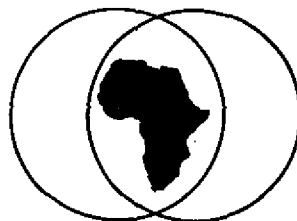


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**SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK HOMELANDS:
PAST OBJECTIVES, PRESENT REALITIES
AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS**

Deon Geldenhuys

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



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South Africa's Black Homelands:

Past Objectives, Present Realities and Future Developments

Introduction

A feature of the South African political scene today is the lack of consensus on a desirable future political dispensation. This is reflected in the intensity of the debate about the Republic's political options. Local opinions cover a wide spectrum, ranging from the white 'right' to the black 'left', i.e. from those wishing to restore the status quo ante, to others committed to a revolutionary transformation of the present order to one in which political power would be held by the so-called liberation movements. To complicate matters, South Africa's political future is an issue which has long been internationalised. External factors can consequently not be ignored in a consideration of possible future courses of political events.

The primary objective of the present study is to examine the political future of a particular component of the present South African political order, viz the homelands.¹⁾ This is, in fact, an aspect which tends to be rather neglected in the current political debate among white South Africans. Attention is, instead, focused on future political arrangements for the coloureds, Indians and urban blacks.²⁾ This is perhaps understandable because, as it would be argued, the government's homelands policy holds out a clear and attainable objective, viz independence for the homelands. With three homelands already independent - Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977) and Venda (1979)³⁾ - and a fourth, Ciskei, on its way - the South African government seems hopeful, if not actually confident, that at least some of the remaining six self-governing homelands - Gazankulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane, QwaQwa, KwaZulu and KwaNdebele - should in due course choose to become independent. Pretoria at any rate hopes that the majority of the ten black homelands would 'opt out' of the South African state and take independence.

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Although independence is the highest stage of separate development, it can be asked whether it is necessarily the final stage. Given the lack of international recognition and the independent homelands' heavy economic and financial dependence on South Africa - to cite only two considerations - can their independence conceivably survive for long? And what about those self-governing homelands which have, despite Pretoria's intentions and wishes, rejected independence? If they refuse to pursue the course of separate development to its much vaunted "logical conclusion", how, then, could they be accommodated in South Africa's political system?

In an attempt to address questions such as these, a range of political scenarios for the homelands will be suggested. The salient features of each scenario will be listed. Consideration will be given to factors which may contribute to changing a particular scenario, and also to the way in which changes may occur. Attention will, in other words, centre on both the forces and processes of change. This, in turn, touches upon a vital point : the issue under discussion is a dynamic one, and the various scenarios can in fact be arranged on a continuum.

Although the main purpose of the study is to make projections, this cannot realistically be done without taking cognizance of the past objectives of the homelands policy and also of the present state of affairs. What might happen to the homelands in future, might turn out to be essentially a continuation of what happened in the past and obtains in the present. Alternatively, the past and present situations might provide some guide to possible future developments. There might, of course, also be instances of discontinuity, where homelands might in future take a political course not in congruence with either past objectives or present realities. Such 'radical' outcomes will also be considered among the various scenarios.

To facilitate the discussion, the study has been subdivided into four main sections. The first briefly outlines the development of the legislative framework for the homelands policy. The second focuses on the objectives of the homelands policy, as expounded by Dr. H.F. Verwoerd in particular. From its inception, the policy has been the source of political controversy, and the objections which parliamentary opponents of the policy

raised/

raised in those early days, will be noted. Attention will furthermore be given to the perceptions which other critics hold of the official policy objectives. All these factors illustrate the contours of the ongoing dialectic over the homelands policy. A number of salient features of the present situation of the homelands - such as political, economic and demographic realities - are considered in the third section. In the final section, a series of scenarios, based on a continuum, will be sketched. These range from the one 'extreme' of final dismemberment of the South African state as it existed in 1961 (at the time of South Africa becoming a republic) or, for that matter, in 1910 (when the Union of South Africa was formed), to the other 'extreme' in which independent or former homelands would be reintegrated into a unitary South African state. The present objective of homeland independence will be merely one among the several scenarios.

I From native reserves to independent homelands : legislating for territorial separation

The policy of separate development, which has produced independent former homelands, is of course primarily identified with Dr. H.F. Verwoerd - the "Architect of Apartheid", as a recently published appraisal calls him.⁴⁾ Features of territorial separation, the philosophy underlying separate development, can, however, be traced back to the early days of South Africa's colonial history.⁵⁾ It will, nonetheless, suffice to recall that in 1913, three years after the formation of the Union of South Africa, the Native Land Act was passed, which provided for setting aside existing black reserves as "scheduled areas" reserved for black ownership and occupation, and also prohibited blacks from purchasing land outside them. Also included was a provision for the enlargement of the reserves.⁶⁾ The Native Trust and Land Act, promulgated in 1936, inter alia provided for the incorporation of more land into the black reserves; this increased the blacks' total acreage to 13,7% of South Africa's total land area.⁷⁾ General J.B.M. Hertzog, prime minister, took the view that the "native qu4stion" could only be solved by a uniform and truly national segregation policy.⁸⁾ Blacks should be developed to take charge of their own affairs in their own areas, Hertzog argued, but he warned that these reserves would "never become the independent

states of which some Africans sometimes speak".⁹⁾

The next major legislative step to promote territorial separation followed with the Bantu Authorities Act, introduced in 1951 by Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs in Prime Minister D.F. Malan's National Party Government. The Act provided for the establishment of tribal, regional and territorial authorities, entrusted with advisory functions only, in the black reserves.¹⁰⁾ There was no clarity as to where this new system of authority might lead. Malan spoke vaguely of giving blacks increasing self-governing powers in their own territories as they achieved the necessary "ability" and "sense of responsibility". He however added the proviso that blacks "will always stand under the guardianship and domination of the white man in South Africa."¹¹⁾ Verwoerd spoke in similar vein :

It stands to reason that when we talk about the Natives' right of self-government in those areas, we cannot mean that we intend by that to cut large slices out of South Africa and turn them into independent states.¹²⁾

Powerful support for territorial separation came in the report of the Tomlinson Commission, published in summarised form in 1956. The Commission's recommendations were based on the premise that "there is no midway between the two poles of ultimate total integration and ultimate separate development of the two groups" (i.e. whites and blacks):

The Commission is convinced that separate development of the European and Bantu communities should be striven for, as the only direction in which racial conflict may possibly be eliminated, and racial harmony possibly be maintained. The only obvious way out of the dilemma, lies in the sustained development of the Bantu Areas on a large scale. This is the germinal point in the process of separate development of European and Bantu.¹³⁾

One of the Commission's best known recommendations was an extensive development plan for the black areas estimated at £104.5 million for the first ten years. Perhaps less familiar, but important, was the recommendation

that/

that the three British High Commission Territories - Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland - and the existing black reserves in the Union should be consolidated into seven ethnic homelands, viz. Tswanaland, Vendaleland, Pediland, Swaziland, Zululand, Xhosaland and Sotholand.¹⁴⁾ The latter recommendation should be seen against the background of repeated but unsuccessful attempts, ever since union, by successive South African governments to persuade Britain to transfer the three Territories to the Union.¹⁵⁾

The government of Prime Minister J.G. Strijdom (1954-58) warmly welcomed the Commission's "unequivocal rejection of the policy of Integration and of any theories on a possible middle course", as well as "the justification by the Commission of the policy of Apartheid (Separate Development) of the Government."¹⁶⁾ Yet, the government was not prepared to take the "speedy, definite and unambiguous decision" in favour of separate development earnestly recommended by the Tomlinson Commission,¹⁷⁾ and instead declared that total territorial separation, although it remained the ideal solution, was impracticable. Verwoerd, still Minister of Native Affairs, nonetheless tried to give the new concept of separate development some political credibility by saying in May 1956 that the possible development of the so-called Bantu areas beyond territorial authority status, "does not lie in our hands" and would be determined by the government of the day according to prevailing circumstances.¹⁸⁾ This statement seems to indicate some advance upon Malan's and Verwoerd's own remarks in 1951 on the future of the black areas. In May 1957, the Transkei became the first Bantu area to receive territorial authority status, the highest form of authority provided for in the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act.

In 1959, Verwoerd, then Prime Minister, unveiled what has been termed his "new vision" for South Africa's black peoples. This was embodied in the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act of that year, which provided for the establishment of eight main homelands for each of the "separate national units" comprising the Union's black population, viz. the North-Sotho, South-Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, South-Ndebele, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu units.¹⁹⁾ This was the first time that territorial separation was legislatively explicitly linked to ethnic separation. The newly recognised ethnic or national units, each with a territorial base, would gradually develop into

self-/.

self-governing entities through the extension of the "Bantu system of government" previously set out in the Bantu Authorities Act. It was accordingly announced that eight territorial authorities would be established and entrusted with certain limited powers.²⁰⁾

In expounding his new vision in the House of Assembly in January 1959, Verwoerd said that the blacks would, under white guardianship, be given every opportunity in their areas to move along a road of development by which they can progress in accordance with their ability."²¹⁾ As for the terminal point of the process, Verwoerd told the Senate that if it were within the power of the blacks and if their territories could develop to "full independence", that would happen and could not be stopped.²²⁾ He envisaged that a commonwealth-type of relationship would eventually develop between South Africa and these entities,²³⁾ all of which would be economically interdependent.²⁴⁾ "Political independence coupled with economic interdependence", Verwoerd said in March 1961, was the means through which "peace, prosperity and justice for all" could be secured.²⁵⁾

With the South African Parliament's adoption of the Transkei Constitution Act in 1963, that homeland became the first to proceed to the status of self-government as provided for in the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act.²⁶⁾ In 1971, the Black States Constitution Act was passed by the South African Parliament, a measure designed to accelerate the constitutional development of the homelands. In terms of the new Act, special legislation by the South African Parliament was no longer required to replace homelands' territorial authorities with legislative assemblies, and thus to confer self-governing status.²⁷⁾ Before the end of 1972, seven other homelands had opted to join Transkei as self-governing entities, viz. Ciskei, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu, Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa.²⁸⁾ KwaNdebele achieved full self-government on 1 April 1981,²⁹⁾ and KaNgwane, the remaining homeland, has recently asked for self-government.³⁰⁾ Meanwhile, as mentioned, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda had become independent, with Ciskei due to follow suit at the end of 1981.³¹⁾

II Objectives of the homelands policy, post-1959

Both proponents and opponents of the homelands policy have, since

Verwoerd's/

Verwoerd's announcement about the possibility of ultimate independence for the homelands, advanced a variety of objectives which successive National Party governments have sought, or were supposedly seeking, to achieve through the policy. Likewise, advocates of the policy have listed several advantages which it would produce for South Africa, whereas critics have pointed to at least as many disadvantages.

(i) Safeguarding white rule

The maintenance of final governmental powers in the hands of the white electorate has undoubtedly been the primary and enduring objective of the racial policies pursued by successive South African governments since union - whether the policy was called segregation, apartheid or separate development. Strijdom, Verwoerd's predecessor as prime minister, expressed this objective in characteristically blunt, even crude, terms :

Our policy is that to protect the White man these discriminatory laws, with regard to the franchise, for example, are necessary to place the power to govern the country in the hands of the White man so that he can retain or maintain his supremacy or baasskap.³²⁾

Whereas Strijdom spoke unashamedly of safeguarding white domination over the whole of South Africa and all its peoples,³³⁾ Verwoerd introduced a radical new theme in January 1959 :

We adopt a policy by which we on the one hand can retain for the White man full control in his areas, but by which we are giving the Bantu as our wards every opportunity in their areas to move along a road of development by which they can progress in accordance with their ability.³⁴⁾

These black areas, Verwoerd announced, "can develop to full independence."³⁵⁾ The end result he foresaw for the homelands policy, was that "here in South Africa there will be a White state, a big and strong White nation", existing alongside "various Bantu national units and areas (or states, if you like)."³⁶⁾ Instead of maintaining white supremacy over an undivided South Africa, Verwoerd's policy was aimed at securing white domination over only part of the country. Blacks would dominate in their own areas, which could be excised from "white

South Africa." Verwoerd presented separate development as the only alternative to integration : the choice was either "an assured White state in South Africa" - even if it were a geographically smaller one than before - or "one integrated state in which the Bantu must eventually dominate."³⁷⁾

The basic objective of safeguarding white rule, as articulated by Verwoerd, has been endorsed by his successors. More than two decades after the unveiling of the homelands policy, the National Party government of Mr. P.W. Botha remains firmly committed to the political fragmentation of South Africa into ethnic homelands (or "national states", in current official nomenclature) and the retention of white control over the remainder of the country.³⁸⁾ By now, of course, the homelands policy has already led to the creation of three independent black states.

Government claims that separate development is designed to end white political domination over blacks, has been strongly disputed. This contention is challenged on two grounds : firstly, it is argued that separate development and the "bantustanization" of South Africa is simply a device to entrench white domination over all races, including those blacks living in independent former homelands; secondly, it is pointed out that the creation of homelands still leaves large numbers of blacks, not to mention coloureds, and Indians, living in "white South Africa" and subject to white political domination.³⁹⁾ The latter argument is so commonly used and easily substantiated that it does not require further explanation. True, South Africa is involved in a process of domestic political reform centred on the President's Council, but the Council excludes the so-called urban blacks and it has not yet produced any material change in the structure of political power in South Africa.

The first charge against the homelands policy - that it is white domination in a new guise - is, however, a much more contentious one and requires some examination. In essence, the argument is that the homelands policy

is no more than a neo-colonial solution imposed on blacks in South Africa by a white government determined to maintain its position of power and privilege vis-à-vis blacks.

The author of this statement, Seamus Cleary, uses Kwame Nkrumah's definition of neo-colonialism as his frame of reference. "Balkanisation is the major instrument of neo-colonialism", according to Nkrumah's thesis, and this leads to the creation of "small, non-viable states which are incapable of independent development". While these states have all the outward symbols of sovereign independence, in reality their economic systems and thus political policy is directed from outside and they must furthermore rely on the former imperial power for defence and internal security, Nkrumah argued. Having analysed, among other things, their sources of revenue, economic development and political systems, Cleary concludes that Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, the three independent former homelands, display these neo-colonial features, and that South Africa, in turn, acts in the fashion of a neo-colonial power.⁴⁰⁾

Similar criticism of the homelands policy has also come from various other quarters. In a memorandum submitted to the United Nations Unit on Apartheid in 1975, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement claimed that "the real character of this policy is racist and colonialist", and its purpose is "to ensure the continuing political and economic domination of the racist white minority", not only throughout South Africa but also "in the unliberated parts of southern Africa as a whole". One of the major arguments advanced in support of the contention that the homelands policy is designed to perpetuate white domination, is the "utter subordination" of homeland governments to Pretoria with regard to revenue and civil service staff.⁴¹⁾

The exiled African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) - both banned in South Africa - have been equally vehement in their total rejection of the homelands policy.⁴²⁾ From within the Republic, organisations under the black consciousness banner have spoken out sharply against the homelands policy, which has typically been branded as a device to safeguard white power by diverting black energies from the "true" liberation struggle to divisive tribal institutions.⁴³⁾ Black consciousness organisations, such as the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC), have rejected all co-operation with government-created institutions for blacks - such as homeland authorities - and have refused membership of their organisations to blacks working within the structures of

separate/

separate development.⁴⁴⁾

A few months before Transkei's independence, the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity rejected South Africa's "policy of bantustanisation" which, it said, was designed "to ensure the balkanisation, tribal fragmentation and fratricidal conflict in South Africa to the benefit of white supremacy."⁴⁵⁾ In similar vein, the United Nations General Assembly has since 1970 consistently rejected the establishment of "Bantustans" on the grounds that they were, inter alia, "designed to perpetuate white minority domination."⁴⁶⁾

In summary, it can be said that whereas the advocates of the homelands policy present it as a means to secure white rule in only the non-homeland parts of South Africa, critics maintain that the policy is designed to ensure continuing white domination over both "white South Africa" and the homelands. This could be done through neo-colonial means, some would argue, which involves keeping the independent former homelands economically weak and dependent on South Africa. "Bantustanisation", both in its geographic and ethnic senses, would be portrayed as a white-designed device to divide blacks and thus to undermine an effective, broad-based black challenge to white power. It would furthermore be pointed out by critics that the homelands policy still leaves Indians, coloureds and urban blacks firmly within the geographical frontiers of "white South Africa" and thus under white rule.

