die reëls wat ooreenkomstig die 
reg en gebruik van die betrokke stam of gemeenskap 
in die geval van derglike liggame van toepassing is. By 
ontstentenis van die wet wat toepassing is op die 
ouwerheid van enige geval, of om enige ander 
rede, kan die ouwerheid die prosedure voorschryf wat 
gevolg moet word.

8. (1) Behalwe in die geval van sy onvermydelike 
afwezigheid moet die kaptein by elke vergader-
ing van die ouwerheid teenwoordig wees.

(2) Die helfte plus een van die raadsmanne van 'n 
gemeenskapswaarheid maak 'n kworum uit en geen 
besluit geneem wanneer minder raadsmanne 
teenwoordig is, is geldig nie.

9. (1) 'n Lid van 'n stam of gemeenskap wat nie die 
kaptein, voorzitter of 'n raadsman is nie, mag, indien dit 
ooreenkomstig die reg en gebruik van daardie stam of 
gemeenskap is, aan die besprekings van die ouwerheid 
deelneem, maar kan nie stem oor, of deelneem aan die 
neem van enige besluit van daardie ouwerheid nie.

PART II

Procedure at meetings or other proceedings of an 
authority

7. The procedure to be followed at meetings or other 
proceedings of an authority shall be in accordance with 
the rules applicable in the case of similar bodies in 
terms of the laws and customs of the tribe or com-

munity concerned. In the absence of a rule applicable 
to the circumstances of any case, or for any other 
cause, the authority may prescribe the procedure to be 
followed.

8. (1) Except in the event of his unavoidable 
absence, the chief shall be present at every meeting of 
the tribal authority.

(2) The quorum of councillors shall be half the 
number plus one of the councillors of a community 
and no decision taken when a lesser number 
of councillors is present shall be valid.

9. (1) A member of a tribe or community who is not 
the chief, chairman or a councillor may, if it is in accord-
ance with the laws and customs of such tribe or com-
munity, participate in the discussions of the authority 
but may not vote on or take part in the making of any 
decision of that authority.
(2) Where permissible in terms of the laws and customs of the title, a councillor may nominate a representative to attend a meeting of the tribal authority as his authorised deputy.

(3) A decision of an authority shall be void and to no effect if a person who is not the chief, chairman, a councillor or an authorised deputy of a councillor has voted on or taken part in such decision.

10. (1) Whenever the Director-General or the departmental representative informs the chief or chairman in writing that he wishes to attend a meeting of the authority at which a matter stated in such writing is to be discussed, or wishes his deputy to attend such meeting, such chief or chairman shall, at least seven days before the meeting, give the departmental representative written notice of the date, time and place of the meeting at which such matter is to be discussed, and such notice shall also be given in respect of each meeting at which the final estimates of revenue and expenditure are to be discussed.

(2) A decision on a matter referred to in subregulation (1) taken at a meeting or other proceedings of an authority of which the departmental representative was not given the required notice shall be invalid.

11. Subject to the provisions of regulations 9 (1), 9 (2) and 10 (1), the authority shall determine who may attend a meeting of such authority.

Minute book

12. (1) An authority shall keep a minute book in which shall be recorded in respect of each meeting—

(a) the date and place of the meeting;
(b) whether the chief or chairman was present;
(c) the names of the councillors and all other persons present;
(d) a summary of each decision taken at the meeting; and
(e) if a councillor so requests, the fact that he voted against a decision.

(2) All decisions relating to the finances or assets of the authority shall also be recorded in one of the official languages.

Appointment and conditions of service of employees of authorities

13. An authority may appoint such employees as it may deem necessary and prescribe their conditions of service.

Tribal or community record book

14. (1) An authority shall keep a record book in which shall be recorded the main events that occur in or that relate to the tribe or community, from the date of establishment of the authority.

(2) There shall, in particular, in such recordbook—

(a) be kept copies of all proclamations and Government Notices relating to the establishment and functions of the authority;
(b) aantekening gehou van die naam en die amptsternyn van elke agtereenvolgende kaptein of voorsitter of enige persoon wat as kaptein of voorsitter optree;
(c) aantekening gehou van die naam en die amptsternyn van elke raadsman; en
(d) register gehou van enige proceduure reëls of ander sake deur die departementele verteenwoordiger of die owerheid kragtens regulasie 3 (1), 4 (1), 7, 25 (2), 32 (1) en 32 (2) voorgeskryf of bepaal.

(3) Daar kan in sodanige joernaal besonderhede aangeteken word van geskiedkundige gebeurtenisse in verband met sodanige stam of gemeenskap oorgelever deur tradisie, asook besonderhede van die stamboom van die kaptein.

DEEL III

Boekjaar
15. Die boekjaar van 'n owerheid strek van 1 April in enige jaar tot 31 Maart in die daaropvolgende jaar.