(ii) Accommodating black nationalism

Explaining the homelands policy in the House of Assembly in January 1959, Verwoerd stated that "we cannot govern without taking into account the tendencies in the world and in Africa". One of the most important of these was "the ever-increasing desire for self-government which exists among the non-Whites", he said. Through the homelands policy, he wanted to give expression to this desire. By doing so, Verwoerd maintained, South Africa was merely emulating the colonial powers, and in particular Britain, which in December 1958 agreed to give Basutoland a new constitution placing more power and responsibility in the hands of the Basuto. If Britain is internationally commended for this move, and if "the outside world praises ... colonial powers" when they give their colonies independence, then, Verwoerd

suggested/

suggested, South Africa's homelands policy ought to receive a favourable international response.⁴⁷⁾

Apart from being influenced by the actions of European colonial powers, the architects of the homelands policy were also motivated by the history of Afrikaner nationalism. The Afrikaners' fervent desire to shed the yoke of British imperialism and establish an Afrikaner-governed republic was projected onto the black ethnic groups; the latter, it was assumed, would have political aspirations similar to those of the Afrikaners. Given their experience at the hands of the British imperialists, the Afrikaners were therefore sensitised to the dangers of imperialism. With regard to the black peoples of South Africa, Verwoerd argued, imperialism would mean that whites "retain control over what belongs to other people".⁴⁸⁾

In the event, the homelands policy failed to gain the acceptance Verwoerd hoped for. Rather than accommodating black nationalism, critics, as mentioned, perceived the policy as one designed to frustrate black nationalism by dividing the black population into ethnic units and preventing the emergence of a broad-based, non-ethnic nationalism. Both the ethnicisation of the black population and the balkanisation of the South African state have proved to be anathema to international, particularly African, opinion.⁴⁹⁾ In addition, South Africa's attempts to draw a parallel between the situation of the homelands and the British High Commission Territories, has been challenged on both political and demographic grounds. The High Commission Territories were not part of South Africa (after 1910) and their people were never South African nationals, as opposed to the situation of the homelands. The inhabitants of the three British territories therefore did not have the same claims as the homeland citizens to a share in the political power and economic wealth of South Africa.⁵⁰⁾

(iii) Taking cognizance of foreign pressure

Although it could be argued that the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act followed logically upon the Bantu Authorities Act, the fact remains that the independence held out for the homelands by Verwoerd in 1959 represented a radical new departure. In 1951, it should be recalled, both Verwoerd and Malan had stated categorically that independent black states would not result

from/

from the policy of territorial separation. The explanation for this change in policy was given by Verwoerd in April 1961, when he told Parliament:

The Bantu will be able to develop into separate Bantu states. That is not what we would have liked to see. It is a form of fragmentation which we would not have liked if we were able to avoid it. In the light of the pressure being exerted on South Africa there is however no doubt that eventually this will have to be done, thereby buying for the White man his freedom and the right to retain domination in what is his country, settled for him by his forefathers.⁵¹⁾

A year later he also conceded that when the Bantu Authorities Act was passed, he did not foresee that the situation in Africa and also in the Union, would within less than ten years have necessitated the granting of self-government to the black areas.⁵²⁾

Again, Verwoerd's hopes have, in practice, been disappointed. Not even the granting of independence to three of the homelands has led to any reduction in the foreign pressure being exerted on South Africa. Not one of these former homelands has been internationally recognised as an independent state; the homelands policy has therefore not gained any international legitimacy. As a means of blunting international criticism of South Africa's racial policies, the homelands design has failed to produce the desired results. For their part, critics of "bantustanisation" have repeatedly warned the international community against being deceived by what is typically described as "the fraudulent manoeuvres of the South African regime and the apartheid institutions established by it."⁵³⁾

(iv) Conforming to international norms

Closely related to the two previous objectives, was what Verwoerd termed "the demands made by present-day morality". If South Africa wanted to act in terms of these demands, he argued in 1962, there was no choice but to give the black homelands self-rule.⁵⁴⁾ In the same context, Verwoerd also spoke of taking into account modern views on human rights through the homelands policy.⁵⁵⁾ He was anxious that both local black and foreign opinion should be made aware of the moral content of the homelands policy :

We must ensure that the outside world realizes, and that the Bantu realizes, that a new period is dawning, a period in which the White man will move away from discrimination against the Bantu as far as his own areas are concerned; that the White man is leading him through the first stage towards full development.⁵⁶⁾

Far from winning the moral argument in the international arena, the homelands policy has earned the same moral disapprobation as any other aspect of apartheid. Among the objections which have, on broadly moral grounds, been raised to the homelands policy, are the following :

- the policy has been unilaterally devised by the white minority and imposed on the blacks;
- the policy denies blacks their political and civil rights in the country as a whole;
- the homelands comprise only 13,7% of South Africa's total land area;
- the homelands' territories are fragmented, they possess relatively few resources and are generally under-developed.⁵⁷⁾

Whether or not these charges are entirely valid, is of less importance than the fact that they are made. It is true that the advocates of the homelands policy have, in turn, tried to answer most of these allegations. Consider, for example, the first charge listed above. The critics' argument in fact goes beyond that of a unilaterally imposed design; there is, moreover, claimed to be "no historical justification for the Bantustans" : the homelands are dismissed as "figments of the apartheid planners' minds."⁵⁸⁾ It is interesting to note that one of the major objections of the United Party, the official (parliamentary) Opposition, to Verwoerd's homelands scheme, was that it involved changing the map of South Africa to create a horseshoe of black states which, in future, was likely to endanger the security of white South Africa.⁵⁹⁾

Verwoerd's typical response was that "it is not we who put the Bantu there;"⁶⁰⁾ instead, the government was merely recognising historical and anthropological facts. It is in this light that successive National

Party governments have seen the creation of ethnic homelands, which now number ten, as opposed to the eight recognised in the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act. (The new entities are a second homeland for the Xhosa people, viz. Ciskei, and one for the Tswana, viz. Bophuthatswana.) In addition, the homelands policy has been based on the further premise that each ethnic unit was determined to preserve its "identity as a nation", and that this could only be done through separate ethnically-based political systems.⁶¹⁾

The fact, however, remains that the fragmentation of South Africa's body politic into several separate ethnically-based political entities has, for reasons already mentioned, proved anathema to international, and above all, African opinion.

(v) Reducing blacks' numerical preponderance in 'white' South Africa

The importance of this consideration is clearly borne out in Verwoerd's statement in 1959, that

leadership in a democracy is not retained by men of pious words. It depends on numbers, as anybody who has made a study of the history of any nation knows. In the final result it is force of numbers which predominates - high or low, poor or rich, Black or White.

This led Verwoerd to the conclusion that everything possible should be done "to ensure that there will be a White part of South Africa, even though we must accept the presence of the Coloureds, but where the Bantu population will not predominate."⁶²⁾ Any policy based on multiracialism, Verwoerd argued, will inevitably result in the numerically preponderant blacks becoming politically dominant. "One Bantustan for the whole of South Africa" was the "inevitable consequence" of the United Party's policy of a race federation, he accordingly claimed.⁶³⁾

Verwoerd hoped to create the desired favourable population distribution through a combination of incentive and disincentive measures. The former essentially involved the creation of job opportunities for blacks in or near the homelands, thus encouraging them at least to live inside these territories.

The disincentive measures refer to the gamut of influx control regulations imposed on blacks. But despite all these measures, Verwoerd said in 1963, the influx of blacks to the cities "would increase until about 1978"; thereafter, "we would be approaching the turning point."⁶⁴⁾ Those blacks who come to work in "white South Africa" - "if their labour is still needed" after the turning point year - will not become permanent residents, Verwoerd insisted. They will, instead, "remain a changing group of workers' families" working and living in "white South Africa" for a number of years, while they "will remain anchored in their homelands", to where they will then return.⁶⁵⁾

By the end of the 1960s, Verwoerd's successor had to concede the failure of government attempts to reduce black numbers to the level of parity with those of whites in "white South Africa". "Numbers", Mr. Vorster said in 1969, "are not the decisive factor ... a political say is in fact the decisive factor".⁶⁶⁾ The implication of this statement was that separate development did not merely involve the separation of people, but also created means for political participation by blacks - also for those living in white areas, who would participate in the politics of their ethnic homelands. It therefore follows that it was not necessary for the majority of homeland citizens actually to live in these territories.⁶⁷⁾

Further implicit acceptance of the permanency of blacks in the white areas. came with the government's introduction of a 99-year leasehold scheme for urban blacks in 1978. In April 1981, Dr. Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, went further and explicitly acknowledged the permanency of urban blacks in "white South Africa".⁶⁸⁾ Yet, a link with the Verwoerdian past remains, in the form of the government's insistence - repeated by Koornhof - that urban blacks should exercise their political rights via the homelands. This policy is based on the notion that all blacks still have homeland or ethnic ties.⁶⁹⁾

A significant change has also been made to one of Verwoerd's incentive measures, viz. the creation of job opportunities for blacks in or near homelands. Whereas Verwoerd was implacably opposed to allowing "white capital" into homelands,⁷⁰⁾ the untenability of this policy was later recognised and official moves were introduced to attract white capital to the homelands in order to promote their economic development.⁷¹⁾

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The objective of effecting a geographical redistribution of the black population has been seized upon by critics of the homelands policy. The most common charge is that the homelands are designed, in part, to serve "as reservoirs of cheap labour for the apartheid economy".⁷²⁾ A related contention is that homelands are being used "as dumping grounds for what a Government Minister has called the 'superfluous appendages' of migrant workers in white areas."⁷³⁾

(vi) Paving the way to an eventual community of co-operating states

Once the homelands had reached their ultimate stage of constitutional development, Verwoerd, as mentioned, envisaged that the relationships between them and South Africa could be compared with those in the (British) Commonwealth. The constituent members would not be represented in the mother parliament,⁷⁴⁾ and the proposed commonwealth would be a consultative body of independent states "dealing with mutual political interests."⁷⁵⁾ Alongside this would exist a body based "on the principles of a common market"⁷⁶⁾ to take care of the economic relationship between the economically inter-dependent member states.⁷⁷⁾ It should be added that Verwoerd, after abandoning South Africa's long-standing claims to the incorporation of the three British High Commission Territories into South Africa, visualised their joining his scheme for regional co-operation upon achieving independence.⁷⁸⁾

One of the major objections which the United Party repeatedly raised to the homelands policy was that it would not eventually produce the favourable, co-operative kind of relationships envisaged by Verwoerd. Instead "this dangerous, this crazy policy of creating independent Bantustans out of the living body of South Africa",⁷⁹⁾ would place South Africa's very security and well-being in jeopardy. The end result of the homelands policy, Mr. Marais Steyn, a leading United Party MP, argued in 1962, will be "a South Africa surrounded by a number of small states who, although they should be our friends theoretically, will be in fact hostile to the Republic of South Africa".⁸⁰⁾

A number of reasons were advanced for this contention. Firstly, and most important, was that the homelands would - particularly once they had achieved independence - become the target of extraneous influences hostile to South Africa. By placing the homelands on the road to independence,

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Sir De Villiers Graaff, leader of the Opposition, warned in 1963, the government was "opening the door to the Trojan Horse of Pan Africanism" in these territories. Pan Africanism was, he said, "the most dangerous force with which we are faced at the present time" - a force which, moreover, was being "exploited" by communism throughout Africa.⁸¹⁾ The Soviet Union, China and all black African states were "going to work on their feelings to make them hostile to us", Major Piet van der Byl, an Opposition front-bencher, asserted in 1963, adding that "equally strong internal agitators" would add to the hostile, anti-South African influences.⁸²⁾ The independent homelands would "demand" to appoint foreign representatives - including at the United Nations, where they would possibly "join the hostile Afro-Asiatic group who would welcome them" - and receive foreign diplomats, Van der Byl predicted. Among the latter would be diplomats from hostile communist states, and their legations "will be nothing more or less than schools for communist agitators" teaching people terrorism and how to "break down" the homeland governments. South Africa, Van der Byl went on, would not be able to control independent homelands through economic pressure because "all the economic aid" they would require, would be supplied by foreign powers hostile to apartheid, both from the East and the West.⁸³⁾ These arguments of the United Party were, of course, based on the assumption that the independence of homelands would be internationally recognised; in fact, the Opposition showed no doubt that independent homelands would be accepted by the international community.

A second reason why independent homelands were, in the United Party's view, bound to become hostile to South Africa, was their highly visible poverty in contrast to South Africa's wealth - wealth which homeland subjects, as migrant labourers, helped to create. Such economic deprivation would create fertile ground for communist exploitation, it was said.⁸⁴⁾

A third cause for hostility would be found in the concern of homeland governments about the fate of their subjects working in "white South Africa" as migrants and without any political rights there.⁸⁵⁾ A directly related cause was that these migrants would give expression to their dissatisfaction with conditions in "white South Africa" by electing homeland parliaments avowedly hostile to South Africa.⁸⁶⁾ Even worse, migrant labourers from the homelands were already subjected to strong "communistic influences" in

"white/

"white South Africa" and would, if given the vote, elect "communistic" members to their respective homeland parliaments.⁸⁷⁾

Fourthly, the Opposition argued that there was, in effect, a kind of mechanical inevitability to former colonies turning against their old mother countries once independent. The same, the United Party argued, would happen to South Africa's homelands.⁸⁸⁾

Finally, it was said by the United Party that unless the question of homeland boundaries was settled before self-government was given to the territories, this would become a source of continuous friction between them and South Africa.⁸⁹⁾

In addition to all these dangers to South Africa, the United Party warned that if homelands became independent, South Africa's labour force would then "be dependent on and be controlled by a foreign government over whose policy we shall have no control."⁹⁰⁾ Mr. Etienne Malan, another Opposition front-bencher, said that these "citizens of foreign states" would outnumber whites in the white areas and would constitute "a fifth column in this country which will effect the destruction of White civilization in this country". To underline his point, Malan went on to offer this menacing scenario :

Trade unions will be established in the Bantustans which will have control over these foreigners in our areas; they will call out strikes from Umtata, from Nongoma, from other parts of the Bantu areas, strikes which can paralyse and destroy our gold mines, our industries, our farming. That is where the danger to White civilization lies.⁹¹⁾

By surrendering sovereignty over the mass of migrant labourers working in "white South Africa", the Republic was furthermore opening the door to international interference in South Africa via these foreign workers in its midst, the Opposition maintained.⁹²⁾

Another danger which the United Party saw in the homelands policy was that it would place "control over the sources of some of our largest rivers in the hands of a foreign country, in the hands of an independent Bantustan!"⁹³⁾

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Which rivers would be affected, was not explained.

The various dangers of course all touch on the question of South Africa's security. The homelands policy, Graaff said in 1963, showed "a total disregard for considerations of defence."⁹⁴⁾ Malan wanted to know from the government what could be more dangerous than "pushing 3 000 000 rifles into the hands of those Natives" who would form "eight separate armies in these eight independent Bantustans" - arms and training which would, moreover, be provided by the Soviet Union and China.⁹⁵⁾ As if this was not already bad enough, Van der Byl sternly warned that it was "likely and possible that terror gangs will operate from the Bantustans, returning to their own areas after a raid" (on South Africa). The instigators of such actions would, not surprisingly, be the communists. The homelands, Van der Byl added, "might well become a festering sore on our borders in 10 or 20 or 30 years time,"⁹⁶⁾ and he and others drew an ominous analogy with Cuba's position vis-à-vis the United States.⁹⁷⁾

Mr. L.C. Gay, the Opposition's chief spokesman on defence, added yet another warning. The Government was surrendering South Africa's "entire defence perimeter" along its eastern, northern and north-western boundaries to the blacks, who were and would for many years remain incapable of establishing "any adequate defence".⁹⁸⁾ He was particularly concerned about South Africa's loss of undisputed control of the entire length of its coastline. The eastern seaboard - i.e. Transkei - was "the soft under-belly" of South Africa's defence, the area "from which any communistic threat to the Republic must be expected."⁹⁹⁾

Turning to the government's response to such warnings, Verwoerd admitted that the "dangers" of communist influence in the homelands and of these territories being used as communist springboards against South Africa, did exist.¹⁰⁰⁾ Despite Opposition misgivings, the government would also allow the homelands to eventually have their own armies.¹⁰¹⁾ Verwoerd was confident that the homelands policy

will create so much friendship, so much gratitude, so many mutual interests in the process of the propulsive development that there

will/

will be no danger of hostile Bantu states, but that there will arise what I called a commonwealth, founded on common interests, and linked together by common interests in this southern part of Africa. In other words, I believe that these dangers of foreign ideologies, of foreign navies, and so on, will not materialize.¹⁰²⁾

Apart from common interests, Verwoerd also relied on "our friendship and our assistance" and "the common sense of the Bantu" to keep them opposed to communism and - "with the exception of a small group of agitators" - in favour of strengthening ties with South Africa rather than joining forces with hostile foreign powers.¹⁰³⁾ He even hinted that if South Africa was ever attacked militarily, the homelands would stand with the Republic.¹⁰⁴⁾ If an armed conflict were nonetheless to take place between South Africa and independent homelands, Verwoerd preferred a smaller yet powerful white state - "a bulwark for White civilization" and one whose defence forces were likely to be stronger than the homelands - which would have international support to fight for its survival, rather than a bigger, multiracial state "which has already been surrendered to Bantu domination."¹⁰⁵⁾

Verwoerd's visions of a closely-knit 'family association' eventually developing between South Africa and independent homelands, were shared by his successors. Like Verwoerd, they too believed that other states in Southern Africa would join this grouping. When the three British High Commission Territories achieved independence in the second half of the 1960s, the opportunity seemed to have arrived for South Africa to start building on the commonwealth-cum-common market arrangement envisaged by Verwoerd. Mr. B.J. Vorster, prime minister 1966-1978, initially committed himself "to maintaining the closest economic and technological co-operation among all the countries of the (Southern African) region", while each nation involved would retain its political independence.¹⁰⁶⁾ In due course, Vorster became bolder and in 1974 he defined regional co-operation in terms of a "power bloc" of sovereign independent states. Such a power bloc could only come about once homelands had received independence, and he envisaged Rhodesia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland then joining too.¹⁰⁷⁾ A year later, he introduced a new concept, viz. "a constellation of politically completely independent states" maintaining close economic ties.¹⁰⁸⁾

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It is significant that Vorster, like Verwoerd, emphasised the notion of political independence amid economic interdependence. Political independence was in fact made a condition for participation in the envisaged regional groupings. The insistence on independence was also consistent with the objectives of political and territorial separation. This leads to the conclusion that South Africa's proposals for regional relations were in fact an extension of domestic policy into the realm of foreign policy. In the period before the first homeland became independent, South Africa displayed a keen desire to establish close ties with independent black Southern African states, specifically Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi.¹⁰⁹⁾ With no independent homeland yet available to participate in a regional grouping, the *foreign* policy dimension of South Africa's regional designs necessarily took precedence.

Once independence had been given to homelands, together with the fact that Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and, to a lesser degree, also Malawi, were unwilling to strengthen and formalise relations with South Africa to the extent implicit in Vorster's power bloc or constellation ideas, the *domestic* policy dimension of Southern African co-operation took precedence. The pendulum had, in fact, swung back to Verwoerd's original visions for regional relationships, which were based on the eventual emergence of several independent homelands. But, in line with Verwoerd's thinking, such a grouping need not confine its membership only to South Africa and its former homelands; other independent states in Southern Africa could also join. Refusal on the part of the latter states to become involved would, however, not jeopardise the whole venture.

The situation just outlined is essentially the one which obtains today. Prime Minister P.W. Botha inherited the concept of a constellation of Southern African states from his predecessor, but he soon elevated it to a major foreign policy priority and gave it a content previously lacking. Government thinking on a constellation was initially on a grand regional scale : Mr. Pik Botha in March 1979 envisaged that between seven and ten states, comprising 40 million people, south of the Kunene and Zambezi rivers, would join forces in a constellation. Among the prospective members were, then, independent former homelands.¹¹⁰⁾ The very inclusion of the latter was, however, one of the main reasons why the ambitious constellation design has failed to

materialise/

materialise. Internationally recognised black states are unwilling to join a grouping in which former homelands - the products of separate development - would be their equals in status; to have done so would, in their view, imply recognition of homeland independence and confer legitimacy on separate development.

The result of these developments has been that South Africa has had to scale down its constellation plans from the plane of high regional politics to that of South African politics. The foreign policy aspect has, in other words, been subordinated to the domestic one. Thus, the constellation has actually been formalised between South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. Because the constellation is considered in some detail in the next section dealing with the present state of the homelands,¹¹¹⁾ there is no need to analyse the constellation here. It will suffice to record that the emphasis of constellation activity is presently on the economic side, where the three main programmes are the establishment of a Southern African development bank (probably due later in 1981); the creation, in November 1980, of the Small Business Development Corporation, and the promotion of regional economic development across political boundaries¹¹²⁾

It should, however, be pointed out that the economic area is only one of those in which South Africa hopes to promote co-operation between constellation partners. The other three concern political relations, social matters and security.¹¹³⁾ A word needs to be said about the latter at this juncture, because it raises the old and, as mentioned, highly contentious issue of the implications of homeland independence for South Africa's security. Whereas Verwoerd had no clear suggestions on this score - perhaps because homeland independence at the time seemed (very) far distant¹¹⁴⁾ - his successors had to give the matter serious consideration as the homelands policy proceeded to its "logical consequences". Apart from seemingly confident assertions that "economic, military and other reasons" would more or less compel independent homelands to remain on friendly terms with South Africa,¹¹⁵⁾ there was also a suggestion that control of an independent Transkei's coastline might by treaty be left to South Africa.¹¹⁶⁾ In 1975, a year before Transkei's independence, Mr. P.W. Botha, then Minister of Defence, said it was imperative that independent homelands be accommodated within South Africa's military

context /

context and not outside.¹¹⁷⁾ It is statements like this which have led to the contention that South Africa would proclaim its own version of either the Monroe or the Brezhnev doctrine, to the effect that any communist or other hostile foreign intervention in an independent homeland would be regarded as a threat to South Africa's security and would oblige the Republic to intervene on the grounds of self-defence.¹¹⁸⁾

In the end, South Africa concluded a bilateral non-aggression pact with each of the three homelands which have become independent. The details of the agreements are discussed in the following section;¹¹⁹⁾ it only requires stating here that the treaties in no way constitute a military alliance between South Africa and its former homelands. It is also worth recalling that the idea of a non-aggression pact was first proposed by Vorster in 1970 - and has since been repeated several times - but the other parties he had in mind were independent black African states, members of the Organisation of African Unity.¹²⁰⁾

The final aspect to mention briefly in this section, concerns critics' reactions to South Africa's proposals for regional relations. The U.N. General Assembly lost no time in condemning "the apartheid régime" for the creation of a constellation of states "as a scheme for the establishment of its hegemony in the region and the perpetuation of racist domination and exploitation."¹²¹⁾ President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia read sinister motives into South Africa's constellation proposals: "South Africa is to become the king-pin of all of us, and all of us ... are going to be satellite or puppet states of South Africa."¹²²⁾ Mr. C.D. Molapo, Lesotho's Foreign Minister, addressing the U.N. General Assembly in September 1980, saw another inauspicious motive in the constellation: "Through this stratagem South Africa hopes to win support and respectability for her grand apartheid, which fragments southern Africa into weak black satellites dominated by a strong white state."¹²³⁾ South Africa's constellation moves furthermore had a direct bearing on the emergence of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC), the so-called counter-constellation established by nine black Southern African states in 1980 in an effort to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa.¹²⁴⁾ It is also interesting that the security implications for South Africa of the homelands policy have been noted by critics. Guy Arnold¹²⁵⁾ and Patrick Laurence,¹²⁶⁾ for example, have depicted the homelands as "buffer states". The implied concern here is not that "Bantustans"

might endanger South Africa's security - as the United Party used to argue - but, instead, that it might enhance it and thereby safeguard white political domination.

In conclusion, it can be said that the foregoing discussion has highlighted a particularly important fact, viz. that the homelands policy has from its inception been the subject of intense controversy, both internationally and domestically. Government objectives with the policy have been criticised on various grounds, depending on the critics' own particular political or ideological leanings. A case in point is the attempts of Verwoerd, in particular, to 'sell' the homelands policy internationally as an exercise in decolonisation, on the one hand, and, on the other, the homelands design being labelled "the politics of domestic colonialism" in a book published in 1967.¹²⁷⁾ The suspicions about and outright opposition to the South African government's objectives with the homelands, have led to doubts being expressed not only about the nature of homelands' independence, but in fact also about these territories' very right to statehood - thus the international community's refusal to recognise the independence given to some homelands. The dialectic is an ongoing one, with no prospect of an early resolution of the issues involved. It would, therefore, seem appropriate and indeed necessary to consider - as this study will attempt to do - some alternative political scenarios for the homelands.

III Present realities : salient features of the independent and self-governing homelands

The features of the homelands which are briefly discussed in this section, are among the most important of those which are likely to have a bearing on the political future of both the independent and self-governing (or non-independent) homelands. Because they are formally no longer part of South Africa, somewhat more attention will be paid to the independent former homelands and also Ciskei, than to those still integral parts of the Republic.

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(i) Domestic politics

From the point of view of this study, the most important feature of the domestic political situation of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda is that the same political leaderships which respectively took the three territories to independence, are still in power. This is perhaps not surprising, considering that not one of the three territories has been independent for more than five years. The importance of this continuity in leadership is that these countries are still governed by so-called moderate leaders, who chose to accept the independence formula offered by South Africa; rightly or wrongly, they are seen by South Africa as black leaders who have given respectability and legitimacy to the homelands policy. Homeland independence has, in the South African public mind, become firmly identified with the persons of Presidents Kaiser Matanzima (Transkei),¹²⁸⁾ Lucas Mangope (Bophuthatswana) and Patrick Mphahlele (Venda).

On their respective domestic fronts, the governments of all three former homelands seem to have experienced difficulty in generating mass public support. Transkei's pre-independence election in 1976 - won convincingly by the ruling Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP)¹²⁹⁾ - was marred by the detention of opposition leaders just before nomination day. The officially recorded percentage poll - 66% - has also been questioned.¹³⁰⁾ Since then, there appears to have been growing dissatisfaction among the people of Transkei with the country's government. There have been reports that the Tembu, Pondo and Sotho tribes were joining forces with the opposition Democratic Progressive Party.¹³¹⁾ Reference should also be made to the much publicised arrest, for alleged high treason, of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, leader of the Democratic Progressive Party. In the end, he was convicted and fined on a charge of violating the dignity of the Transkeian president. Shortly thereafter, Chief Dalindyebo fled Transkei and announced that he had joined the exiled African National Congress.¹³²⁾

In Bophuthatswana, the pre-independence election in August 1977 was characterised by massive popular disinterest or apathy. Only 375 000 Tswanas out of an estimated de jure population of 2,2 million registered as voters, and only 50% of those registered, actually voted.¹³³⁾ This was hardly an auspicious start to independence. Nonetheless, Chief Mangope's

ruling/

ruling Bophuthatswana National Party won the election by an overwhelming margin.¹³⁴⁾ Since independence, his government does not appear to have experienced anything like the measure of public disaffection which has faced the Matanzima government in Transkei.

Turning to Venda, the Mphephu government probably has the poorest record of the three in gaining popular support. In the last election held in Venda in 1978, the opposition Venda Independence Party won 31 of the 42 elected seats in a 52% poll. Chief Mphephu's Venda National Party has, however, remained in power with the support of nominated chiefs.¹³⁵⁾

A charge which has frequently been levelled at the governments of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, is that they took independence without first gaining an explicit popular mandate to do so, by way of referendum.¹³⁶⁾ The pre-independence elections held in the three territories could not be regarded as substitutes for referendums, it would be argued, because independence was by then already a foregone conclusion.

While on the issue of public support for independence, it is important to mention the positions adopted by the main opposition party in each of the three countries respectively, on independence. In Bophuthatswana, the opposition Seopesengwe Party already before independence in 1977 accepted separate development and the promise of eventual independence.¹³⁷⁾

In Venda, the opposition Venda Independence Party, despite its name, took a rather ambivalent stand on independence before it was granted in 1979.¹³⁸⁾ Since then, independence no longer seems to be an issue between the two parties. In fact, Mr. Baldwin Mudau, Opposition leader, in March 1980 called for the merger of the two parties, inter alia, on the ground that their differences were merely artificial.¹³⁹⁾ Such a merger, if it eventuates, may well broaden the base of the Mphephu government's popular support and thus give it the legitimacy it has hitherto largely lacked. The Transkei opposition, the Democratic Party, before independence in 1976 favoured a multiracial South Africa of which Transkei would form an integral part. The party accordingly rejected independence as a goal.¹⁴⁰⁾ In terms of Transkei's Public Security Act, 1977, it is a

criminal/

criminal offence to publicly propagate opposition to the independence of Transkei. This has therefore removed independence as a formal, open party political issue. The Democratic Party has also had internal troubles of its own, eventually leading to the formation of the present Democratic Progressive Party.¹⁴¹⁾ It should be added that, even without the kind of anti-independence law passed in Transkei, anti-independence as a political platform is bound to lose force and might even have come to seem irrelevant once independence had actually been achieved.

Politics in Ciskei has in the past year or two been characterised by a remarkable degree of unity. In January 1980, the remaining members of the Opposition crossed the floor of the Legislative Assembly to join Chief Minister Lennox Sebe's ruling Ciskei National Independence Party. Chief Justice Mabandla, former leader of the Opposition and erstwhile Chief Minister, likewise pledged his support to Mr. Sebe's government.¹⁴²⁾

The question of Ciskei's political future featured prominently in 1980. In February, the Commission of Enquiry into Independence for the Ciskei (Quail Commission), appointed by the Ciskei Government in 1978, reported. The Commission was critical of the independence formulas which had earlier been worked out for Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, and also found (in an opinion survey) that the vast majority of Ciskeians did not favour independence. Independence should only be taken if a number of firm conditions were met, the Commission recommended. These included a referendum in which the majority of all Ciskeians voted in favour of independence. Rather than Ciskei opting for independence, the Commission proposed the creation - out of Ciskei and the so-called white corridor - of "a new multiracial entity called a condominium which would remain part of South Africa and in which power would be shared between blacks and whites."¹⁴³⁾ The Ciskei Government was, however, determined to seek independence and a referendum on the issue was held in December 1980. An impressive 98,7% of votes cast supported independence - seemingly contradicting the Quail Commission's findings - and Ciskei is due to become independent in December 1981.¹⁴⁴⁾ Although the Ciskei government endeavoured to extract more favourable conditions for independence from South Africa than the already independent homelands had managed, the effort has apparently, as will be explained later,¹⁴⁵⁾ met with only limited success.

As far as the political scene in the remaining six self-governing homelands is concerned, only two features need to be emphasised. The first is that it is often particularly difficult to make an accurate assessment of the degree of popular support the various homeland governments enjoy. The Legislative Assemblies of the homelands are composed of both appointed and elected members, the former always being in the majority. In the case of KaNgwane, the Legislative Assembly is composed of 36 appointed members only, and in KwaNdebele, the Legislative Assembly is likewise composed of nominated members only. The composition of the legislative bodies does not therefore necessarily reflect the popular will. The matter is further complicated by the fact that voter turn-out in the elections for elected members of the assemblies is generally low. This, in turn, is at least partly related to the phenomenon that a large percentage of the eligible voters - in some instances the majority - live outside the homelands.¹⁴⁶⁾

The second feature to mention is that the majority of the leaders of the six self-governing homelands (Ciskei excluded) have come out unequivocally against taking independence. Public statements to this effect have been made by Chief Ministers Enos Mabuza (KaNgwane), Hudson Ntsanwisi (Gazankulu), Kenneth Mopeli (QwaQwa), Cedric Phatudi (Lebowa) and Gatsha Buthelezi (KwaZulu).¹⁴⁷⁾

(ii) Geographic features

The two outstanding geographic features which apply to the homelands generally, are the relatively small size of their territories and the fragmented nature thereof.

<u>Homeland</u>	<u>Area in square kilometres</u> ¹⁴⁸⁾	<u>Number of segments in 1975 (and after proposed consolidation, 1975)</u> ¹⁴⁹⁾
Transkei	44 630	2 (3)
Bophuthatswana	40 330	19 (6)
Venda	6 300	3 (2)
Ciskei	7 600	17 (1)
Gazankulu	7 730	4 (3)
KaNgwane	3 000	3 (1)
KwaZulu	32 130	29 (10)
Lebowa	24 540	15 (6)
QwaQwa	620	1 (1)
(KwaNdebele) ¹⁵⁰⁾	103 000 hectare	1 (-)

It should be explained that the South African government's thinking on homeland consolidation has lately been undergoing a significant change. In February 1979, the Prime Minister, Mr. Botha, announced that a thorough investigation into the consolidation of the homelands was necessary in order to determine how consolidation could be accelerated and to consider whether the "freedom" which South Africa's various peoples desire, "is in agreement with the consolidation of the Black states" (homelands)¹⁵¹⁾ The task was entrusted to the Commission for Co-operation and Development, assisted by various subsidiary bodies. Chaired by Mr. H.J.D. van der Walt, the Commission is still engaged in its investigations.

Some of the guidelines which the Prime Minister set for the Commission are particularly instructive, for they indicate an important shift in established official views on consolidation. Although the Prime Minister has stipulated that the basis for the investigation was the 1936 Trust and Land Act as embodied in the 1975 consolidation proposals,¹⁵²⁾ he allowed for the 1936 land quota to be exceeded in the Commission's recommendations. This is a significant departure from the earlier rigid adherence to the 1936 quota. Another meaningful guideline is that economic development of the homelands is the highest priority and that it should be promoted by the recommendations. The emphasis on economic development has to be seen against the background of the hitherto disappointing progress which has been made with the economic development of the homelands, and also of the realisation that South Africa lacks both the finance and the administrative capacity to give speedy effect to the 1975 consolidation plans approved by Parliament.¹⁵³⁾

The essence of the new approach to homeland consolidation is to determine "how a re-demarcation of land can lead to the greater settlement of people in the national states on an employment basis and how this re-demarcation can contribute towards creating a more meaningful regional economic structure", in the words of an economist attached to the influential, semi-official Bureau for Economic Research : Co-operation and Development (BENSO).¹⁵⁴⁾ To achieve these objectives, the Commission could consider four possible measures :

- (a) bringing homeland borders closer to growth points in the white area;
- (b) transferring a few white towns presently outside the homelands to

the/

- the homelands to serve as growth points;
- (c) incorporating some urban black areas into the homelands; and
- (d) jointly managing border growth points (co-operation areas).

In addition, "better heartland consolidation" is likely to be given serious attention,¹⁵⁵⁾ for it is realised that the fragmented state of the homelands creates administrative, security and other problems and also undermines the credibility of the homelands policy. Apart from the scattered nature of homeland territory, the policy's acceptability both locally (by blacks) and abroad is of course further eroded by the fact that the homelands comprise a mere 13,7% of the total land area of what can conveniently be designed as 'greater South Africa', i.e. South Africa prior to homelands becoming independent and opting out of the Republic.

(iii) Demographic features

According to figures published by BENSO, the number of blacks in the homelands increased from 7,4 million in 1970 to 9,7 million in 1978. This means that the blacks in the homelands increased from 46,7% of the total number of blacks in 1970, to 49,4% in 1978. The number of blacks outside the homelands increased from 8,5 million in 1970 to 9,9 million in 1978. In relative terms, this means that the blacks outside the homelands decreased from 53,3% of the total number of blacks in 1970, to 50,6% in 1978.¹⁵⁶⁾ The South African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU), has confirmed the trend revealed in the BENSO figures, but SALDRU figures seem to indicate that the proportional increase in the numbers of homeland blacks was even greater than BENSO has found. According to SALDRU, 42% of the total number of black males and 52,6% of the total number of black females resided in the homelands in 1970; in 1980, the percentages were 49,6% and 58,4% for males and females respectively.¹⁵⁷⁾

BENSO has attributed the decrease in in the number of non-homeland blacks particularly to border changes and, to a lesser extent, resettlement.¹⁵⁸⁾ SALDRU, in turn, explains this population distribution in terms of "the combination of economic incentives and disincentives and administrative controls facing Africans".¹⁵⁹⁾ Whatever the precise reasons may be, the general trend is nonetheless, in the direction long desired and envisaged by the architects of the homelands policy, viz. reducing the number of

blacks in "white South Africa" by getting them to settle in the homelands. For some, these developments might even be taken as a confirmation of Verwoerd's prediction that the tide of black migration from the homelands to "white South Africa" would have turned in the opposite direction by 1978. Yet, the present pattern of population distribution also shows that the ideal of achieving a roughly equal ratio between the numbers of blacks and whites in "white South Africa" in 50 years' time - (expressed in the government's White Paper on the Tomlinson Report in 1956¹⁶⁰) - is increasingly becoming an impossible dream. In 1978, there were 9,8 million blacks as against 4,4 million whites in "white South Africa". Even after the coloured and Indian populations (who, paradoxically, also reside in "white South Africa") have been added to the number of whites, blacks still outnumber them by over 2 million.¹⁶¹

The numerical preponderance of blacks stands out even more sharply in a projection of population growth. Because of their higher growth rate, the black population of present and former parts of South Africa is estimated to increase from 71,8% of the total population in 1978, to 77,2% in 2020. Whites will then comprise only 11,3% of the total population, compared with 16,2% in 1978.¹⁶²

Taking a closer look at the homelands' populations, a striking feature is the absence of large numbers of people from their homelands. Based on BENS0's 1978 figures, Venda was the only homeland where over 60% of its de jure population were de facto resident in the territory (68,2%). In declining order, the comparable figures for other homelands were as follows : Transkei - 57%; Lebowa - 54,8%; Ciskei - 53,7%; KwaZulu - 53,4%; Bophuthatswana - 40,2%; Gazankulu - 36%; KaNgwane - 28% and QwaQwa - 5,3%.¹⁶³

The absence of large proportions of the homeland population is, of course, the result of labour migration to "white South Africa". According to BENS0, the average annual increase in the supply of black labour in the homelands during the period 1972 - 1975 was 100 100. Of this number, 28 428 (28,4%) found employment in the homelands; 36 858 (36,8%) were provided with employment in the adjoining white areas, thus becoming commuters, and the remaining 34 814 (34,8%) can be regarded as potential

migrant/

migrant workers or as unemployed persons.¹⁶⁴⁾ BENS0 investigations have shown that these trends have continued, at least until 1979.¹⁶⁵⁾

The extent of the labour flow from the homelands to South Africa can be gleaned from the following table : ¹⁶⁶⁾

Homeland	Estimated number of commuters* (1976)	Estimated number of migrant workers (1978)
Transkei	7 100	265 200
Bophuthatswana	154 900	180 900
Venda	3 700	27 100
Ciskei	36 900	46 300
KwaZulu	325 600	314 200
QwaQwa	1 800	49 600
Lebowa	46 300	140 300
Gazankulu	7 800	39 200
KaNgwane	23 000	48 600 (includes KwaNdebele)
TOTAL	607 100	1 111 400

(*Commuters are defined as blacks resident in the homelands and working in adjacent border areas outside the homelands on a daily basis.)

The implication of these figures is obvious: as long as the homelands are unable to employ their own labour forces, migration to the white areas is bound to continue.

(iv) Economic features

Under this broad heading, consideration will be given to the national accounts of the homelands, the promotion of agriculture, mining and industry, the programming of official expenditure in the homelands, and the financing of this expenditure.

Taking the national accounts first, BENS0 has calculated that the homelands' contribution to South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1960 was a paltry 2,7% (R134,6 million). By 1976 the homelands' share had increased to a mere 3,6% (R997,9 million). Considering that the homelands' de facto populations comprise some 35% of that of 'greater South Africa', and that the homelands cover 13,7% of 'greater South Africa's' total land area, they make a disproportionately small contribution to the GDP. The

picture/

picture looks even bleaker when the homelands' per capita GDP is examined. Calculated at 1970 prices, it increased from R42 in 1972 to R68 in 1976. These amounts compare unfavourably with those of other developing countries; in Africa, only 10 countries had lower figures in 1976. When the income earned by homeland residents working as commuters and migrant labourers outside the homelands is added - thus calculating the Gross National Income (GNI) - a more favourable picture emerges: the real per capita GNI of the homelands increased from R104 in 1970 to R187 in 1976. The latter figure was better than that for 30 other African countries. ¹⁶⁷⁾

As far as homeland agriculture is concerned, at least 23% of 'greater South Africa's' total agricultural potential lies in the homelands. With their potential fully realised, the homelands could produce food for over 25 million people. In practice, however, agricultural production is dominated by subsistence or non-market production, and in 1975 it amounted to some 85% of total agricultural production in the homelands. This means that agriculture makes a very limited contribution to the territories' overall economic development. ¹⁶⁸⁾

The problems of agricultural development are not eased by the population pressure on the land. The population density in the homelands is consistently higher than that for South Africa (excluding the independent homelands), and generally also higher than the figure for black African states. The following table ¹⁶⁹⁾ shows the number of people per square kilometre in the various homelands and in South Africa.