Samestellende afdelings van tesorie
16. (1) 'n Tesoure ingestel ingevolge artikel 8 van die Wet, bestaan uit twee afdelings, hieronder genoem—
(a) die owerheidsfonds, naamlik die tesorie of die gedeelde daarvan waarvan die beheer nie aan die betrokke owerheid oorgedra is nie; en
(b) die owerheidsstoeurse, naamlik die hele tesorie of die gedeelde daarvan waarvan die beheer ingevolge subartikel (2) van artikel 8 van die Wet deur die Minister aan die betrokke owerheid oorgedra is.

Aanstelling van 'n tesorier
17. (1) 'n Owerheid stel 'n geskikte persoon aan as tesorier.
(2) Die tesorier is 'n raadsman of 'n werknemer van die owerheid.

18. 'n Owerheid moet 'n borgakte of waarborgakte aangaan en in stand hou waarby die owerheidsfonds skadeloos gestel word ten opsigte van die bedrag wat die owerheid bepaal, teen verliese as gevolg van die optrede van die tesorier of werknemer wat so pligte ook die hantering van ontvangste of bates van die owerheidsfonds insluit.

Begroting van inkomste en uitgawes
19. (1) Die tesorier moet 'n konsepbegroting, in die vorm van Aangangels A, van die geraamde inkomste en uitgawes vir die komende boekjaar van die owerheidsfonds opstel en ter oorweging aan die owerheid voorlo.
(2) Die owerheid moet die konsepbegroting oorweg. Indien die begroting van inkomste voldoende is om die begroting van uitgawes te dek en geen begrotingshulp word van die Regering verwag nie, moet die owerheid die begroting voor of op 31 Maart van die boekjaar vóór die waarop die begroting betrekking het, goedkeur.
20. (1) Indien die begroting voorziend maak van uitgawes wat gefinansier moet word met verwagte begrotingshulp van die Regering, moet sodanige uitgawes in 'n bylae by die begroting, in die vorm van Aangangels B, volledig deur die tesorier gemotiveer word.

(b) be recorded the name and the period of office of each successive chief or chairman or any person acting as chief or chairman;
(c) be recorded the name and the period of office of each councillor; and
(d) be recorded any rules of procedure or other matters prescribed or determined by the departmental representative or the authority in terms of regulations 3 (1), 4 (1), 7, 25 (2), 32 (1) en 32 (2).

(3) There may be recorded in such record book particulars of historical events concerning such tribe or community that are handed down by tradition, and particulars of the genealogy of the chief.

PART III

Financial year
15. The financial year of an authority shall be from 1 April in any year to 31 March in the ensuing year.

Constituent parts of treasury
16. (1) A treasury established in terms of section 8 of the Act shall be in two parts, hereinafter referred to as—
(a) the authority fund, being the whole or that portion of the treasury of which the control has not been vested in the authority concerned; and
(b) the authority treasury, being the whole or that portion of the treasury of which the control has, in terms of subsection (2) of section 8 of the Act, been vested in the authority concerned by the Minister.

Appointment of a treasurer
17. (1) An authority shall appoint a suitable person to be treasurer.
(2) The treasurer shall be a councillor or an employee of the authority.

18. An authority shall enter and maintain a surety bond or fidelity bond, indemnifying the authority fund in respect of such amount as the authority may determine against losses through the action of the treasurer or employee whose duties include the handling of receipts or assets of the authority fund.

Estimate of revenue and expenditure
19. (1) The treasurer shall prepare and lay before the authority for consideration a draft budget, in the form of Annexure A, of the estimated revenue and expenditure of the authority fund for the ensuing financial year
(2) The authority shall consider the draft budget. If the budget for revenue is adequate to defray the budget for expenditure and no budgetary aid is required from the Government, the budget must be approved by the authority before or on 31 March of the financial year preceding that to which the budget relates.
20. (1) If the budget provides for expenditure that is to be financed with expected budgetary aid from the Government, the treasurer shall justify such expenditure fully in an annexure attached to the budget, in the form of Annexure B.


(2) Die departemente verteenwoordiger moet sodanige motivering tesame met sy aanbeveling binne sewe dae na ontvangs daarvan aan die Direkteurgeneraal stuur.

(3) Die Direkteurgeneraal kan versoek om begrotingshulp wat na hom verwys word ingevolge subregulasië (2) goedkeur en kan voorwaardes vir die beheer daaraan en aanwendings daarvan wat hy nodig ag, neerlê.

(4) Indien die owerheid versuim om 'n begroting vir die daaropvolgende boekjaar betyds goed te koer of aan die Direkteurgeneraal voor te lé, moet 'n konsepbegroting sogenaamde goedkeuring word voorwaarde dat die owerheid tevreden is, aan die departemente verteenwoordiger voorgestel word vir owerweging deur die Direkteurgeneraal. Geen uitgawes mag in sodanige geval aangewend word voordat die konsepbegroting deur die direkte verteenwoordiger goedkeuring vir daardie boekjaar enkele dae later aan die Direkteurgeneraal gediende is nie.

21. (1) 'n Owerheid moet die stand van uitgawes teenoor die begroting tweemaandliksaan oorweeg en indien dit op enige tydstip blyk—

(a) dat die totale bedrag van die goedkeurde begroting van uitgawes of die bedrag goedkeurde onder enige subitem daarvan, oorsky slank word, of

(b) dat uitgawes waarvoor daar nie vooruitstiging gemaak is nie, noodsaaklik word aangegaan sal moet word,

moet die tesourier 'n hersiening van die begroting van uitgawes, in die vorm van Aanhangsel C, opstel.

(2) Die bepaling van regulasies 19 (2) en 10 is mutatis mutandis van toepassing op sodanige hersiening van uitgawes.

(3) Sodanige hersiening van die owerheid word, na goedkeuring, vir die betrokke boekjaar die goedkeurde begroting van uitgawes van die owerheidsfonds.

Verplichte heffings

22. (1) Na ontvangs van 'n aansoek van 'n owerheid vir die instelling van 'n verplichte heffing ten bate van die betrokke stam of gemeenskap, en indien die departemente verteenwoordiger die doel waarvoor die voorstelde verplichte heffing ingevorderd staan te word, aanbeveel nadat hy oortuig is dat die meerderheid van die lede van bedoelde stam of gemeenskap teenwoordig op 'n vergadering vir die doel belê, die heffing verleng, kan die Minister by kennisgeving in die Staatskoerant op elke lid van sodanige stam of gemeenskap 'n verplichte heffing instel wat op die in die kennisgeving vermeldte tydskrif betaal moet word, en strafpensalye by wanbetaling voorskrif.

(2) Die lede van die stam of gemeenskap bedoel in subregulasië (1) wat versuim om die heffing te betaal, is aan 'n misdrif skuldig.

(3) Die opbrengs van alle verplichte heffings kragtens subregulasië (1) ingestel en alle boetes opgewek weens versuim om sodanige heffings te betaal, moet in die owerheidsfonds gestort en aangewend word vir die doel waarvoor die heffing ingestel is.

(4) Die aansoek om 'n verplichte heffing moet in die vorm van Aanhangsel D wees en moet binne sewe dae na die neem van die besluit deur die departemente verteenwoordiger aan die Direkteurgeneraal gestuur word.

(2) The departmental representative shall forward such justification together with the recommendations to the Director-General within seven days after receipt thereof.

(e) The Director-General may approve requests for budgetary aid that are referred to him in terms of subregulation (2), and determine such conditions for the control and appropriation thereof as he may deem fit.

(4) If the authority neglects to approve or submit to the Director-General a budget for the ensuing financial year, the authority must still consider a draft budget which must be submitted, with reasons why it was not submitted in time, to the departmental representative for consideration by the Director-General. No expenditure may be incurred before the draft budget for that particular financial year has been approved by the Director-General.

21. (1) Every two months an authority shall consider the state of expenditure against the budget and if at any time it appears that—

(a) the total amount of the approved estimate of expenditure or the amount approved under any sub-item thereof will be exceeded; or

(b) expenditure not provided for will necessarily have to be incurred,

the treasurer shall prepare a revised estimate of expenditure, in the form of Annexure C.

(2) The provisions of regulations 19 (2) and 20 shall apply mutatis mutandis to such revised estimate of expenditure.

(3) Such revised estimate shall, upon approval, become the approved estimate of expenditure of the authority fund for the financial year concerned.

Compulsory levies

22. (1) Upon receipt of an application by an authority for the institution of a compulsory levy for the benefit of the tribe or community concerned, and if the departmental representative recommends the purpose for which the proposed compulsory levy is to be collected once he is satisfied that the majority of the members of such tribe or community present at a meeting called for that purpose desire the levy, the Minister may, by notice in the Gazette, institute a compulsory levy upon every member of such tribe or community, which levy shall be paid at such times as may be specified in the notice, and prescribe penalty clauses in the event of default of payments.

(2) The members of the tribe or community referred to in subregulation (1) who fail to pay the levy shall be guilty of an offence.

(3) The proceeds of all compulsory levies instituted in terms of subregulation (1) and all fines imposed for failure to pay such levies shall be paid into the authority fund and used for the purpose for which the levy was instituted.

(4) The application for a compulsory levy shall be in the form of Annexure D and shall be forwarded by the departmental representative within seven days of adoption to the Director-General.
Beheer oor overheidsfonds

23. Die departementale verteenwoordiger hou 'n aparte rekening ten opsigte van elke overheidsfonds en betaal in sodanige rekening al die geld wat sodanige fonds toeval. Goen saldo van 'n overheidsfonds aildus bygehou mag oortrek word nie.

24. 'n Overheid kan besluit dat 'n aparte rekening ten opsigte van enige stamgedeelte of gemeenskap of enige twee of meer sodanige stamgedeeltes of gemeenskappe gesamentlik geopen word en bepaal met watter gelde. in of uit die ten opsigte van daardie overheid ingestelde fonds betaalbaar, so 'n rekening gekrede- tieer of belas moet word.