Ciskei	55,8
Gazankulu	42,5
KaNgwane	56,3
Kwazulu	64,3
Lebowa	48,3
QwaQwa	54,2
Venda	43,5
Transkei	48
Bophuthatswana	29
South Africa	22

(excluding the latter two homelands)

The mining sector in some of the homelands has already undergone significant development and holds further potential. ¹⁷⁰⁾ By March 1978,

22 mines had been established in Bophuthatswana, 21 in Lebowa and 18 in KwaZulu. Employment in the mining sector stood at 44 976 in 1978, down from 67 767 in 1975.¹⁷¹⁾

In the industrial sector, cumulative capital investment by both industrialists and corporations in decentralised projects located within the homelands, increased from R88,5 million in March 1975 to R274,5 million three years later. Over the same period, the numbers employed in these industries increased from 10 219 to 24 729, i.e. an average of 3 406 additional employment opportunities annually. It should be added that success with the officially encouraged decentralisation efforts was largely confined to growth points falling within the sphere of interest of already developed industrial areas. Likewise, border industries showing the greatest success were those experiencing the polarising influence of existing metropolises.¹⁷²⁾

As far as the tertiary sector in the homelands is concerned, a sobering figure is that an estimated 44% of the total purchasing power of R1 327,6 million of the homelands, was in 1975 spent outside these territories. This meant that only 15,8 of the total ('greater South African') black purchasing power of R4 704,3 million went into the homelands. These figures reflect the inadequacies in the commercial sector in the homelands.¹⁷³⁾

The next aspect to consider is the programming of official expenditure in the homelands. Such expenditure represents the most dynamic element in the overall economic development of the homelands, and official expenditure in the territories rose from R301 million in 1973/4 to R1 119 million in 1978/79. The way in which these funds are disposed has, however, not always been conducive to economic development. In 1976/77, for example, 28,5% of total expenditure was devoted to social and administrative programmes, with only 21,3% going directly towards job and income creation. In addition, a particularly high percentage of total expenditure is taken up by current expenses, with the result that capital investment is neglected. The situation is aggravated by the lack of co-ordination in government planning, particularly in the non-independent homelands where institutional structures are often in a very underdeveloped state.¹⁷⁴⁾

Even more important, from the point of view of this study, than the programming of official expenditure in the homelands, is the financing of this expenditure. Of the total homeland budgeted revenue of R1 184 million in 1978/79, only R441 million consisted of revenue from own homeland sources, with a further R59 million being a balance brought forward from the previous year. This meant that South Africa provided an amount of R684 million, or some 58% of the total homeland revenue.¹⁷⁵⁾ At present, some 10% of South Africa's national budget is allocated to homeland development, making it the second largest single item - after defence expenditure - in the budget.¹⁷⁶⁾

It is particularly important to focus on South Africa's contribution to the revenue of the three independent homelands. During the 1978/79 financial year, Transkei generated internally only 23,11% of its total revenue of R225,7 million; the remainder came from South African sources, whether in the form of indirect taxation or a Treasury grant. Bophuthatswana, in the same financial year, provided 33,19% of its total revenue of R707,3 million from domestic sources, and Venda generated internally 22,61% of its total revenue of R26,9 million; the remainder, in both cases, came from South African sources, primarily in the form of Treasury grants.¹⁷⁷⁾

The foregoing brief survey has highlighted the often severe economic problems presently confronting the homelands. It is, however, only fair to caution against the danger of becoming so preoccupied with the homelands' current economic ills, that sight is lost of their economic potential. As Erich Leistner, Director of the Africa Institute, points out, "it is not inherently inferior physical traits" that are responsible for the generally poor shape of homeland economies, but a host of economic, social and political factors.¹⁷⁸⁾ Such constraints, while admittedly powerful in their overall effect, are not necessarily immutable.

Before proceeding to consider further aspects of the present state of relations between the independent homelands and South Africa, and also former homelands' wider international relations (or lack of it), it would be useful to list some of the implications of the foregoing features for the future course of the homelands' political development.

Firstly/

Firstly, it has been established fairly conclusively that the economy of 'greater South Africa' cannot successfully be fragmented into several separate and viable homeland economies, alongside that of "white South Africa". The homelands' economic performance has, generally speaking, been rather dismal. A major reason, according to Leistner, "is that political and social objectives have outweighed economic ones". Thus, homeland economic development had been relegated to a minor facet "of the political aspiration of reducing the numerical ratio between white and black in 'white' South Africa to manageable proportions".¹⁷⁹⁾

Secondly, and partly the result of the above, complete territorial segregation has proved impracticable. Large-scale homeland consolidation, economists acknowledge, not only imposes excessive financial and administrative burdens on the central government, but it is moreover an enterprise which may retard rather than promote the economic development of the homelands; money allocated to consolidation may well be spent more productively in the homelands, and efficiently utilised "white land" transferred to homelands often degenerates into unproductive agricultural units.¹⁸⁰⁾ The new emphasis on relating consolidation to economic development reflects this realisation.

Thirdly, the poor economic performance of the homelands has merely accentuated the great disparity in wealth between whites and blacks in South Africa. This disparity, as economists point out, is a burning issue laden with conflict potential.¹⁸¹⁾

Fourthly, the very heavy economic dependence of the independent former homelands on South Africa - even to the extent of Pretoria providing the greater part of their revenue - has obvious political implications for both them and South Africa. Critics of the homelands policy cite this fact in support of their claims that the former homelands enjoy only a sham or phoney independence, and that the policy is really neo-colonial in intent. What simply cannot be denied, is that the extent of the independent homelands' economic dependence on South Africa offers the latter a large degree of political leverage over them.

Fifthly, nearly all the present leaders of the self-governing (non-independent) homelands have firmly rejected independence for their territories.

Even/

Even after allowing for the possibility that one or two of these leaders might change their opinions on the issue, or be replaced by new leaders favouring independence, Pretoria is left with the situation that a significant number of homelands will not allow the homelands policy to develop to its so-called logical consequences. If these homelands are, therefore, to remain integral parts of the South African state, their involvement in political decision-making at national level inevitably poses a new set of problems for the central government.

Sixthly, population projections reveal that the white minority will in future become an even smaller minority, relative to the black population of South Africa. Defending white minority rule - politically and even physically, is therefore bound to become even more difficult.

Finally, there is no denying that the great majority of blacks firmly reject the homelands as structures for political participation in South Africa. To this should be added that the youth - scholars and students - have in recent years been in the forefront of black resistance to government policies. In future, the black youth are bound to become an even stronger political force, as their numbers grow, their educational level rises and their political disaffection becomes deeper. Consider a recent projection, which calculated that there would be more than three black matriculants for every white matriculant in South Africa in the year 2000; in 1978, by contrast, 72% of all matriculants were white.¹⁸²⁾

(v) Relations between independent homelands and South Africa

Several features of the relations between South Africa and its former homelands have already been noted in the preceding discussion. In this section, attention will be given to their political/diplomatic relations, military links, the customs agreements and the constellation of states.

On the political/diplomatic level, the present state of relations between South Africa and the three independent homelands appears - outwardly, at any rate - cordial enough; it indeed seems to resemble that of a 'family association'.¹⁸³⁾ The formal manifestations include diplomatic links between South Africa and the three territories, non-aggression treaties,

co-operation/

co-operation in the constellation, and statements of goodwill. Whereas this pattern of relations has all along existed between South Africa and independent Bophuthatswana and Venda, Transkei shortly after independence violently disturbed the cordial relationship it had with South Africa.

In 1978 Transkei unilaterally broke off diplomatic relations with South Africa, and abrogated their non-aggression pact. Transkei justified these drastic steps on the grounds of South Africa's transfer of East Griqualand to Natal, instead of to Transkei, which claimed it. Prime Minister Kaiser Matanzima regarded South Africa's action as "a declaration of war against Transkei". He warned that Transkei "will bide its time before taking up arms to recover the land that has been cynically raped from it". For good measure, he issued a "clarion call for a relentless struggle against apartheid in South Africa" and solemnly pledged Transkei's support for "the struggle for liberation".¹⁸⁴⁾ The real reason for Transkei's action was, however, widely believed to have been an attempt to achieve international recognition of its statehood by severing ties with South Africa.¹⁸⁵⁾ International recognition did not materialise, and Transkei soon realised the true extent of its material dependence on South Africa. In March 1980, diplomatic relations between Transkei and South Africa were resumed and the non-aggression pact reinstated.¹⁸⁶⁾ Transkei explained its volte face in terms of South Africa's willingness to negotiate with the territory over its land demands.¹⁸⁷⁾

While on the subject of diplomatic relations, it is interesting to note that Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda maintain diplomatic relations only with South Africa, and not also mutually. Although it was reported in March 1980 that diplomatic relations were to be established between Transkei and Bophuthatswana,¹⁸⁸⁾ it has not yet happened. The creation of such links between the three former homelands is probably not a matter of high priority; they are geographically not far removed from each other and, moreover, have ample opportunity for mutual contact through their customs agreements with South Africa and the constellation of states. Relations between Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda moreover appear at least as friendly as between them and South Africa.

Transkei/

Transkei seems to have overcome any reluctance it might have had about associating formally with other independent homelands. This reluctance was the result of an opinion in Transkei that it, unlike other homelands, did not owe its independence and separate existence to the policy of separate development, but that its existence as a separate political entity has firm historical roots. Accordingly, it was argued, Transkei had as much right to international recognition as a state, as had Botswana, Lesotho or Swaziland.¹⁸⁹⁾ To associate with other independent homelands would, therefore, tend to detract from Transkei's special status. Since such claims to recognition have failed to produce results, there remains little reason for Transkeian aloofness from its fellow independent homelands.

Turning to military relations, bilateral non-aggression pacts were concluded between South Africa and each of the three independent homelands on the eve of their independence. The wording of the three agreements is virtually identical, except that the one with Transkei also allows for a right of peaceful overflight of military aircraft and of innocent passage of naval vessels.¹⁹⁰⁾ It is worth quoting the first two articles of the treaties, using the South African-Bophuthatswana pact as an example :

Article 1

The Parties shall never, for any reason whatsoever, resort to the use of armed force against the territorial sovereignty or political independence of each other, but shall at all times strive for the solution of disputes between them through negotiation or other peaceful means.

Article 2

Neither Party shall allow its territory or territorial air space to be used as a base, thoroughfare or in any other way by any state, government, organisation or person for military, subversive or other hostile actions or activities against the other Party.

It is significant to note that the pacts do not oblige the parties to come to one another's defence when the security of one is threatened. The parties merely state their wish "to co-operate in military matters which concern the common security of their respective countries" (preamble). Should the security of an independent homeland be under serious threat, whether

external/

external or internal in nature, or both, it is, however, conceivable that South Africa would consider giving military assistance in terms of this expressed wish. For their part, both President Mangope of Bophuthatswana and President Mphahlele of Venda, have pledged - and in Bophuthatswana's case also actually provided - the support of their countries' armed forces for South Africa in its fight against insurgents of exile movements.¹⁹¹⁾

One of the strongest objections which the United Party had raised against homelands becoming independent, it will be recalled, was that they would then pose serious dangers to South Africa's security. Although the state of relations between South Africa and the independent homelands, just outlined, appears to invalidate these fears, the creation of homelands per se does nonetheless hold potential dangers for South Africa's security. Consider the extent of "white South Africa's" borders with the homelands :

	<u>Border (in Km)</u>
Transkei	1 170
Bophuthatswana	2 790
Venda	400
Ciskei	570
Gazankulu	535
KwaZulu	2 735
Lebowa	1 335
KwaNdebele	235
QwaQwa	70
KaNgwane	235
	<hr/>
TOTAL	10 075
	<hr/>

In addition, South Africa has land borders with Zimbabwe (230 km), Mozambique (375 km), Botswana (1 345 km), Lesotho (510 km), Swaziland (190 km), and Namibia (1 020 km). The Republic's coastline adds a further 2 555 km. South Africa's total borders, both land and sea, amount to an enormous 16 300 km.¹⁹²⁾ The security problems posed by the length of South Africa's borders are not eased by the fact that homeland tribesmen straddle the borders with neighbouring black states, viz. KwaZulu and Gazankulu (Mozambique), Venda (Zimbabwe), Bophuthatswana (Botswana), Transkei and QwaQwa (Lesotho) and KaNgwane (Swaziland).¹⁹³⁾ Even without the homelands, South Africa already has a long, and in many

instances/

instances difficult, border to defend. With parts of the land border already 'activated' by insurgents crossing into South Africa, the Republic can hardly afford a similar 'activation' of its borders with independent homelands.

The next aspect to mention is the customs agreements between South Africa and each of the three independent homelands. These bilateral agreements are essentially similar in nature to the Customs Union Agreement between South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Because of the latter states' refusal to recognise the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, the former homelands could not be brought into the existing Southern African Customs Union. Instead, South Africa concluded agreements with its former homelands enabling them to enjoy customs benefits on a par with those derived by Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. ¹⁹⁴⁾

The final matter to discuss in this section is the constellation of states. There is no need to review the development of the constellation idea here; ¹⁹⁵⁾ the focus, instead, is on the present shape of the constellation.

The preparatory work for the establishment of the constellation of Southern African states (to use the official designation), culminated in a summit meeting of the heads of government of South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda in Pretoria in July 1980. Mr. P.W. Botha, obviously the driving force behind the initiative, then proposed "a new co-ordinated programme of action" involving "simultaneous advance on the four broad fronts of interstate political relations, economics, social affairs and security". ¹⁹⁶⁾ This is indeed a very ambitious objective, which acquires its true significance when set in its particular context: the proposed constellation, Mr. P.W. Botha had already envisaged in February 1980, would be "a form of confederation". ¹⁹⁷⁾

Although the South African Prime Minister's visions for the constellation go well beyond that of economic co-operation, the main thrust of constellation activity is presently on the economic plane. There are three major economic programmes, viz. the promotion of "regional economic development co-operation transcending political borders", the establishment

of a multilateral development bank for Southern Africa, and the promotion of small business enterprises.

The first programme, which represents a "totally new approach", in the words of Mr. P.W. Botha, results from an official acknowledgement of the impracticability of the Verwoerdian notion of creating separate, viable homeland economies. Thus Mr. Botha conceded that "hard experience" had shown that the scope for economic decentralisation to the homelands was limited, and that "the geographical location of material growth is determined in the final analysis by economic laws and requirements, few of which happen to coincide in their effect with political borders as such". In a major effort at de-ideologising economic activity, he announced a "new regional economic strategy" involving "economic development co-operation transcending political borders", i.e. those of South Africa and the homelands. The new regions would be "functionally defined to meet the requirements for economic development", Mr. Botha said, and "balancing growth points" could be developed in the regions to counteract the powerful attraction of South Africa's four existing large metropolitan areas.¹⁹⁸⁾

In implementing the new plans for economic development, the proposed Southern African development bank will play a key role. Agreement on its establishment has already been reached between the four constellation partners.¹⁹⁹⁾

The third programme concerns the promotion of small business enterprises through the Small Business Development Corporation. Established jointly by the South African public and private sectors in November 1980, the corporation is largely designed to try and alleviate the pressure of large-scale unemployment, by encouraging small business concerns.²⁰⁰⁾

Apart from these three main areas of the constellation's economic activities, the four participating states have also reached agreement on promoting various other co-operative ventures in the general field of inter-state economic and also social interaction.²⁰¹⁾ This had, by early 1981, led to the establishment of 13 multilateral technical committees composed of senior officials from the constellation's member countries. Among them are the Posts and Telecommunications Consultative Committee, the Agricultural Liaison Committee, the Transport Liaison Committee, the

Multilateral Economic Committee, the Multilateral Health Committee and the Education and Training Committee.²⁰²⁾ In due course, further functional committees are likely to be established in other areas of interstate contact. The South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information has also created, on an interim basis, a regional secretariat for the constellation.²⁰³⁾ Reference should also be made to the South African government's appointment of a high-powered Special Constellation Committee, chaired by Dr. Gerhard de Kock, Governor of the Reserve Bank. The Committee not only co-ordinates South Africa's constellation activities, but also serves as an influential official think-tank on matters of regional co-operation.²⁰⁴⁾

Apart from the above institutionalisation of relations between South Africa and the independent homelands, it should be borne in mind that a host of bilateral agreements relating to economic and social matters were concluded between South Africa and each of the former homelands on the eve of independence.²⁰⁵⁾

The economic and social areas are, nonetheless, only two of the four "broad fronts" on which Mr. P. W. Botha, as mentioned, proposed some "advance". In the realm of "interstate political relations", the Prime Minister has favoured the establishment of a "council of states", which would presumably be the representative, consultative body of the constellation members.²⁰⁶⁾ This has, however, not yet materialised and it seems that South Africa presently intends giving preference to some of the non-political - and less contentious - areas of constellation co-operation. Yet, progress in the political field is vital if the constellation is indeed going to be a confederation of states. Without a firm political basis a confederation is unlikely to develop, and efforts to strengthen political ties are therefore bound to follow.

Hardly less contentious than interstate political relations, is progress in the field of security. Although no specific proposals on co-operation in military matters were made at the Pretoria summit, the ground for it has already been prepared through the various bilateral non-aggression pacts between South Africa and the independent homelands. To "advance" on this

front/

front, as Mr. P.W. Botha proposed, would probably involve the conversion of these pacts into a single multilateral defence treaty binding the constellation partners in some kind of military alliance. With at least Bophuthatswana and Venda perceiving themselves as being faced by the same (communist-inspired) threat as South Africa, circumstances may well favour the development of a military alliance. At present, however, the expansion of military ties appears very much subordinate to the strengthening of economic relations.

Turning next to membership of the constellation, it is presently, as mentioned, formally composed of South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, as full and equal members. Namibia, it should be noted, regularly attends the meetings of the constellation's various multilateral technical committees. Although formally only attending in an observer capacity, Namibia in practice participates fully in these activities. Full, formal membership of the constellation is likely to expand if and when other homelands take independence. Ciskei, due to become independent in December 1981, is set to become the next member of the constellation - although probably not without Transkei's objections.²⁰⁷⁾

The involvement of the non-independent homelands in the constellation has long been problematic. On the one hand, the South African government has repeatedly said that only sovereign independent states could become members of the constellation. On the other, the government has actively canvassed the constellation design among the self-governing homelands.²⁰⁸⁾ With many of the constellation's economic plans clearly designed to benefit also these territories, they are likely to be brought into the grouping. According to Mr. P.W. Botha, "they can be represented by the mother State, (i.e. South Africa) and ... they can be present as associated members at those (constellation) discussions as observers and advisers".²⁰⁹⁾ It can be expected that the independent homelands would insist on a clear distinction being drawn between their status in the constellation, and that of those whom they would regard as mere parts of the South African state. However, no definite decision on the participation of the non-independent homelands in the constellation seems to have been reached yet.

Even more complex than the involvement of the self-governing homelands

in/

in the constellation, is that of the urban blacks. The South African government has made it known that it hopes to resolve the thorny issue of the political status of the urban blacks through the constellation. Its latest (publicly known) thinking is that urban blacks should be included in the constellation in either of two ways. Firstly, and based on the government's continued insistence that "there is not a single Black man in this country who is not in one way or another connected to one or other national state" (i.e. homeland), the urban black communities would participate in the constellation "through their national states". Secondly, in the case of urban blacks, who, "for some practical reason or other", cannot be accommodated in this way, arrangements could be made for them to participate in the constellation "in the discussions within the framework of ... a council of States".²¹⁰ No firm decision appears to have been reached on this matter either.

Although the constellation currently has a primarily 'internal' orientation, being composed of present and former parts of the South African state, membership was open to "any state in the sub-continent which recognised the existing economic and other inter-relationship (sic) between itself and other states in Southern Africa, and wishes to co-operate in a regional context", according to Mr. P.W. Botha.²¹¹ It is, however, extremely doubtful whether any independent, internationally recognised black state in Southern Africa would seek to join the constellation. To do so, might be construed - by both black African states and the present constellation members - as implying recognition of homeland independence and conferring legitimacy on separate development. Political and ideological considerations therefore militate against the expansion of the existing 'internal' constellation into a comprehensive regional grouping of states.

* * * * *

Before going on to discuss other aspects of the independent homelands' foreign relations, it is necessary to relate the present state of their relations with South Africa, to both the original objectives of the architects of the homelands policy in this regard, and the objections or fears of their parliamentary opponents.

Verwoerd/

Verwoerd, it will be recalled, envisaged a commonwealth-cum-common market type of relationship eventually developing between South Africa and independent homelands, and also thought that the three High Commission Territories would, after independence, join the grouping.²¹²⁾ The constellation of states, if in the form of a confederation and involving close interstate co-operation in the four areas identified by Mr. P.W. Botha, would probably go even further than the scheme of things foreseen by Verwoerd. The exception, however, lies in the self-exclusion of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland from the present-day grouping. The constellation/confederation can also be regarded as a much closer form of interstate co-operation than that which Vorster envisaged in either his power bloc or constellation.²¹³⁾ The exception, again, is the failure to persuade independent, internationally recognised black states to join in.

Turning to the reservations about the homelands policy expressed by the United Party, these essentially revolved round the contention that independent homelands would become hostile to South Africa and put the latter's very security and welfare in jeopardy. To simplify matters, the main dangers which the United Party foresaw,²¹⁴⁾ will each be reconsidered briefly.

(a) It was argued that independent homelands would be subjected to hostile extraneous influences, notably pan-Africanism and communism. Diplomats from communist states would be stationed in the independent homelands and the homelands, in turn, would join the Afro-Asian bloc at the United Nations. Furthermore, the independent homelands would receive all the economic aid they would require from abroad, thus denying South Africa the use of economic aid as a political lever. The latter fears have proved unfounded because they were based on the erroneous assumption that independent homelands would receive international recognition. Pan-Africanism and communism have not become the established influences in independent homelands the United Party feared. Instead, the present generation of leaders in the independent homelands are bound to see pan-Africanism - in the form of the Organisation of African Unity and the so-called liberation movements - and communism as hostile forces in the sense that both are implacably opposed to the establishment of independent homelands.

That/

That, however, is not to say that neither the exile movements and their black African sponsoring states nor communist powers are not interested in establishing a political and also military foothold in the independent homelands. Events in Transkei, in particular, suggest that these movements are in fact trying to destabilise the situation there to their own advantage.²¹⁵⁾ Ideally, they would want to transform independent homelands into so-called liberated areas, under their control, from where they could then intensify efforts at overthrowing the South African government.²¹⁶⁾

(b) The homelands' relative poverty was mentioned as another cause of hostility towards South Africa, and also as fertile ground for communist exploitation. Concern about the conflict potential inherent in the economic deprivation of the homelands and of blacks in South Africa generally, is indeed being expressed by economists today.²¹⁷⁾ Yet, it has to be considered that the homelands' economic plight and their consequent extensive dependence on South Africa does indeed offer the latter great political leverage and sets bounds to the hostility of the homelands towards "white South Africa". It is, of course, this very situation which is at the heart of the contention that the homelands' policy is designed as a neo-colonial "solution" to South Africa's racial problems.

(c) The fate of homeland migrants working in South Africa was yet a further cause of future hostility between them and South Africa, the United Party warned. In a sense, the United Party was correct, because the position of homeland subjects in "white South Africa" is indeed a matter which causes considerable friction between South Africa and independent homelands. The migrants themselves have, however, not responded by electing homelands parliaments hostile to South Africa, as the United Party feared. Instead, migrants have displayed a large measure of apathy or indifference regarding homeland elections.²¹⁸⁾

(d) As for the argument that independent homelands would, like former colonies, inevitably turn against their mother country, this has in a way happened in the case of Transkei. The territory's severance of diplomatic relations with South Africa was, as mentioned, probably largely designed for international consumption in an effort to gain international recognition.

The/

The estrangement was, however, shortlived, and was thus a vivid demonstration of the inhibiting effects which the independent homelands' economic dependence on South Africa have on their policies towards the Republic.

(e) The United Party was quite correct in warning that the question of homeland boundaries, unless finally resolved before independence, was bound to become a source of continuous friction between them and South Africa. Transkei advanced this issue as the reason for breaking diplomatic ties with South Africa in 1978 - although it was not the real reason. Today, the question of homeland borders is still a highly contentious matter between South Africa and the independent and non-independent homelands.

(f) The fear that independent homelands would exercise control over South Africa's labour force and manipulate it for political purposes, has not been realised. What has, however, happened is that the government of non-independent KwaZulu has shown, through the Inkatha movement, that it exerts considerable influence over the Zulu labour force in Natal. In future, KwaZulu may indeed use its labour force employed in "white South Africa" as a powerful political instrument. As far as the establishment of trade unions in the homelands is concerned - another United Party fear - there has up to now been very little if any meaningful trade union activity in the homelands. Some homeland leaders have expressed themselves in favour of trade unions being established in their territories,²¹⁹⁾ whereas in Ciskei, in particular, trade unionists have on a number of occasions fallen foul of the authorities.²²⁰⁾ The South African government, it should be added, intends taking extraordinary measures to control foreign (including homeland) labourers in South Africa and to prevent labour unrest. Mr. S.P. Botha, Minister of Manpower Utilisation, revealed in November 1980 that the government would seek bilateral agreements with homelands and neighbouring black states which would provide for the deportation of workers participating in illegal strikes.²²¹⁾

(g) The United Party's warning that homelands would control the sources of some of South Africa's largest rivers, has little relevance. The Keiskamma is the only large river - and not a major one - which has its source in a homeland, viz. Ciskei. Mention should also be made of the Tugela River,

which/

which, although not having its source in KwaZulu, for a large part flows through the homeland. South Africa has taken precautions concerning the utilisation of water resources shared with independent homelands. Bilateral treaties have been concluded with Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, and provide for "the rational development of the communal water resources available to the two Governments and their peoples and to this end to apportion such water resources and to utilise communal water works to their best joint advantage."²²²⁾

(h) The foregoing dangers outlined by the United Party all relate to the basic issue of South Africa's security. The grave dangers which the party saw in creating "Bantustan" armies armed and trained by communist powers, have clearly not materialised. The armies established by the independent homelands are not only very small, compared with South Africa's, but are being, or were, South African trained. These territories have, moreover, concluded non-aggression pacts with South Africa, and even pledged support for South Africa in fighting insurgents.²²³⁾ The present security situation, therefore, corresponds more to Verwoerd's optimistic views about future relations between South Africa and its independent homelands.²²⁴⁾

Cognizance must nonetheless be taken of the potentially serious security implications which the exceedingly long border between "white South Africa" and the various homelands could have for the former. The greatest danger - which the United Party in fact warned about - is that of armed insurgents operating against "white South Africa" from the homelands. This does not necessarily mean, as the United Party seems to have suggested, that the homelands would deliberately provide insurgents with sanctuary; homeland security might simply be so weak that insurgents could use these territories more or less with impunity as launching pads for attacks on targets in "white South Africa". The situation would, of course, be greatly aggravated, from a South African point of view, if any independent homeland were to become a 'liberated area' controlled by an exile movement.²²⁵⁾

The United Party's concern about South Africa losing undisputed control over its entire coastline (by giving independence to Transkei), is well-founded. There is no formal agreement between South Africa and Transkei

providing/

providing for protection of the latter's coastline by South Africa, which means that Transkei has assumed sole responsibility for it. Without a navy, Transkei is simply in no position to protect its coastline. The military risks involved for South Africa, is known to be a cause of concern to the South African Defence Force, which are anxious to see a formal agreement between the two countries providing for South African protection of Transkei's coastline.²²⁶⁾

(vi) Further aspects of the independent homelands' international political relations

Apart from mutual recognition, the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda has only been recognised by South Africa. The international community has remained firm in its refusal to grant recognition, and the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity have been in the forefront of attempts to mobilise international opinion against homeland independence and indeed the policy of separate development generally. Thus the OAU Council of Ministers in June 1976 greeted Transkei's impending independence with a resolution urging all states, and in fact committing OAU member states, to refuse recognition of the territory's independence.²²⁷⁾ The UN General Assembly marked the occasion of Transkei's independence with a resolution declaring its independence "invalid" and calling upon all governments to deny it any recognition and to refrain "from having any dealings" with Transkei or any other homelands.²²⁸⁾ Similar resolutions were later adopted with the independence of Bophuthatswana²²⁹⁾ and Venda.²³⁰⁾

There is no reason to include a detailed review here of the main arguments generally used against recognition of homeland independence, and it will suffice to summarise them very briefly. On what may be termed legal grounds, the following main objections to homeland independence are commonly raised:

- (a) such independence destroys the territorial integrity of a state (i.e. South Africa);
- (b) the homelands are the result of a policy based on racial discrimination, something which violates the UN Charter;
- (c) the right to self-determination of the black people of South Africa is being denied them, insofar as self-determination means the right of the majority/

majority within a political entity to the exercise of political power, and

(d) South Africa arbitrarily strips certain blacks of their South African nationality and compels them to acquire homeland nationality upon the independence of 'their' homeland.

These objections are based on what is considered a developing rule of international law, viz. that the products (i.e. the homelands) of an "illegal act" (i.e. South Africa's) are not entitled to recognition.²³¹⁾ Among the political objections, are the arguments that the homelands fail to meet the four traditional criteria for statehood; that independence was taken without adequately testing (black) public opinion, and that the homeland leaders were "hand-picked" by South Africa.²³²⁾ Whether or not these various objections are entirely valid, is of less importance than the fact that the international community still perceives them as being largely relevant.

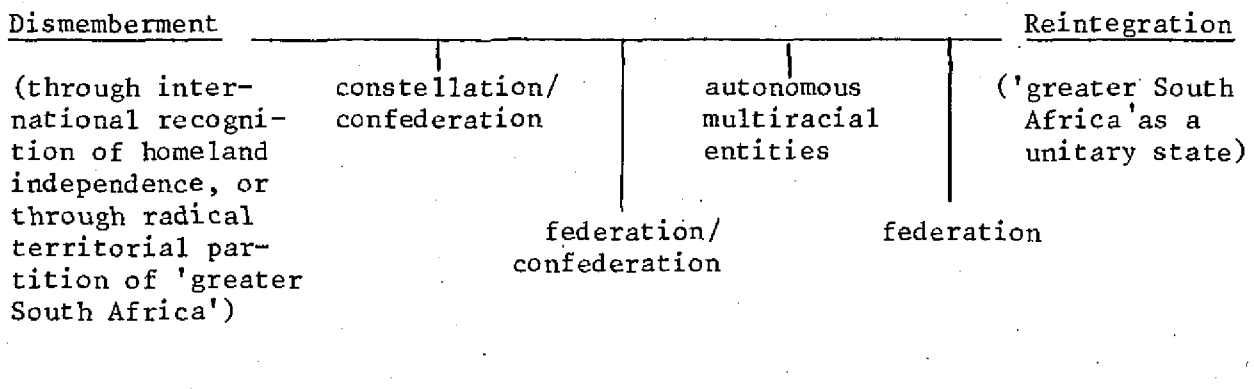
Transkei and Bophuthatswana, in particular, have and still are making attempts to secure international recognition. Apart from visits abroad by their respective leaders and officials, Transkei also has an office in Washington and recently added another in Vienna. Transkei's long-term goal, according to Rev. G.T. Vika, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is diplomatic recognition (presumably of its independence), and this calls for "silent diplomacy".²³³⁾

IV Future Developments

The object of this final, and most difficult, section of the present study is to consider some alternative futures - or scenarios - for the homelands, both independent and self-governing. This is decidedly not another attempt at blueprint formulation - an enterprise pursued, par excellence, by the architects of the homelands policy. Far from trying to be prescriptive, the present endeavour is merely aimed at identifying a number of scenarios involving the homelands over the short to medium term, i.e. five to, at the most, twenty years. Political forecasting is a hazardous enterprise at the best of times; to extend it beyond the medium term is both presumptuous and dangerous, and it then in any case becomes more akin to gambling than science.

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The various alternatives cover a wide spectrum, ranging from the 'permanent' dismemberment of the South African state (through independent homelands being internationally recognised and welcomed into the international community, or through dividing 'greater South Africa' into two new and separated 'white' and a 'black' states) on the one 'extreme', to the reintegration of the former parts of South Africa into a new unitary state, on the other. In between, various alternatives will be considered. It must, however, at the outset be emphasised that the scenarios do not fall into neat, clearly separable categories. Thus, events might produce a situation combining features of two or more scenarios. It should also be borne in mind that the issue under consideration resembles a moving picture: it is a dynamic situation in which political and economic forces are bound to produce continuous changes in the political map of 'greater South Africa' over the short to medium term. This cautions against 'freezing' the picture when a particular scenario is in focus; that scenario may well be a very temporary one, with the dynamics of the situation soon producing another. The range of scenarios are, therefore, placed on a continuum, which can be illustrated by the following diagram :



Although the focus in this final section is on the homelands, it is recognised that their political future can hardly be considered separately from that of the rest of South Africa. Singling out the homelands therefore creates something of an artificial division of the total political scene. Yet, concentrating on the political future of the homelands seems justified: they are the central elements and indeed showpieces of separate development, but in local discussions of South Africa's political future, the position of the homelands tends to be rather neglected. The latter situation, as

suggested/

suggested earlier, is probably the result of the notion that the homelands policy holds out a definite and, indeed, realisable objective, viz self-government and ultimately independence. The present study questions the notion that independence is the only and final alternative open to the homelands, thus the search for alternative scenarios in which the ultimate stage of separate development is but one. Most of the alternatives to be examined are, however, not original, but have in fact already been proposed or envisioned.

The limitations imposed both by space and uncertainty over future developments permit only a brief and rather superficial discussion of each scenario. It should be added that the list is not complete. Subsequent analyses may well add several alternatives not mentioned in the present exploratory study. Also, by its very nature, this study might raise more questions than it answers; that, however, would not be entirely unfortunate, for it might stimulate further research.

1. Dismemberment

This alternative essentially involves the disappearance of South Africa as it existed prior to homelands seceding to become independent states. In the place of a single, unified 'greater South Africa', would be a number of successor states. The new state or states, while having some economic and other ties with the 'white' state, would not formalise their relations with the latter to the extent of becoming partners in a confederation. Two ways in which dismemberment or dissolution could be brought about, will be considered.

(a) International recognition of homeland independence

Because this scenario is an improbable one, it requires only very brief consideration.

For whatever reasons, the international community, including therefore black African states, would decide to recognise the independence of the former homelands. They would become fully-fledged members of the UN, the Non-Aligned Movement, the OAU and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC), and would attract substantial foreign aid. This would reduce their economic dependence on "white South Africa", and offer them new freedom of manoeuvre in their relations with South Africa; in short, there would be little incentive for the former homelands to participate in arrangements such as the South African-initiated

constellation/

constellation of states. This state of affairs would then serve as an encouragement to at least some of the remaining self-governing homelands to take independence.

The kind of recognition in question, it should be explained in parenthesis, is that enjoyed by black African states and which enables them to join the UN and OAU. For the purposes of this scenario, it is therefore not necessary to examine the various categories of recognition in international law, or the merits of recognition. It is, however, important to bear in mind that the recognition of statehood is a political rather than a legal matter.²³⁴⁾

A variation of the scenario just outlined, and an equally improbable one, would be a situation in which not only independent homelands are welcomed into the international community, but where the remainder of 'greater South Africa', then under a post-apartheid system of government, would likewise enjoy full international acceptance. The 'new' South Africa and its former homelands might all join the OAU and SADCC, each state in its own right.

To complicate matters, there is also another, perhaps less improbable, variation of the first scenario. This would involve the re-admission of South Africa (i.e. what remains of 'greater South Africa' after homeland independence) to the comity of nations as a reward for its abolition of apartheid and racial discrimination. In this variation, the products of apartheid, viz. the independent homelands, would still remain out in the cold. The then internationally 'respectable' South Africa might, however, try to persuade the former homelands to renounce independence and reintegrate with South Africa, because their statehood would not receive international recognition; under such circumstances, the former homelands might well be keen to rejoin South Africa. Dismemberment would, then, have been a temporary phenomenon.

(b) Radical territorial partition

Radical territorial partition differs fundamentally from the form of partition represented by the homelands policy. Whereas partition through the homelands policy would leave the black territories with

only/

only 13,7% of the total land area of 'greater South Africa', radical territorial partition involves a subdivision of land in a manner also favourable to black interests. It means, in short, cutting 'greater South Africa' in two, with two successor states emerging: one black, the other jointly inhabited (and ruled) by whites and coloureds and, in some cases, also Indians and a relatively small number of remaining blacks.

A variety of models of radical territorial partition have been devised. Among the better known are those of W.W.M. Eiselen (the so-called Eiselen line),²³⁵⁾ Jan Graaff,²³⁶⁾ Edward Tiryakian,²³⁷⁾ Jürgen Blenck/Klaus von der Ropp,²³⁸⁾ and Gavin Maasdorp.²³⁹⁾

Carel Boshoff, Chairman of the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA), is among those who have proposed territorial partition based on joining together all or some of the homelands and expanding their territories. The form of territorial partition in question is much less radical than that provided for in the five models just mentioned, for it would not leave half the total land area of 'greater South Africa' in black hands. In some of the 'lesser' partition models, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland also feature. Boshoff, for example, envisages consolidating the homelands into four 'blocs': a southern bloc, embracing Xhosa and South Sotho areas, would also include Lesotho; the eastern bloc would include Zulu and Swazi areas together with Swaziland; the western bloc would join Bophuthatswana and Botswana, and the northern bloc would comprise the territories of the North Sotho, Shangaana-Tsonga and Vhavenda peoples.²⁴⁰⁾

The idea of incorporating Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland into a territorially restructured South Africa is, of course, not new. The Tomlinson Commission in 1956 recommended the consolidation of the then existing black reserves and the three High Commission Territories into seven ethnic homelands. This would have reserved some 45% of the total land area of South Africa and the High Commission Territories together, for exclusive black occupation.²⁴¹⁾ Such an arrangement would, on the face of it, have been a much more equitable one than a dispensation leaving blacks with only 13,7% of the land. (The comparison is, however, not a fair one, because the Tomlinson model would still have left South African blacks with a mere 13,7% of the land of *South Africa*

the High Commission Territories were colonial possessions, controlled by Britain).