Invordering van inkomste van overheidsfonds

25. (1) Dit is die pleg van die tesorier om ten behoeve van die overheidsfonds alle geld wat daaraan verskuilk is, in te vorder.

(2) Die tesorier moet skriflikke, genummerde kwantitieë vir alle geld wat hy ontvang en wat aan die overheidsfonds verskuilk is uitreik en die geld aan die departementale verteenwoordiger of enigso beampte deur hom aangewys, betaal nie later nie dan vroegere dag nie na die datum van ontvangs daarvan, of op sodanige tye as wat die departementale verteenwoordiger mag voorskrif.

26. Die departementale verteenwoordiger moet van tyd tot tyd die registers van die overheid nagaan of laat nagaan ten ende te verseker dat alle geld aan die overheidsfonds verskuilk, behoorlik verantwoord word: Met dien deurkomst van die registers van die departementale verteenwoordiger die bevoegdheid het, om, waar nodig, bronndocumente van die overheid te bekom.

Uitgawe uit overheidsfonds

27. Uitgawe uit die overheidsfonds vind plaas ooreenkomslik die goedgekeurde begrooting van uit- gawes volgens rekwissies deur die overheid aan die departementale verteenwoordiger gegee.

28. Rekwissies vir betalings moet in die vorm van Aanhangsel E wees en daarin moet duidelik vermeld word die naam van die persoon of instansie aan wie die betaling verskuilk is, die aard van die ding, die bedrag en opsigte daarvan verskuilk en die subtitem van die goedgekeurde begrooting waarin die uitgawe in rekening gebring moet word en moet gesertifieer word ten einde dat die betaling verskuilk en deur die over- heel goedgekeur is.

29. Die tesorier moet enige rekening gelewer aan die overheid ten opsigte van die bedrag waarop 'n rekwissie betrekking het, enige bestelling of tenders deur die overheid geplaas of gevaar vir die lewing van die goedere of dienste, of enige ander dokument waarvan die departementale verteenwoordiger die voorlegging nodig mag ag ter stawing van die korrek- heid van die betaling, aan die departementale verteen- woordiger voorlie.

30. Die departementale verteenwoordiger kan weier om betaling volgens 'n rekwissie te doen tot tyd en wyf enige dokument of rekening vereis deur regulasie 29 aan hom voorgelo is en hy moet weier om betaling te doen indien hy nie daarvan oortuig is nie dat—

(a) die bedrag waarvoor gerekwier is, wettig verskuilk is; of

Control of authority fund

23. The departmental representative shall keep a separate account in respect of each authority fund and pay into such account all moneys accruing to such fund. No authority fund balance kept in this manner is to be overdrafted.

24. An authority may decide that a separate account shall be opened in respect of any section of the tribe or community or a joint account shall be opened in respect of any two or more such sections of the tribe or community, and determine what moneys payable into or out of the fund established in respect of such authority shall be credited to or charged against any such account.

Collection of revenue of authority fund

25. (1) It shall be the duty of the treasurer to collect on behalf of the authority fund all moneys due to it.

(2) In respect of all moneys which are due to the authority fund and which are received by the treasurer, he shall issue written, numbered receipts and he shall pay such moneys to the departmental representative or to any official designated by such departmental representative, not later than fourteen days after the date of receipt of such moneys or at such times as the departmental representative may prescribe.

26. The departmental representative shall from time to time examine or cause to be examined the registers of the authority to ensure that all moneys due to the authority fund are properly accounted for: Provided that the Auditor General in auditing the records of the departmental representative, shall have the power to obtain the source documents from the authority where necessary.

Expenditure from authority fund

27. Expenditure from the authority fund shall be in accordance with the approved estimate of expenditure on requisitions addressed to the departmental representative by the authority.

28. Requisitions for payments shall be in the form of Annexure E, and shall state clearly the name of the person or body to whom payment is due, the nature of the claim, the amount due in respect thereof and the subtitem of the approved estimate against which the expenditure is chargeable, and shall be certified to the effect that the payment is due and has been approved by the authority.

29. The treasurer shall submit to the departmental representative any account rendered to the authority in respect of the amount to which a requisition relates, any order issued or tenders called for by the authority for the supply of the goods or the rendering of the service, or any other document, the production of which the departmental representative may consider necessary to substantiate the correctness of the payment.

30. The departmental representative may refuse to effect payment on a requisition pending the submission to him of any document or account required by regulation 29 and he shall refuse to effect payment if he is not satisfied that—

(a) the amount requisitioned is legally due; or
(b) die betaling ooreenkomslik met die goedgekeurde begroting is; of
(c) die batige saldo van die fonds voldoende is om die bedrag te dek; of
(d) fakture oor as drie maande of duplikaatfakture gesertificeer is as nie voorheen betaal nie.