More than two decades after the Tomlinson Report, and with the former High Commission Territories long since independent, the idea of including these three countries in a territorially redesigned South Africa, is still being held out by Pretoria. In April 1979, Prime Minister P.W. Botha spoke hopefully of "an eventual greater unity" between the homelands and Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.²⁴²⁾

This idea has also received some support from leaders of the three homelands involved. President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana has on several occasions in the past commented favourably on the idea of strengthening ties between Bophuthatswana and ethnically related Botswana, even to the extent of amalgamation. Merging independent homelands with adjacent black states where cross-border ethnic relationships existed, he suggested, might be effected without relinquishing the idea of an eventual federation of states in Southern Africa.²⁴³⁾

Mr. Kenneth Mopeli, Chief Minister of QwaQwa (the South Sotho homeland), said in 1975 that "incorporation with Lesotho is our ultimate goal".²⁴⁴⁾

In the Swazi homeland, KaNgwane, the present Chief Executive Officer, Mr. Enos Mabuza, is strongly opposed to amalgamation with Swaziland.²⁴⁵⁾ His predecessor, Chief Mkholishi Dlamini, however, thought a merger with Swaziland possible.²⁴⁶⁾

More important, for the purposes of the present discussion, however, is the role the homelands might play in effecting radical territorial partition, i.e. a 50-50 division of 'greater South Africa'. Such partition presupposes the nullification of homeland independence, since the former homelands would be incorporated into a new, larger political entity. That independent homelands would be prepared to renounce their existing status, cannot be taken for granted. Firstly, it has to be borne in mind that political and bureaucratic elites have emerged in the former homelands and owe their very position and status to independence. They therefore have vested interests to protect - interests they may well lose should independence be relinquished.²⁴⁷⁾ Secondly, the existence of several governments, ensconced in independent homelands, is bound to make co-ordinated and concerted action in pursuance of a common objective - viz. equitable territorial

partition/

partition - that much more difficult. The present animosity between the leaders of Transkei and Ciskei (over the latter's entitlement to independence),²⁴⁸⁾ is an early instance of inter-homelands discord. Disunity would clearly favour the preservation of the status quo - the essence, some may say, of 'divide and rule'.²⁴⁹⁾ Thirdly, "white South Africa" may prove unwilling to discuss radical territorial restructuring with homelands which had been prepared to 'opt out' of South Africa and take independence, given their existing boundaries. Independence may, therefore, have legitimised and largely fixed homeland boundaries.²⁵⁰⁾

Apart from the existence of independent homelands hampering the chances of voluntary, peaceful radical territorial partition being brought about, this option is further undermined by the phenomenon that the homelands policy has discredited the notion of territorial separation in the eyes of the majority of blacks in South Africa. Far from supporting partition, radical or otherwise, the majority of blacks are likely to favour a unitary state comprising also the former homelands.²⁵¹⁾ If it is, then, unlikely that South Africans would voluntarily and peacefully proceed to a successful radical partition of their territory, might this future arrangement come about by other means? It has been argued by some scholars that such a division might result from a violent racial conflagration: in the context of protracted military and political stalemate, combined with exhaustion and desperation among the opposing white and black forces, "it seems possible that the idea of a negotiated racial partition of the country could emerge as a 'last way out', in Stultz's words.²⁵²⁾

Should such a violent scenario eventualise, it can be asked where the homelands would fit into the picture. It is simply difficult to believe that the independent homelands - not to mention the non-independent ones - would remain uninvolved spectators in a large-scale racial conflict. Being identified with the 'system', the homelands' very existence as separate political entities is bound to be challenged as much as the white power structures. Perceiving a common enemy, homeland leaders may then align themselves with Pretoria, and the latter would presumably in turn wish to protect its allies (or clients) - thereby getting actively involved in the defence also of the independent homelands. In such circumstances, the designation 'race war'

would/

would not be entirely appropriate; perhaps a more accurate description would be an ideological conflict between, on the one side, the supporters, beneficiaries and associates of the status quo and, on the other, those opposed to the prevailing political order.²⁵³⁾

Provision should be made for the possibility that the anti-Pretoria forces would try to exploit, politically and militarily, the existence of independent homelands. Thus they might try to unseat the pro-Pretoria regimes and install revolutionary regimes, i.e. governments either controlled by or actively supportive of the ANC and/or PAC. These homelands would then be considered 'liberated areas' and would also provide 'safe havens' for the anti-Pretoria forces. But, as suggested, Pretoria is unlikely to acquiesce in such developments and would take material steps to prevent it.

2. The constellation/confederation alternative

The second scenario is a projection based on the present policy of the South African government, i.e. the creation of a constellation of Southern African states - a grouping which would, in Mr. P.W. Botha's words, represent "a form of confederation".²⁵⁴⁾ The constellation/confederation alternative has an important feature in common with the first scenario: both represent forms of territorial partition in which independent homelands play either a primary or secondary role. The major difference between the two is that the constellation/confederation intends drawing the various parts of what was South Africa (i.e. pre-homeland independence) together, whereas dismemberment involves greater, indeed 'final', separation between at least some of the territories formerly composing South Africa.

The constellation/confederation, it should be explained, is being viewed in the present study as a grouping confined to present and former parts of the South African state, i.e. the Republic and independent homelands. In this sense, the constellation/confederation becomes an 'internal' rather than a truly foreign policy objective. This, however, is not to deny that the constellation (particularly before the government began equating it with a confederation) also had a foreign policy dimension. It is only necessary to recall Mr. Pik Botha's statement in March 1979, in which he

visualised/

visualised up to ten states south of the Zambezi and Kunene rivers joining forces in a constellation.²⁵⁵⁾ The prevailing political climate in Southern Africa has, however, made the creation of such a comprehensive regional grouping impossible; there was simply no chance of internationally recognised black states - members of the OAU - joining a formal association with non-recognised former "Bantustans", Rhodesia, South African-controlled Namibia and so-called apartheid South Africa as their full and equal partners. South Africa was left with no other option but to reduce an initially highly ambitious design to what is now essentially a device to restructure relations between present and former parts of the South African state. What remains of the original constellation idea, therefore, amounts to an internal constellation, with the regional constellation rendered unfeasible by political factors. Yet, South Africa has not abandoned the objective of ultimately creating a grand regional constellation.²⁵⁶⁾

In its scaled down shape, the constellation has, as mentioned earlier, been formalised between South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. Ciskei is likely to become the fifth member upon achieving independence in December 1981. This would then leave KwaZulu and Lebowa as the only two of the larger homelands not to have accepted independence. The other four self-governing homelands - Gazankulu, KaNgwane, QwaQwa and KwaNdebele - are considerably smaller, both in terms of area and population, than the six already mentioned. Despite the repeatedly stated refusal of the leaders of three of the remaining four homelands - Gazankulu, KaNgwane and QwaQwa (the leader of the fourth, KwaNdebele, has left open the possibility of independence²⁵⁷⁾) - as well as the leaders of KwaZulu and Lebowa, to seek independence,²⁵⁸⁾ Pretoria appears outwardly confident that the independence process would not end with Ciskei. Thus Mr. Pierre Cronjé, Deputy Minister of Community Development and a Natal M.P., declared boldly that he had no doubt that KwaZulu - whose Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is today probably the strongest opponent of independence among homeland leaders - would eventually accept independence.²⁵⁹⁾

If fully realised, the constellation/confederation objective would produce a happy closely-knit family association composed of (what remains of) South Africa and its independent former homelands. In line with what

Mr. P. W. Botha has envisaged, the grouping's members would be co-operating closely "on the four broad fronts of interstate political relations, economics, social affairs and security".²⁶⁰⁾ Relations in these areas would be institutionalised and particularly close. The parties would even go so far as devising a common nationality - and thus a common passport - for the subjects of their countries. The need for the latter arrangement would arise (and has indeed already arisen) because of the non-recognition of homeland independence by the international community. South Africa would then increasingly try to promote the idea internationally that the new confederation should be considered as a political entity or actor in international relations. The grouping would, in some respects, possess the attributes of a state and act like one internationally, although a confederation is not regarded as a state in international law.²⁶¹⁾ The separateness of the countries drawn together in the confederation would be played down, and the emphasis would instead be on their unity. At this point, the concept "confederation" would probably largely have replaced "constellation", when referring to the grouping.

It can, in parenthesis, be added that should such a close, confederal arrangement materialise, a further scenario presents itself. It involves drawing a clear distinction between the confederation and the constellation: the former would essentially be an internal grouping composed of present and former parts of the South African state, but itself acting as a de facto state; the constellation would be a foreign policy objective, viz. a comprehensive grouping of Southern African states, of which the confederation as a whole would be one member among several others (such as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi).²⁶²⁾

Returning to the 'main' scenario, specific reference needs to be made to the political status of homelands refusing to accept independence, and of urban black communities. Reference has already been made to the South African government's proposal that non-independent homelands could become "associated members" of the constellation, in terms of which they would be able to attend constellation meetings as observers but be formally represented by South Africa as the "mother State".²⁶³⁾ By drawing a clear distinction between the status of the independent and non-independent homelands in the

constellation/

constellation, and perhaps also by reserving the full scope of economic benefits for full (i.e. independent) members of the constellation, Pretoria might hope to persuade non-independent homelands to take independence. In terms of the present scenario, all ten homelands would achieve independence and join the constellation/confederation.

Pretoria's views on the involvement of urban blacks in the constellation have also been noted in the earlier discussion. These communities would participate either through their respective homelands, or directly in a council of states.²⁶⁴⁾

It requires little insight to see the problems involved in such arrangements. For example, which urban black areas would link up with which homeland? Which of the urban areas would be directly brought into a council of states? And what would their status on such a council be? Above all, would urban and (non-independent) homeland blacks support these arrangements, considering that the South African government evidently sees involvement in the constellation as the highest level of political participation for these communities?

Fitting urban black communities into the constellation is bound to prove politically very difficult, and might compel the government to reconsider its position in this regard; in the end, attempts might have to be made to accommodate urban blacks in a new political dispensation alongside whites, coloureds and Indians, instead of drawing them into the constellation with the homelands. But even with the problem of the urban black communities removed, that of homelands refusing to accept independence has to be faced. Such a situation might well prevent the constellation/confederation eventually becoming the association of independent states envisaged by successive National Party governments.

3. Federal/confederal alternatives

Under this convenient heading, two quite different scenarios are discussed. They are, however, grouped together because each contains both federal and confederal features.

The/

The first alternative is that proposed by the New Republic Party (NRP), viz. a "federal/confederal constitutional structure". The federal component refers to a corporate federation of which the constituent units would be the four "main groups" in South Africa's plural society, viz. the whites, coloureds, Indians and non-homeland blacks. Each group would have its own community or group authority possessing legislative, executive and administrative machinery and enjoying a large measure of autonomy. Group interests would also be institutionalised at the federal or national level, in that both the legislature and executive would be based on group representation. The homelands would be accommodated in the confederal component of the NRP's model. To cater for the common interests of the "federal republic" and present and former homelands, the NRP proposes a system of confederal co-operation, institutionalised in a confederal assembly, a council of ministers and a secretariat. Apart from the members mentioned, the "Southern African confederation" would also be open to other states in Southern Africa.²⁶⁵⁾ On the confederal side, the NRP's model thus has much in common with the government's own constellation/confederation scheme as it presently stands.

The other alternative is solely internally oriented and assumes that a confederation would ultimately develop into a much closer form of association, viz. a federation. In support of this scenario, reference would be made to the following observation of Oppenheim: "History has shown that confederated States represent an organisation which in the long run gives little satisfaction". It is for this reason, he argues, that three important "unions of confederated States" - the United States of America and the German and Swiss confederations - turned into "unions of federal States".²⁶⁶⁾

Applied to the NRP's model, this would mean that the federal/confederal structure would eventually merge into a federation, the independent homelands renouncing independence and becoming component units of a federation. Applied to the government's constellation/confederation grouping, Oppenheim's historical trend would mean that the present moves towards strengthening relations in both non-political and political fields between South Africa and its former homelands, would be pursued to the point where the latter would formally be reintegrated into a restructured, federal South African state. Since the federal alternative per se is

considered/

considered in some detail below,²⁶⁷⁾ there is no need to assess its merits or chances of success at this point.

4. Homelands as part of autonomous multiracial entities within South Africa

This alternative accepts that there would be homelands unwilling to become independent, and which would therefore remain integral parts of the South African state. But instead of their present ethnic character, at least some of these homelands would become part of new, larger entities which would still enjoy a measure of autonomy, but which would have a multi-racial (or multi-ethnic) population. In these areas, the various racial groups would be free to devise political formulas which would be mutually acceptable - something which implies that it would not be on the basis of apartheid.

The kind of alternative under discussion is, of course, not original. There are, in fact, at least three different models which have been proposed on the general basis just outlined. They will each be considered very briefly.²⁶⁸⁾

(a) Malherbe's multistan model

In a book published in 1974,²⁶⁹⁾ Paul Malherbe proposes a multistan as "a way out of the South African dilemma". Multistan, in essence, means setting aside a portion of the country in which racial laws are repealed, thus giving South Africa a region within its own borders which resembles other multiracial societies. The multistan concept would, in Malherbe's view, be initiated over a limited area and would be extended "only insofar as it has proved itself and is desired by the people affected". It is therefore not a prerequisite that a multistan be extended over the whole country, or even over most of it.

Underlying the multistan concept are the notions that there are "a great many South Africans (and certainly most blacks)" who do not feel the need for protecting their racial identity through laws, and that there are many areas of common interest transcending racial

divisions/

divisions. Malherbe envisages a consolidated area which would be granted "special provincial status" differing from that of other provinces in two vital respects: the authority of the central government over a multistan would be kept to a minimum (as in a federation), and racial laws would not apply. A multistan would have its own constitution, guaranteed by parliament, which remains supreme over South Africa. The "special" provincial status of a multistan implies that both its institutions and its powers, as defined in its constitution, differ from the institutions and powers of existing provinces, and of the proposed independent homelands. The powers would, instead, be similar to those of a state in a federation.

Malherbe proposed a bicameral legislature for a multistan and a qualified franchise with two voters' rolls. There would, nonetheless, be a majority of black electors - a "foregone conclusion from the outset". The lower house would presumably reflect blacks' numerical preponderance. To be elected to the upper house - a "house of review" - a candidate would have to poll at least one-fifth of the votes cast by each racial group in his constituency. A multistan would also have to be represented in the central parliament, either in proportion to the number of voters on its first (or ordinary) voters' roll, or in the same proportion as a multistan's population fraction in the whole country.

An "immediate candidate" for a multistan, according to Malherbe, would be Zululand and the patchwork homeland of KwaZulu. Others are the Border area of the Eastern Cape, the area immediately north of Pretoria, and Namibia. As the number of multistans increases, "South Africa will come to look increasingly like a federation because of the high degree of decentralised authority". If the multistan experience persuades other provinces to initiate similar liberal reforms, "South Africa would be well on its way to becoming a true federation". Nonetheless, Malherbe makes provision for multistans which would wish to secede from South Africa.

(b) The Quail Commission's condominium model

The Quail Commission was appointed by the government of Ciskei in 1978 to investigate the practical feasibility of independence for the homeland. In its report, submitted in February 1980,²⁷⁰ the Commission inter alia recommends that consideration be given "to the possibility of creating out of the Ciskei and the corridor (including East London) a new multiracial entity called a condominium which would remain part of South Africa and in which power would be shared between blacks and whites". The proposed condominium, which has "many unique features, and a number of advantages for South Africa as a whole", is essentially a compromise between, on the one hand, the Ciskeians' strong demand for consolidation, including if possible all the land and towns in the corridor and, on the other, the desire of both whites and blacks for Ciskei and the corridor to be treated as a single economic unit.

The Commission suggests that, for "an experimental period" of about ten years, a condominium should be created composed of the present unconsolidated Ciskei, white-owned areas earmarked for incorporation in it, the corridor, and East London. The condominium would remain part of South Africa, and its inhabitants South Africans. No individual would be compelled to move. South Africa's discriminatory legislation would not be enforceable in the condominium and the area would enjoy a high degree of internal autonomy, which would, however, "fall a long way short" of that of an independent Ciskei.

The Commission went on to propose that the form of government might consist of a bicameral legislature with one black and one white house of equal size, one or the other providing for coloured representation. The franchise could be either universal or with a property or educational qualification, each voter having two votes to be cast for one white and one black candidate in each constituency. The Prime Minister, with a Westminster-type cabinet of his own choosing, would be responsible to both houses. In practice, he would require a majority in one house "and a good deal of support in the other". In short, it would be a constitution providing for effective power-sharing between whites and blacks in a manner acceptable to both.

The representation (if at all) of the proposed condominium in the central parliament has not been defined by the Commission.

(c) The BEPA model for Natal/KwaZulu

In 1980, the Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis (BEPA) of the University of Pretoria, produced a progress report entitled Alternatives to the Consolidation of KwaZulu.²⁷¹ Compiled by a number of prominent economists and political scientists, the study finds that prevailing political and economic realities in Natal/KwaZulu strongly support the view that alternatives to the territorial consolidation of KwaZulu "as the solution to the problem of political freedom for the Zulu nation", has to be found. The concept of an independent KwaZulu "as a focal point for the political aspirations and civic interests of all the black (Zulu) citizens of Natal ... has, at best, but limited applicability to the de facto situation in Natal", it is reported. Looking at Natal as a whole, the authors note that "several factors set Natal apart within the context of South Africa's constitutional framework". Among these are the facts that Natal's black population is essentially culturally homogenous (Zulu); a large majority of the country's Indian population live in Natal; the large majority of Natal's black, white, Indian and coloured population "are essentially opposed to the official race-relations policies of the South African Government". This leads to the opinion that "the province of Natal covers an area of the country where there are major issues that ought to be considered on a regional basis because of the sense of common interests and identity among its inhabitants, rooted in history, economic traditions and geographic fact". (Note the parallels with the multistan model).

The report proposes a new "Natal Dispensation" using the "three major sub-provincial geo-political areas comprising Natal, as 'the key building blocks' ". The areas are : the KwaZulu area, the white-owned rural area along the main transport corridors, and the Durban metropolitan area. The proposed new structure is then visualised in terms of three layers of authority, viz. (i) the inclusive Natal/KwaZulu layer; (ii) the sub-provincial regional layer including the

three/

three above-mentioned areal components, and (iii) the local government layer, including all "municipal" and "submunicipal" institutions, as well as local authorities.