31. (1) Behoudens die bepalings van regulase 32, geskied al die betalings deur die departementele ver-
teenwoordiger by wyse van skatksquier betaalbaar aan die persoon of instansie aan wie die bedrag
verskuldig is.
(2) Die rekwisitisie, vergesel van die stawende dokumente bedoel in regulase 29, word deur die depart-
ementele verteenwoordiger gebruik as sy bewys vir die betaling.

Kleinkasuitgawe

32. (1) Die tesorier kan, indien die overheid hom daartoe gemagtig het, 'n kleinkasrekening hou volgens
die voorskrutellvel en hy moet 'n kleinkasboek ten opsigte daarvan hou.
(2) Die maksimum bedrag wat in die kleinkasrek-
ning voorhande gehou mag word, mag nie R100
oorsny nie, tenys die departementele verteenwoo-
diger magting verleen dat 'n groter bedrag voor-
hande gehou mag word.

Boekhouding

33. Die tesorier moet 'n kasboek, 'n grootboek en
sodanige ander hulpboeke en -registers as wat deur
die besondere omstandighede van die overheid vereis,
word in van die amptelike tale hou of laat hou.
34. (1) Alle ontvangste en betalings moet daagliks
in die kasboek ingeskryf en met die kontant voorhande
gebalanseer word.
(2) Die kasboek moet aan die einde van elke maand
afgesluit, gebalanseer en versoen word met die rek-
ening deur die departementele verteenwoordiger gehou
involgende regulase 23.
35. Benewens enige ander grootboekrekenings wat
gehou mag word, moet aparte rekenings in die groot-
boek gehou word vir elke subtem van die goe-
gekeurde begroting van uitgawes.

Opgawes

36. (1) So spoedig moontlik na die einde van die
maande Junie, September, Desember en Maart, maar
nie later as die 7de dag van die daaropvolgende
maand nie, moet die tesorier 'n finansiële verslag, in
die vorm van Aanhangsel F, in drievoud aan die over-
heid voorli.
(2) So spoedig moontlik na 31 Maart, maar nie later
as die laaste dag van April nie, moet die tesorier na
raadpleging met die departementele verteenwoordiger
'n balansstaat vir die vorige boekjaar, in die vorm van
Aanhangsel G, in drievoud aan die overheid, voorli.
(3) Die overheid moet die dokumente ingevolge sub-
regularies (1) en (2) ingedien, voor die 14de dag van
die betrokke maand enkeg en dit sentetiese as deur
die overheid goedgekeur, waarna –
(a) 'n afskryf onverwyld aan die departementele ver-
teenwoordiger gestuur moet word; en
(b) 'n afskryf vir openbare kennisname op 'n kennis-
gewingbord, op 'n beskutte plek teen die buitumur
van die kantoor van die stam- of gemeenskapsower-
heid, vertoon moet word.

(b) the payment is in accordance with an approved
estimate; or
(c) the credit balance of the fund is sufficient to
cover the amount; or
(d) invoices older than three months or duplicate
invoices are certified as not paid previously.

31. (1) Subject to the provisions of regulation 32, all
payments by the departmental representative shall be
made by warrant voucher payable to the person or
body to whom the amount is due.
(2) The requisition, accompanied by the supporting
documents referred to in regulation 29, shall be used
by the departmental representative as his voucher for
payment.

Petty cash expenditure

32. (1) The treasurer may, if authorised thereto by
the authority, keep a petty cash account on the impress
system, and he shall keep a petty cash book in respect
thereof.
(2) The maximum amount which may be kept on
hand in petty cash shall not exceed R100 unless the
departmental representative authorises the keeping on
hand of a larger sum.

Book-keeping

33. The treasurer shall keep or cause to be kept in
one of the official languages a cash book, a ledger and
such other subsidiary books and registers as may be
required by the particular circumstances of the
authority.
34. (1) All receipts and payments shall be recorded
daily in the cash book and balanced with the cash on
hand.
(2) The cash book shall be closed off and balanced
at the end of each month and reconciled with the ac-
count kept by the departmental representative in terms
of regulation 23.
35. In addition to any other ledger accounts that
may be kept, separate accounts shall be kept in the
ledger for each subitem of the approved estimate of
expenditure.

Returns

36. (1) As soon as possible after the end of the
months of June, September, December and March, but
not later than the 7th day of the following month, the
treasurer shall submit to the authority a financial report
in triplicate, in the form of Annexure F.
(2) As soon as possible after 31 March, but not later
than the last day of April, the treasurer shall, after con-
sultation with the departmental representative, submit
to the authority a balance sheet of the previous finan-
cial year in triplicate, in the form of Annexure G.
(3) The authority shall consider the documents sub-
mitted in terms of subregulations (1) and (2) before the
14th day of the month concerned, and certify them as
approved by the authority, whereafter—
(a) a copy shall be forwarded forthwith to the depart-
mental representative; and
(b) a copy shall be displayed for public information
on a sheltered notice-board against the outside wall of
the office of the tribal or community authority.
37. Geen oninbare inkomste, tekorte, verlore of gesteelde geld of kwantsies, ander bates, voorraad of toerusting van 'n overheid mag sonder die magtiging van die overheid afgeskryf word nie.