On the local-government layer, communities should, so far as is practical, "govern themselves in viable, independent local authorities, in respect of all parochial affairs and matters of a localized nature". On the subprovincial regional layer, each of the three areal units (i.e. KwaZulu, the white-owned corridor areas and Durban), "should have its own legislative and executive structure, in accordance with the peculiar needs and traditions of its population". This would involve the maintenance of the existing (homeland) governmental structure in KwaZulu; the introduction of a governmental structure similar to the existing provincial council and executive system in the Durban metropolitan area. For the inclusive Natal/KwaZulu layer, the report suggests that legislative power be vested in an assembly which might initially be so constituted that it consisted of an equal number of representatives elected by the three sub-provincial area authorities. Executive power might be vested in an independent executive elected by popular vote throughout the region. The report also provides for a judiciary for the region and the inclusion of a bill of rights in its constitution. A particularly important recommendation is that "all laws enforcing discrimination against individuals on the basis of their colour, religion, or language, should be explicitly declared ultra vires in the region". This declaration, it is suggested, should appear in the constitution.

The final question to consider is that of the constitutional relationship between what would be "an internally autonomous" Natal/KwaZulu, and the central government. The kind of political decentralisation advocated in the BEPA report postulates an arrangement falling "somewhat between" a federal state with "weak" territorial distribution of power, and totally partitioned units with limited bilateral or multilateral ties.

It is significant to note that the authors of the report did not merely confine their proposals on decentralisation to Natal/KwaZulu. "A new constitutional arrangement for South Africa, as a whole, could grow out of an evolutionary process of decentralization", they argue.

In fact, the "lasting impression" which the authors gained from the exposition of both the "realities" in Natal/KwaZulu and the "principles of politics" in South Africa, "is that they almost unequivocally point to a regional approach to the problem of political accommodation in South Africa". The latter view is also propounded in another BEPA study, Political Stability, also published in 1980²⁷²⁾ This study concludes with the following statement:

A thorough examination of the economic social, demographic and political realities of South Africa suggest a differentiation of the country into possibly eight basic political regions. The people of each region should seek prior consensus among themselves about the specific form of political participation within the region. The possibility of consensus among people of regions with less diversities than the Republic as a whole is greater than on the latter level. Having done so, the reconstitution of authority on the central South African level might be considered. The confederal approach to the distribution of political power within a common economy might thus prove the only way in which to avoid violent confrontation within the present unitary structure.

The fact that the idea of creating autonomous multiracial entities within South Africa has now been endorsed by an influential establishment-oriented think-tank such as BEPA, undoubtedly gives the proposal new weight. The idea also appears to fit in with the government's new emphasis on economic decentralisation;²⁷³⁾ it could even be seen as a political corollary of the government's latest economic initiative. What is more, it seems to be in line with official moves to abolish racial discrimination. Set against such positive views on the prospects for the present scenario, is the government's hitherto firm insistence on a uniform racial policy for the whole of South Africa,²⁷⁴⁾ and its rejection of (regional) exceptions to the (separate development) rule. It is, however, not impossible that the government may in future relent on this point, and permit political decentralisation and regional solutions to the racial issue to progress gradually and cautiously. In the event, South Africa's political system would acquire strong federal features, thus perhaps paving the way to a federation itself.

5. Federation

Federation has long been advocated by many scholars and politicians as the most appropriate constitutional dispensation for South Africa. There is, accordingly, no shortage of political models based on a federal form of state.²⁷⁵⁾ Before discussing the substance of some of the federal models already proposed for South Africa, it is necessary to explain the attraction of federalism, particularly in the context of the homelands.

Federalism is probably the best known model for power-sharing which has been proposed for South Africa. A federal arrangement would, therefore, allow for some degree of separatism or group differentiation, because power sharing, according to Newell Stultz, refers to

the political incorporation by white South Africa of currently excluded, oppressed populations by means and to degrees that are expected (by its proponents) to lower political tensions to manageable levels (by reasonably democratic government), while not seriously jeopardising the material or cultural interests of the whites. The compound word, power-sharing, is chosen to highlight the group orientation that underlies this perspective - the sharing of power by sociologically distinct groups - and sets it off from the more familiar twin principles of "one-man, one-vote" and "majority rule", with which the concept is to a degree in direct ideological competition.²⁷⁶⁾

A federal dispensation is often presented as a compromise solution : it is a second best alternative for whites, who would not voluntarily accept a unitary system based on black majority rule (the option bound to be favoured by the vast majority of blacks), and likewise a second best alternative for blacks, who have made their rejection of separate development plain.

Influential white and black voices have called for a federal solution. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the official Opposition, favours a geographical federation, but one which gives institutional recognition to group interests. The PFP insists that an acceptable constitutional system

"must/

"must make provision for the plural nature of our population structure and ... all the significant political groupings must be allowed to participate in the government of the country". The Party accordingly rejects "majority rule government". The component units of the federation would be "self-governing federal states", entitled to decide on their own form of government and franchise system at both state and local levels, but bound by "the principles of consensus, proportional representation and non-discrimination based on race, colour, sex or religion". These principles would also apply at the federal or national level of government. The number of states and the delimitation of their boundaries would be among the matters decided by a national convention, in this case acting on the recommendations of an "impartial" commission appointed by the convention. In formulating its recommendations, the commission would inter alia be guided by the "community of interests of the population in the area", the desirability of "a high degree of homogeneity" and "the existence of certain semi-autonomous areas".²⁷⁷⁾ Although no specific provision is made for the homelands in the PFP's proposals, the guidelines just mentioned do, theoretically, leave open the possibility of existing homelands becoming "self-governing federal states".

A brief reference to Leo Marquard's federal model is also called for, since it represents one of the first major expositions of federalism (published in 1971) by a local author. Like the PFP, Marquard proposes a geographic federation, but consisting of 15 autonomous regions: eleven into which South Africa would be partitioned, together with Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia. Marquard, however, does not share the PFP's concern with group interests, and in fact emphasises that in drawing a new political map of South Africa, there could be no suggestion of it being done with the object of separating the races. He nonetheless says that "there is no reason why racial composition of regions should not be a factor, particularly where, as in the case of tribal areas, that is already an existing fact". Thus his proposal that the eleven regions of South Africa might include "Bantustans" with adjusted boundaries.²⁷⁸⁾

In both the PFP's and Marquard's models, the homelands might survive as separate political entities, albeit under another name. They would,

however/

however, be integral parts of the state enjoying the same degree of autonomy as the other federal units. Also, while the homelands would probably remain de facto ethnic entities, they would no longer possess the de jure and ideological features of ethnicity inherent in the policy of separate development.

The federal idea has also found considerable support among homeland leaders - significantly, from leaders of the self-governing as well as the independent homelands. In the case of the former, support for a federation should be seen in the context of their rejection of independence. The leaders of five of the remaining six self-governing homelands (excluding Ciskei) have all publicly taken a firm stand against accepting independence for their territories: Chief Gathsa Buthelezi of KwaZulu,²⁷⁹⁾ Dr. Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa,²⁸⁰⁾ Prof. Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu,²⁸¹⁾ Mr. Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane,²⁸²⁾ and Mr. Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa.²⁸³⁾ Mr. Simon Skosana, Chief Executive Officer of KwaNdebele, has denied strong rumours that the tiny homeland was contemplating independence, but added that it was a matter to be decided in future.²⁸⁴⁾

The reasons for homeland leaders refusing independence, can be reduced to the following :

- independence would mean that the homeland people forfeit their claims to a share in South Africa's political power and material wealth;
- the homelands are too small and poor to become economically viable;
- independence would not be internationally recognised, and
- their constituents reject independence (inter alia for the above reasons).

One of the earliest homeland pronouncements on federation was contained in a resolution adopted at the historic first summit conference of the leaders of six homelands (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu, Ciskei, Lebowa and Gazankulu), held in Transkei in November 1973. It read as follows :

Having/

Having understood that :

(a) the idea of Federation is a long term policy (and)

(b) that Federation is vital to the unity of the black

people, and bearing in mind that our people should be fully

informed of the idea of Federation,

this Conference resolves that in principle the idea of Federation be propagated to the people by the various Homeland Leaders.²⁸⁵⁾

The credibility of this joint commitment has, of course, been undermined by the fact that two of these homelands have since become independent and that a third (Ciskei) is on its way to independence. But despite their acceptance of independence, the leaders of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have publicly expressed themselves in favour of an eventual federation. "I have repeatedly expressed my belief in a Federation of States in this sub-continent in Africa", President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei has stated. "The independent Transkei would no doubt make a vital contribution to the political and economic interests of such a Federation".²⁸⁶⁾ President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana has portrayed Bophuthatswana's independence "merely as a stepping stone to a federal system of government" for the whole of ('greater') South Africa.²⁸⁷⁾ The latter statement should, however, be treated with some reserve because of Chief Mangope's earlier ambivalent statements about an eventual federation, and to which reference has already been made.

Mr. Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of Ciskei, has emerged as a particularly forceful proponent of a federation. In February 1981, he said:

It is the firm belief of the Ciskei nation that the only way in which peace can ultimately be achieved in this country is through a federal system in a repartitioned country where state boundaries will be determined by the degree of economic inter-action in an area rather than by emotional or racial considerations.

He went on to suggest that "a typical such area" would be that of "greater Ciskei", i.e. the area between the Great Fish and Kei rivers, the Stormberg mountains and the sea. Included would be the white towns of King William's Town and East London. As for the internal government of the federal units, Mr. Sebe proposed "a form of consociational democracy which would have the

effect/

effect of giving minority groups representation in the legislature in proportion to their population numbers should they wish to be represented in that way".

His decision to take independence, Mr. Sebe insists, has not diminished his commitment to achieve a federal solution. He freely admits that the independence terms for which Ciskei has settled "falls short of Ciskeian expectations". Ciskei was prepared "to go the whole hog and enter into a federation immediately", but scaled down its objective to a confederation with "strong federal overtones", such as devising a common nationality and thus a passport for Ciskeians and South Africans, yet each having its own citizenship. Ciskei also hoped to include a power-sharing arrangement between whites and blacks in "greater Ciskei" in the deal. The South African government, however, was not prepared "to move any further than a confederation, but one without any overtones of federacy". Mr. Sebe justified his acceptance of this "lesser offer" as nonetheless being "a significant step forward towards eventual equality and as the creating of a base from which to negotiate further advancement". He was, therefore, hopeful that through the confederation, Ciskei would eventually achieve its objective, viz. a federation. ²⁸⁸⁾

Among the leaders of the self-governing homelands, Chief Buthelezi has taken a strong stand in favour of a federal form of state, arguing that it "will satisfy most aspirations of Blacks for the foreseeable future". He envisaged three types of states in a federal republic or commonwealth: those in which the interests of some black ethnic groups are paramount; those in which white interests are paramount, and special states "which are not national in character or in which no particular group interests are designated". ²⁸⁹⁾ In 1974, Chief Buthelezi signed a controversial "Declaration of Faith" with Mr. Harry Schwarz, Transvaal leader of the then United Party, which listed five "principles" as a basis for co-operation between South Africa's peoples. These included a federation, which "appears to provide the best framework on which to seek a constitutional solution for a South Africa free from domination by any group over others and ensuring the security of all its people". Any constitutional proposals for South Africa had to "safeguard the identity and culture of the various groups constituting the people of South Africa", the document read. ²⁹⁰⁾

More recently, the Inkatha Movement (a Zulu "national cultural liberation movement" led by Chief Buthelezi) made a submission to the Schlegelbusch Commission of inquiry into a new constitution, and stated its belief that "political rights of all national groups should be protected within a constitutional framework which outlaws discrimination based on colour, sex, or creed". Inkatha conceded the need for protecting minority rights in a constitution and also recognised "the reality of ethnicity", but insisted that deciding people's constitutional rights on the basis of their ethnicity would prepare the ground for inter-ethnic conflict. Inkatha was not clear on the form of state it favoured. On the one hand, it maintained that South Africa "is one state and should remain as such", and rejected its fragmentation into independent black states; on the other hand, Inkatha was not averse to proposals for "effectively" consolidating the homelands and placing them "in a South African political set-up making provision for regional responsibility" or "provincial status".²⁹¹⁾ The federal option, it would appear from Inkatha's testimony, remains very much on the table.²⁹²⁾

Having noted Chief Buthelezi's present views on independence and a federation, it is worth recalling that he in 1973 called for the merging of KwaZulu and "white" Natal into a new independent, non-racial state. It would have to be brought about through negotiations with Pretoria, and he was convinced that in a referendum, the majority of whites and blacks in Natal-KwaZulu would overwhelmingly favour such a move.²⁹³⁾ Chief Buthelezi correctly foresaw the South African government's total rejection of his proposal, for nothing came of it. Although this independence plan might appear to cast doubts on Chief Buthelezi's rejection of independence, it should be remembered that his was not a typical "Bantustan" independence proposal, but would have involved the excision of a whole "white" province as well as a homeland.

It can be added, in parenthesis, that the political future of both KwaZulu and Natal is presently being investigated by the 40-member Buthelezi Commission appointed by Chief Buthelezi in April 1980.²⁹⁴⁾

Homeland support for a federation has also come from Dr. Phatudi²⁹⁵⁾ and Prof. Ntsanwisi²⁹⁶⁾ (both of whom endorsed the statement on federalism

issued after the 1973 homeland leaders' summit meeting in Transkei), among the remaining homeland leaders. It should, however, be noted that such support has often been expressed in rather vague terms. Lest the homeland leaders' views be misinterpreted, and in order to make a meaningful contribution to the current constitutional debate, support for a federation should at least indicate the type of federation in mind: is it, on the one hand, a geographic federation, or, on the other, a racial, ethnic, or corporate federation? Furthermore, what protection, if any, would be given to minority rights and interests? And how much autonomy would the federal units have in deciding their forms of government and authority?²⁹⁷⁾

It is significant to note that the federal option is not ruled out in other black political circles. Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten (and former secretary of the ANC Youth League), has, for example, declared that once the whites have made two fundamental concessions, viz. "that South Africa belongs to us all", and that all are entitled to vote, then "the question of whether this eventual state is unitary, federal, confederal, or anything else like that is open to negotiation - provided, of course, that the state and any division in it is not based on race". Blacks, however, favour a one-party unitary state, he said, but would be willing to settle for a federation "if the whites can convince us that a federal form of state is better". For administrative purposes, Dr Motlana conceded, it might be better to have a federation of ten or twelve states, than a unitary state. He envisaged that the independent homelands would rejoin South Africa and he even confidently held out the grandiose vision that the "smaller states" of Southern Africa - viz. Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and perhaps also Namibia - would want to become part ("additional provinces") of "this new powerful state ... a truly independent Azania".²⁹⁸⁾ Dr Motlana's federal model, it should be emphasised, is a geographic one, and differs fundamentally from a corporate federation as favoured by the NRP.

Black support for a federation as a compromise solution - the first choice being a unitary state with one man, one vote - has been confirmed in an opinion survey commissioned by the Quail Commission.²⁹⁹⁾

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In probably the most comprehensive survey yet of black political attitudes, Prof. Theo Hanf and his collaborators found (in 1978) that, after a unitary state in which whites and blacks enjoyed equal rights, "konkordanzdemokratie" was for nearly half the urban blacks the second-best solution. "Concordance democracy" was defined as a geographical federation with power sharing on an equal basis between whites and blacks.³⁰⁰⁾

Some of the federal models outlined are based on the assumption that independent homelands would be willing to renounce independence and reunite with South Africa. The support which Presidents Matanzima and Mangope and Mr Sebe have expressed for a federation would seem to confirm the correctness of such an assumption. In the event, however, some independent homelands might prove reluctant to reaffiliate with a post-apartheid South Africa, inter alia because of vested homeland interests that would suffer in the process,³⁰¹⁾ and a dislike and distrust of the leaders of the new republic and/or their policies. It seems much more unlikely that states such as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland would wish to join post-apartheid South Africa, whether it would be in a federal or unitary arrangement. The history of independent black African states does not support Dr Motlana's optimism on this score; the maintenance of territorial integrity and colonial boundaries are jealously guarded principles in black Africa.

To conclude the discussion of the federal alternative, it is only fair to note that there are powerful, if not decisive, white voices ranged against federation. Verwoerd maintained that the former United Party's proposed race federation would eventually produce black rule over the whole of South Africa.³⁰²⁾ Vorster made "a very serious appeal" to the people of South Africa "to reject once and for all this idea of a political federation as the most pernicious idea there could be for South Africa". He opposed federation because he was not prepared to subordinate any part of the whites' sovereignty to any other people.³⁰³⁾ Mr P W Botha has repeatedly rejected "a federation ... in whatever form", arguing that it would mean the loss of self-determination for the various population groups and would, moreover, impair effective decision-making.³⁰⁴⁾

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In view of these statements, it is highly improbable that the South African government would, in the short term at any rate, openly support the federal alternative and, moreover, decide on the shortest constitutional route thereto. If a federation were to come about, it would rather be 'through the back door', i.e. introduced incrementally and via the constellation/confederation.

6. Unitary state

In the final scenario, the independent homelands would be reunited with a new, 'liberated' post-apartheid South Africa (or Azania, to use the name widely favoured by local and exiled black political movements). Both the independent and self-governing homelands would then probably lose their present exclusive, institutionalised ethnic character as a result of the new regime's determination to undo the vestiges of ethnicisation and balkanisation. Should a unitary state with decentralised authority emerge, certain powers would be delegated by the central government to subordinate authorities; ex-homelands might then become part of - or be 'dissolved' into - such new entities, rather than becoming subordinate authorities in their own right. Other features of the present scenario would be a system of one man, one vote, and, of course, black rule; it would, in short, be the alternative most dreaded by successive South African governments and indeed by the white electorate, viz. integration - politically, economically and also socially. Since racial or ethnic divisions would probably not be given any institutional expression in this scenario, constitutional safeguards for minority rights per se would be unlikely. This scenario, evidence suggests, is the one most favoured by the majority of blacks in South Africa.³⁰⁵⁾ //

Because of white resistance, it is unlikely that the unitary state scenario would be brought about peacefully. The inevitable assumption is, therefore, that a black-ruled unitary state would result from a war in which the whites are defeated by the black 'liberation' forces. In the event of a full-scale war, it would be possible that outside forces would become involved, notably from black African and communist states.

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It might seem entirely superfluous to ask about the position of the independent homelands in this worst-case scenario, for they are unlikely to remain 'little Switzerlands' in the midst of a violent conflict. As suggested earlier, these homelands, as the products of separate development, are bound to be as much the target of the anti-Pretoria forces as "white South Africa" would be. Thus, the 'liberation' forces would want to remove pro-Pretoria regimes in the independent homelands, and also turn homeland territories into 'liberated areas' and sanctuaries for the 'liberation' forces.

By becoming a unitary state composed of present and former parts of its territory, South Africa would, ironically, be reverting back to its original form of state as it existed in 1910.

CONCLUSION

It is now more than two decades since Verwoerd announced his grand design for homeland independence. In that time, considerable progress has been made to give substance to his plan. The independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda are the manifestations, par excellence, of the success of the homelands policy in terms of its original "new vision". Verwoerd's blueprint provided 'answers', but it also left crucial questions unresolved - deficiencies underlined by the passage of time. The problems are reflected in a brief summary of some of the main characteristics of the present state of affairs regarding the homelands.

(i) Homeland independence has not been recognised internationally. The refusal of states to accord recognition is part and parcel of their continued opposition to the whole notion of separate development.