Aankoop van voorraad of toerusting

38. (1) 'n Overheid moet die aankoop van alle voorraad of toerusting goedkeur, maar kan aan die tesouer goedkeuring verleen om aankope tot 'n vaste bedrag wat nie R200 per item te boue gaan nie, sonder vooraf goedkeuring aan te koop.

(2) Vir elke sodanige aankoop moet waar moontlik drie kwotasies verkry word ten einde die voordeligste aankoop te bepaal.

Beheer oor voorraad en toerusting

39. Die tesouer moet 'n voorraad- en toerustingregister in die vorm van Aanhangsel H byhou met 'n afsonderlike folio vir elke klas voorraad of toerusting.

40. Alle voorraad en toerusting deur die overheid aangeskaf, moet deur die tesouer op die datum waarop die voorraad en toerusting ontvang word, in die ontvangstekolom van die voorraad- en toerustingregistrer aangeteken en op voorraad genoem word.

41. (1) Wanneer voorraad of toerusting aan enig iemand uitgereik word, moet die tesouer in die uitreikingskolom op die voorraad- en toerustingregistrer 'n inskrywing doen wat die datum van uitreiking toon, die naam van die persoon aan wie die voorraad of toerusting uitgereik is en hoeveel voorraad of toerusting uitgereik is.

(2) Die persoon aan wie die voorraad of toerusting uitgereik is, moet in die uitreikingskolom van die betrokke register geteken.

42. Wanneer voorraad of toerusting aldus uitgereik aan die tesouer terugbesorg word, moet sodanige voorraad of toerusting op voorraad geneem en in die ontvangstekolom van die voorraad- en toerustingregistrer aangeteken word.

43. Wanneer 'n nuwe tesouer aangestel word, of wanneer die persoon in beheer van voorraad of toerusting uitgereik is, moet die tesouer of persoon in beheer van voorraad of toerusting uitgereik, die register afsluit en die nuwe tesouer of persoon wat beheer van die voorraad of toerusting uitgereik oorneem, moet die ontvangs van die voorraad of toerusting in die ontvangstekolom van die register aanteken.

44. (1) Die overheid, of een of meer raadsledes deur die overheid daartoe gemagtig, moet elke jaar nie later as die eind van Februarie nie 'n voorraadopname maak van alle voorraad en toerusting en 'n sertifikaat opstel, in die vorm van Aanhangsel I, dat dit gedoen is.

(2) Die sertifikaat moet vir inspeksie bewaar en 'n afskriki daarvan aan die Departemente verteenwoordiger voorgeloop word.

45. Surplusvoorraad of -toerusting moet in die voorraad- en toerustingregister op voorraad geneem word.

Writing off of irrecoverable revenue or assets

37. No irrecoverable revenue, deficits, lost or stolen moneys or receipts, other assets, stores or equipment of an authority may be written off without the authorisation of the authority.

Purchasing of stores or equipment

38. (1) An authority shall approve the purchase of all stores or equipment, but may authorise the treasurer to purchase goods to a fixed amount not exceeding R200 per item without prior permission.

(2) If possible, three quotations shall be obtained for each such purchase to determine the most advantageous purchase.

Control of stores and equipment

39. The treasurer shall keep a stores and equipment register, in the form of Annexure H, with a separate folio for each class of stores or equipment.

40. All stores or equipment acquired by the authority shall on the date of receipt thereof be entered in the receipts column of the stores and equipment register and taken on charge by the treasurer.

41. (1) Whenever stores or equipment are issued to any person the treasurer shall make an entry in the issues column of the stores and equipment register, showing the date of issue, the name of the person to whom the stores or equipment are issued and the quantity of stores or equipment issued.

(2) The person to whom the stores or equipment are issued, shall sign in the issues column of the register concerned.

42. Whenever stores or equipment so issued are returned to the treasurer, such stores or equipment shall be taken on charge and entered in the receipts column of the stores and equipment register.

43. Whenever a new treasurer is appointed, or whenever there is a change of the person in charge of stores or equipment issued, the treasurer or person in charge of stores or equipment issued shall close off the register, and the new treasurer or person in charge of stores or equipment issued shall enter the receipt of the stores or equipment in the receipts column of the register.

44. (1) Not later than the end of February of each year the authority, or one or more councilors authorised thereto by the authority, shall take stock of all stores and equipment and prepare a certificate, in the form of Annexure I, that it has been done.

(2) The certificate shall be preserved for inspection and a copy thereof shall be submitted to the departmental representative.

45. Surplus stores or equipment shall be taken on charge in the stores and equipment register.
46. Die overheid besluit oor die vervreoming op unieke wys van verskillende en onbruikbare voorraad of toerusting en kan beskaidigte, verouderde of oortollige voorraad of toerusting per publieke veiling of tender verkoop, en sodanige fondse geïn, moet mee gehandel word ooreenkomstig regulasie 25 (2).

47. Voorraad of toerusting kragtens regulasie 46 vervreem of verkoop, word in die voorraad- en toerustingregister afgeskryf.

Kontrolering van registers, bates, voorraad of toerusting

48. (1) Die departementele verteenwoordiger of enigemand anders skriflik daartoe gemagtig deur die departementele verteenwoordiger, of die kaptein, voor- sitter of enige raadsman deur die overheid daartoe gemagtig, kan op enige redelseke tyd en sonder kennisgewing die tesorier aansê om sy rekeningboeke, registers, kwitantieboeke, hulpboeke en registers, bewysstukke en kontant voorhande voor te lê ten einde die korrektheid daarvan te verifieer, en sodanige persoon moet in die teenwoordigheid van die tesorier 'n sertifikaat in dié betrokke register of stuk teken waarin die uitslag van die ondersoek vermeld word.

(2) Enige sodanige persoon het toegang tot alle boeke, registers, bewysstukke, dokumente, kontant, seëls, sekerheid, voorraad of toerusting van die overheid en kan sodanige ondersoek as wat hy nodig ag, in verband daarmee inselt.

Rapporteer van strafbare misdywye

49. Enige verlies aan of tekort in enige bate, voorraad of toerusting van 'n overheid moet onmiddelik deur die tesorier, kaptein, voor- sitter of een raadslid van die overheid wat daarvan te wete mag kom, aan die departementele verteenwoordiger gerapporteer word.

50. Wanneer dit vir die departementele verteenwoordiger, tesorier, kaptein, voor- sitter of enige raadsman van 'n overheid skyn asof enige verlies aan of tekort in die bates, voorraad of toerusting van die overheid, of enige ongeoorloofde of ongemagtigde uitgawe uit die fondse van sodanige overheid plaasgevind het in omstandighede wat daarop neerkom dat 'n strafbare misdwyf begin is, moet hy die saak binne drie dae aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Poiese rapporteer.

Naamtekening van ongeletterde persone

51. Wanneer van enigemand wat nie kan skryf nie, ingevolge hierdie regulasies vereis word om sy naam te teken, is dit voldoende indien sodanige persoon sy merk of duimafdruk maak en ong骚扰 persoon behalwe die tesorier, as getue teken van sodanige merk of duimafdruk.

Bewaring van boeke en registers

52. (1) 'n Overheid moet sy jornaal as 'n permanente verslag van sy geskiedenis en bedrywighede bewaar.

(2) 'n Overheid moet alle notuleboeke, rekeningboeke en voorraad- en toerustingregisters vir 'n tydperk van minstens sewe jaar, met ingang van die datum van die laaste inskrywing in enige sodanige boeke, in sy kantoor hou.
ONTBINDING VAN OOVERHED

53. Indien 'n overheid om een of ander rede ontbind, moet daar tydens die laaste vergadering van sodanige overheid oor die bates en laste van die overheid besluit word. By gebrek aan so'n besluit moet die departemente verteenwoordiger na oorlegpleging met belanghebbende instansies die Direkteur-generaal van sy aanbeveling in die verband voorstien.

DELEGASIE

54. Met uitsondering van regulasies 3, 4 (1), 22 (1) en 32 (2) kan enige handeling wat 'n departemente verteenwoordiger ingevolge hierdie regulasies mag verrig deur 'n beambte wat deur die departemente verteenwoordiger skriftelik daartoe gemagtig is, verrig word.

55. Enige handeling wat—
'n departemente verteenwoordiger ingevolge hierdie regulasies mag verrig, kan te eniger tyd deur die Direkteur-generaal verrig word.

die Direkteur-generaal ingevolge hierdie regleries mag verrig, kan deur 'n beambte wat deur hom aangewys is, verrig word.

HERROEPING VAN REGULASIE

56. Goewermentskennisgewing No. 939 van 8 Mei 1953 word hiermee herroep.

AANHANGSEL A
[REGULASIE 19 (1)]

BEGROTING VAN INKOMSTE EN UITGAWES

...........................................................BOEKAAR

Fonds van die ........................................................stam-/gemeenskapsoowerheid

Hierby word gesertifieer dat hierdie begroting van inkomste en uitgawes deur bovemelde ooverheid oorweg is op 'n vergadering gehou op ........................en dat die bedrae getoon in kolom C van die begroting van uitgawe—
deur die ooverheid ingevolge regulasie 19 (2) goedgekeur is;

OF

deur die ooverheid ingevolge regulasie 20 (1) aanbeveel word vir goedkeuring.

Handtekening............................................Kaptein/Voorsitter

Handtekening...........................................Tesourier

Handtekening..........................................Raadsman

Plek..........................................................Datum........................................
The battle for the homeland
CONFERENCE BRIEFS

AT least one person from every organisation present at the preparatory All-Party Conference talks yesterday will be present at the Convention for the Democratic South Africa (Codesa) scheduled for December 20 and 21.

- The decision that the National Party and the government would field separate delegations to Codesa was welcomed by all the delegates.

A list of nine items was compiled for the Codesa agenda, which included:

- Creation of a climate for free political participation;
- General constitutional principles;
- Constitution-making body/process;
- Transitional arrangements/interim government/transitional authority;
- Future of the TBVC states;
- Role of the international community;
- Implementation of decisions of Codesa; and
- Other items to be identified by a steering committee and decided upon by Codesa.

Parties which had been invited but did not attend the preparatory talks will also receive invitations.

THE PAC accused the ANC and the government of supporting each other's proposals throughout the "talks about talks".

- Speaking at a Press conference held separately from the joint media conference addressed by the rest of the delegates, PAC delegation leader Barney Desai said that by lunchtime a decision-making pattern had emerged.

BOPHUTHATSWANA's participation in the conference should not be seen as capitulation on the issue of reincorporation, said Bop Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Israel Momeni.

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday insisted that KwaZulu be represented by additional delegations - one from the KwaZulu government and another "from his Majesty, the King of the Zulus".

THE majority of participants agreed that Justice Ismail Mahomed and Justice Petrus Schabert - present co-chairmen of the "talks about talks" - should preside over the Codesa, which would be held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.
TALKS ABOUT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN Pact are taking place.

The American and the British have met in a conference in Washington to discuss the possibility of prolonging the pact.

The British delegation, headed by Sir Stafford Cripps, arrived in Washington on Monday for talks with American officials.

The talks are expected to be held for several days, and the outcome will be announced next week.

The British government is said to be interested in extending the pact for another five years.

The American government is also expected to agree to the extension, as the pact is considered important for maintaining peace and stability in the region.

The pact, which was signed in 1942, provides for mutual assistance in case of attack by a third country.

The two countries have maintained close cooperation since the end of World War II, and the extension of the pact is seen as a symbol of continued friendship and cooperation.
No education at all in Gazankulu

NOTHING the reform-minded in our country can conjure up will dispel the distinct impression that Marxism is alive and well among us - certainly where political mobilisation towards a take-over of power by the radicals is concerned.

Take just one example - black education in Gazankulu, "a self-governing state". We find that literally next to no education has taken place there over the past few years while vandalism at school hostels alone has resulted in R26-million of damage this year.

Actively involved, though mostly behind the scenes, are organisations of which revolutionary radicals are the members.

Lack of supervision, corruption, theft, large-scale destruction of the tax-payer's property, political terror and intimidation, ridiculous and artificially inflated expectation of felicity-around-the-corner and a multitude of other factors such as yawning chasm of cultural disparities between those who receive and destroy and those who bleed and give endlessly all these make the problem of black education unresolvable.

The sooner our liberals accept that the sooner will all of us be in a position to think about workable solutions.

REALIST,
Pretoria.
Chiefs should be 'liberators' too

TRADITIONAL leaders should play the "liberator role" and be defenders of people's social and political interests.

This is according to Dr Sipho Tahabala, chief economist for the PAC, who was speaking at this weekend's first Eastern Cape regional conference of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA at the University of the Transkei.

"Traditional leaders may be members of national organisations and have to play roles of being national leaders, but it would be unfortunate for them to harass people to join organisations of their own liking," he said.

He said the emergence of a "new African state" and not a new South Africa after the demise of apartheid was the political goal of the PAC.

In the new African state, the interests of Africans would be superior and dominant.

He said the position of the PAC was that the political struggle was not an anti-apartheid struggle but a struggle of indigenous Africans for self-determination - a struggle to "regain lost land, to regain and restore dignity".

Opening the conference, Transkei's State President, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamae, said it was surprising that no invitations were extended to chiefs to attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. - Ecna.
Political, riot cover maximum to rise by 25%

POLITICAL and riot damage cover available to businesses in SA has been lifted by 25% to a maximum of R250m per annum, the SA Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria) announced yesterday.

Sasria MD Willem Swanepoel said inflationary pressure had necessitated the increase in cover, which comes into effect next year, to R250m from R200m.

He added the increase had been approved at ministerial level and applied to holding companies and subsidiaries operating within SA's boundaries.

"Major industrial concerns will certainly be pleased with the new dispensation which takes effect from January 1, 1993 irrespective of policy renewal dates."

Sasria was registered as a non-profit insurance underwriter in 1979 to provide cover for political riot risks following the major unrest-related losses incurred from the Soweto riots in 1976. However, unlike commercial underwriters, Sasria is backed by government as the reinsurer of last resort.

Sasria cover, which can be applied for from any insurance company, covers various classes of risk, including motor vehicles in SA and the TBVC states.

Swanepoel stressed that the higher cover available from next year only applied to risks in SA and not in the TBVC states where the maximum stood at R10m per annum at present.

However, the cover available in the TBVC states was lower because of Sasria's limited resources-to-liabilities.

"Sasria continues to look at ways of improving cover further, but at this stage it is simply a case of balancing our policyholders' needs with our available resources."

He added the Sasria maximum cover had been inadequate for years.