(ii) The independent homelands find themselves economically and financially very heavily dependent on South Africa. This has

raised/

raised doubts internationally - or, in many instances, confirmed doubts - not only about the homelands' economic viability, but also about the nature of their independence and about South Africa's motives in granting independence.

(iii) Homeland independence is firmly identified with the present generation of so-called moderate political leaders of the independent homelands. But for a temporary exception in the case of Transkei, the independent homelands have maintained particularly close, cordial relations with South Africa. Given their lack of international recognition and foreign aid, and their dependence on South Africa, this is hardly surprising.

(iv) The South African government has not yet formally and explicitly accepted that at least some of the remaining self-governing homelands would not accept independence. Consequently, no clear official formula has yet emerged for accommodating them politically as integral parts of the South Africa state.

(v) The government has patently failed to enlist general black acceptance of the homelands as the ultimate channel for black political participation. Rejection of the homelands policy is particularly strong among urban blacks. Given the lack of identification with the homelands, it is simply absurd to link urban blacks politically with the homelands.

(vi) The homelands' poor economic record, together with urban blacks' lack of identification with the homelands, have been among the major causes of the failure to reverse the stream of black migration from the homelands to "white South Africa".

(vii) The security implications which particularly the independent homelands hold for South Africa, have gained new currency with the recent increase in the activities of armed insurgents entering South Africa from neighbouring states and committing acts of terrorism in South Africa.

(viii)/

(viii) The time factor cannot be ignored in any consideration of South Africa's attempts to deal with the issue of race relations. To say that time is running out, is neither original nor particularly helpful. Yet, it has to be acknowledged that the South African government is faced with growing and more assertive domestic opposition - from blacks, coloureds and Indians - to its racial policies; internationally, the pressure against South Africa is presently being contained to some extent, thanks to the Reagan Administration, yet this may prove a temporary respite. It seems safe to say that the South African government's options on the racial issue are likely to become narrower in a situation of growing domestic polarisation and mounting external pressure. In both the encouragement of local black resistance to government policies, and the shaping of external - including Western - opinion on South Africa's racial policies, the exile or 'liberation' movements can in future be expected to play an increasingly prominent role. Although remaining officially banned in South Africa, they are bound to become important political forces which cannot be ignored by either the South African government or foreign powers.

If the foregoing state of affairs is related to the original objectives of the homelands policy, the achievements are not impressive. True, three homelands have already proceeded to the ultimate stage of separate development, as envisaged by Verwoerd. Yet, the question remains: to what extent have the homelands to date succeeded in -

- (i) safeguarding white rule?
- (ii) accommodating black nationalism?
- (iii) taking cognizance of foreign pressure?
- (iv) conforming to international norms?
- (v) reducing blacks' numerical preponderance in "white South Africa"?
- (vi) paving the way to an eventual community of co-operating states?

To respond briefly to each, it can first be remarked that although white rule is still firmly entrenched, it is today being challenged more

seriously/

seriously, both domestically and internationally, than ever before. As for accommodating black nationalism, the homelands' brand of ethnic nationalism has become anathema to black nationalism as articulated by exile movements and black consciousness organisations. Rather than effectively thwarting the development of a broad-based black nationalism, the homelands policy - and separate development generally - has perhaps inadvertently promoted it by providing a cohesive element, viz. opposition to the government's racial policies. The failure of the independent homelands to gain international recognition, and the persistence and intensity of international condemnation of the homelands policy, testify to its failure to conform with international norms. Regarding the objective of reducing blacks' numerical preponderance in "white South Africa", the policy has again not delivered the goods. If anything, whites are finding themselves in a progressively worse situation in the 'numbers game'. Finally, preparing for an eventual community of states is an objective which has to some extent been realised. This takes the form of the constellation/confederation, but the grouping is on a much smaller scale than originally envisaged: it is not a truly regional association, but is simply confined to South Africa and its former homelands. Its limited membership is, in fact, largely the product of the homelands policy, since the involvement of the homelands deters internationally recognised black states from participating. Thus, instead of helping to achieve the original objective of a regional community of states, the homelands are, paradoxically, proving a hindrance.

Against this background, where do the homelands go from here? There are, as discussed earlier, a range of possibilities, some more, some less likely than others. The establishment of a constellation/confederation composed of present and former parts of the South African state was presented as one among several alternatives. This scenario is, of course, the one conforming most closely of all to the original Verwoerdian idea of a commonwealth-cum-common market type of relationship between South Africa and its independent homelands (and also other Southern African states). Although the constellation/confederation is an alternative which has to a large extent already materialised, this does not mean that it represents the terminal stage for the homelands.

Cognizance/

Cognizance has to be taken of powerful forces of cohesion, steering South Africa and the independent homelands towards ever closer ties. These forces are both economic and political in nature: the latter relate to their ostracism by the international community, leaving the homelands little choice but to move even closer to their former mother country. These seem to be considerably more powerful than those making for greater separation and protection of homeland sovereignty, such as the vested interests of the political and bureaucratic elites in the independent homelands.

The former and present parts of South Africa might also be drawn together under an entirely different set of circumstances. If it is assumed that the exile movements would in due course wrest power from the ruling white elite, the unitary state scenario - a reversion back to the South Africa of 1961 or 1910 - would be the most probable one. The independent homelands would then be reintegrated into a new, 'liberated' republic of Azania. The process of arriving at this scenario would, it was suggested earlier, be a violent one because of white resistance to such a political arrangement. The prospect of violence, in turn, raises a host of new questions. Would there, for example, be foreign military involvement on the side of one or other of the belligerents? And would the 'liberation movements', given their present divisions, be able to launch a joint armed struggle, or would they be fighting each other as much as their common white enemy?

The political future of the homelands is bound to be influenced by the whole issue of (relative) peace or conflict. In a situation of (relative) peace, the evolutionary development of a closely-knit confederation could be expected, perhaps eventually converting itself into a federation. Should South Africa, however, be engulfed in a war in which blacks (i.e. those supporting the exile movements) take up arms against the government, the future of the homelands becomes highly complex. In the event of a military and political stalemate, radical territorial partition becomes a possible scenario. A victory for the anti-Pretoria forces would probably see the kind of scenario mentioned above, viz. the emergence of a new unitary state embracing the independent

homelands./

homelands. Should "white South Africa" prevail militarily and retain its economic dominance over its former homelands, the status quo - i.e. confederation - might be maintained; or it could induce "white South Africa" to make concessions in the form of an early federation in an effort to avoid further conflict. Alternatively, "white South Africa", though victorious, would have been materially weakened to such an extent that it would not effectively control the independent homelands, which would then become 'liberated areas' being prepared by the exile movements for another physical onslaught on the white-controlled power structures.

On the whole, it would appear that there are powerful active and potential forces steering South Africa and its former homelands towards closer association. In the process of the closer joining together of the present and former parts of the South African state, both voluntaristic and deterministic aspects come into play: insofar as the governments of South Africa and the independent homelands manage to control their environments - politically, economically and militarily - they would retain a large degree of freedom of action in deciding both the direction and pace of political development of 'greater South Africa'; should they, however, lose effective control of their environments, events may well force them into political arrangements they would not voluntarily have accepted.

These considerations again point to the crucial fact that the political future of the homelands has to be viewed in dynamic terms. A host of new factors, not relevant or even foreseen two decades ago, are continuously emerging on the scene and influencing the future course of the homelands, both those independent and self-governing. The range of scenarios is, therefore, virtually unlimited; it depends on the number of variables introduced into the calculation. What seems certain, is, paradoxically, that a rather uncertain future awaits the homelands.

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NOTES

- 1) Although the term "homeland" has officially been replaced by that of "national state", this study will use the former term to avoid confusion; the concept "state" is commonly used to refer to independent entities, whereas some of South Africa's homelands are not yet independent. Those homelands which have become independent, will be referred to as independent homelands (although this is, strictly speaking, a contradiction), or as (independent) former homelands. The derogatory term "Bantustan" will not be used, except in direct quotations.
- 2) The term "black" is used here to refer only to that group previously known, in official nomenclature, as "Bantu". It is recognised that limiting the application of the term "black" in this manner is not altogether satisfactory, since a great many coloureds and Indians also regard themselves as blacks. However, for the purposes of the present study, a clear distinction needs to be drawn between the various groups often lumped together under the rather offensive designation "non-white".
- 3) Status of Transkei Act, 1976 (100/1976); Status of Bophuthatswana Act, 1977 (89/1977) and Status of Venda Act, 1979 (107/1979).
- 4) Kenney, H, Architect of Apartheid : HF Verwoerd - An Appraisal. Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 1980, 278pp.
- 5) See Rhodie NJ & HJ Venter, Apartheid : a socio-historical exposition of the origin and development of the apartheid idea. HAUM, Cape Town, 1959, pp.5 et seq.
- 6) Davenport, TRH, South Africa : A Modern History. Macmillan, London, 1977, p.335.
- 7) Walshe, P, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa. C. Hurst & Co., London, 1980, p.118, and United Kingdom, Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The South African Homelands, Foreign Policy Documents No. 1. HMSO, London, 1978, p.4.
- 8) Rhodie, NJ, Apartheid and Racial Partnership in Southern Africa. Academica, Pretoria, 1969, p.22.
- 9) Quoted by Walshe, P., op. cit., p.110.
- 10) Cornell, M., "The Statutory Background of Apartheid : A Chronological Survey of South African Legislation", The World Today (RIIA, London), Vol. 16, No. 5, May 1960, p.185.

- 11) Union of South Africa. Hansard, House of Assembly Debates, 16/5/1951, col. 6820 & 6821, Government Printer, Pretoria. (All House of Assembly Debates hereafter abbreviated HA Deb.)
- 12) Quoted by Austin, D, Britain and South Africa. Oxford University Press, London, 1966, p.10.
- 13) Union of South Africa. Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa, UG 61/1955, Government Printer, Pretoria, 1955, p.194.
- 14) Ibid., pp.206 & 207.
- 15) Hyam, R, The Failure of South African Expansion, 1908 - 1948. Macmillan, London, 1972, 219pp.
- 16) Union of South Africa. Memorandum : Government Decisions on the Recommendations of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa. W.P.F. - '56. Government Printer, Pretoria, 1956, p.3.
- 17) Report of the Commission, op. cit., p.194
- 18) Quoted by Pelzer, AN, Verwoerd Speaks : Speeches 1948-1966. Afrikaanse Pers Beperk, Johannesburg, 1966, p.120.
- 19) Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act, 1959 (46/1959).
- 20) Quoted by Brookes, EH, Apartheid : a documentary study of modern South Africa. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969, p.120.
- 21) HA Deb., 27/1/1959, col. 60-65.
- 22) Quoted by Pelzer, AN, op. cit., p.278.
- 23) HA Deb., 27/1/1959, col. 62 & 63.
- 24) Neame, LE, The History of Apartheid. Pall Mall Press, London, 1962, p.160.
- 25) Quoted in Republic of South Africa. South Africa 1980/1 (Yearbook). Chris van Rensburg Publications, Johannesburg, 1980, p.182
- 26) See Carter, GM, T Karis & NM Stultz, op. cit., pp.67 & 69.

- 27) South Africa 1980/1, op. cit., p.183.
- 28) Ibid., p.184.
- 29) Rand Daily Mail, 2/4/1980.
- 30) Die Transvaler, 2/5/1981.
- 31) See above, p.1.
- 32) HA Deb., 7/5/1957, col. 5563.
- 33) See Heard, KA, General Elections in South Africa, 1943-1970. Oxford University Press, London, 1974, pp.73 & 74, and Walker, EA, A History of Southern Africa. Longmans, London, 1968, p.24.
- 34) HA Deb., 27/1/1959, col. 62.
- 35) HA Deb., 20/5/1959, col. 6221.
- 36) Ibid., col. 6222.
- 37) Ibid., col. 6223.
- 38) See Mr PW Botha, HA Deb., 28/1/1981, col. 237-253.
- 39) See, for example, Hellmann, E & H Lever (Eds), Conflict and Progress : Fifty Years of Race Relations in South Africa. Macmillan, Johannesburg, 1979, pp.50-52; Rogers, B, Divide and Rule : South Africa's Bantustans. International Defence and Aid Fund, London, 1976, 86pp.; De St Jorre, J, A House Divided : South Africa's Uncertain Future. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, 1977, pp.36-45; Thompson, LM, Politics in the Republic of South Africa. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1966, pp.96-121, and Weeramantry, CG, Apartheid : the closing phases? Lantana, Melbourne, 1980, pp.68-70, 136 & 137.
- 40) Cleary, S & S van der Merwe, The Homeland's Policy - a Neo-Colonial Solution to South Africa's future? South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), Johannesburg, undated, pp.1-24.
- 41) United Nations, Unit on Apartheid. The South African Bantustan Programme : Its Domestic and International Implications. Memorandum by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, No. 36/75, November 1975, pp.1-8.

- 42) Kirby, A, South Africa's Bantustans : What Independence for the Transkei? World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1976, pp.63 & 64.
- 43) Ibid., pp.56-58.
- 44) Kotzé, DA, Black Politics in South Africa 1964-1974 : Parties and Issues. C. Hurst & Co., London., 1975, p.91.
- 45) United Nations, Centre Against Apartheid. Resolutions of the Organization of African Unity in Relation to South Africa, No. 19/76, August 1976, p.12.
- 46) See United Nations. Resolutions of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth session, 15 September to 17 December 1970, p.34 and Resolutions of the General Assembly, Thirtieth session, 16 September to 17 December 1975, p.37.
- 47) HA Deb., 27/1/1959, col. 62 & 65.
- 48) HA Deb., 23/1/1962, col. 88 & 89.
- 49) At its 1964 Cairo summit, the OAU adopted a resolution declaring that "all member states pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence". Cervenka, Z, The Unfinished Quest for Unity : Africa and the OAU. Julian Friedman, London, 1977, pp.69-71.
- 50) See Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf : Race Separatism in South Africa. David Philip, Cape Town, 1980, pp.137-144.
- 51) HA Deb., 10/4/1961, col.4191.
- 52) Scholtz, GD, Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, 1901-1966, Vol.2. Perskor, Johannesburg, 1974, p.134.
- 53) United Nations, Unit on Apartheid, No Compromise with Apartheid. Statements by H.E. Mr Edwin Ogebe Ogbu (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, No. 5/74, April 1974, p.8.
- 54) HA Deb., 23/1/1962, col. 89.
- 55) Scholtz, GD, op. cit., p.155.
- 56) HA Deb., 27/1/1959, col. 64.

- 57) See, for example, No Compromise with Apartheid, op. cit., p.7, and The South African Bantustan Programme, op. cit., pp.4-10
- 58) The South African Bantustan Programme, op. cit., p.5.
- 59) HA Deb., 20/5/1979, col. 6225.
- 60) Ibid., col. 6226.
- 61) HA Deb., 23/1/1962, col. 92.
- 62) HA Deb., 20/5/1959, col. 6224 & 6225.
- 63) Ibid., col. 6223.
- 64) HA Deb., 25/1/1963, col. 224.
- 65) HA Deb., 20/5/1959, col. 6218.
- 66) Quoted by Barber, J, South Africa's Foreign Policy, 1945-1970. Oxford University Press, London, 1973, p.238.
- 67) Loc. cit. and Lipton, M, "Independent Bantustans?", International Affairs (RIIA, London), Vol. 48, No. 1, January 1972, p.11.
- 68) See Rand Daily Mail, 4/4/1981.
- 69) Government claims that urban blacks maintain homeland (ethnic) ties, have recently been disputed in a survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council. (Sunday Times, 5/4/1981).
- 70) Scholtz, GD, op. cit., p.157 and Kenney, H, op.cit., pp.235-239.
- 71) See, for example, Homelands ; the role of the Corporations. Chris van Rensburg Publications, Pretoria, n.d., 232pp., and South Africa : A Guide to Foreign Investors. Erudita Publications, 1976, 136pp.
- 72) The South African Bantustan Programme, op. cit., p.12. See also Cleary, S & S van der Merwe., op. cit., pp.23 & 24, and HA Deb., 26/1/1981, col. 33 & 29/1/1981, col. 312.

- 73) The South African Bantustan Programme, op. cit., p.12.
- 74) HA Deb., 27/1/1959, col. 62 & 63.
- 75) Quoted by Venter, TD, "Confederal Association of States of Federation? A future political dispensation for South and Southern Africa : theoretical perspectives for South African party politics", South African Journal of African Affairs (Africa Institute, Pretoria), No. 1 & 2, 1976, p.137.
- 76) Quoted ibid.
- 77) Geldenhuys, DJ & TD Venter, "Regional Co-operation in Southern Africa : a constellation of states?", International Affairs Bulletin (SAIIA, Johannesburg), Vol. 3, No. 3, December 1979, p.45
- 78) Ibid., pp.45 & 46.
- 79) Mr Marais Steyn, an Opposition front-bencher, HA Deb., 25/1/1963, col. 248. Mr Steyn some years later crossed the floor and subsequently became a cabinet minister. He is presently South African ambassador in Britain.
- 80) HA Deb., 5/2/1962, col. 576.
- 81) HA Deb., 6/3/1963, col. 2253.
- 82) HA Deb., 7/3/1963, col. 2355 & 2356.
- 83) Ibid., col. 2356.
- 84) HA Deb., 5/2/1962, col. 576.
- 85) Loc. cit.
- 86) HA Deb., 25/1/1962, col. 167.
- 87) HA Deb., 24/1/1962, col. 128.
- 88) HA Deb., 22/1/1963, col. 27 & 28.
- 89) HA Deb., 24/1/1962, col. 129.
- 90) HA Deb., 25/1/1962, col. 167.

- 91) HA Deb., 10/5/1962, col. 5373. See also HA Deb., 6/3/1963, col. 2265.
- 92) HA Deb., 26/1/1962, col. 253.
- 93) HA Deb., 22/1/1963, col. 61.
- 94) HA Deb., 6/3/1963, col. 2265.
- 95) HA Deb., 22/1/1963, col. 59 & 60. See also HA Deb., 7/3/1963, col. 2357.
- 96) HA Deb., 7/3/1963, col. 2356.
- 97) Loc. cit. and 21/3/1963, col. 3157.
- 98) HA Deb., 26/1/1963, col. 271.
- 99) HA Deb., 21/3/1963, col. 3155.
- 100) HA Deb., 23/1/1962, col. 89.
- 101) HA Deb., 7/3/1963, col. 2357.
- 102) HA Deb., 20/5/1959, col. 6227.
- 103) HA Deb., 23/1/1962, col. 90.
- 104) HA Deb., 29/3/1962, col. 3458.
- 105) HA Deb., 20/5/1959, col. 6227. See also HA Deb., 23/1/1962, col. 90. Verwoerd's sanguineness about the implications of homeland independence for South Africa's security contrasts sharply with the grave dangers which Mr FC Erasmus, Minister of Defence, saw for South Africa in the British High Commission Territories. If these territories remained under a foreign flag, he said in 1954, South Africa would carry "the seeds of deadly danger in its bosom". He insisted that they had to be incorporated by South Africa "to combat organised Communism and fifth-column activities within the Union and to control the smuggling of arms and ammunition into the Protectorates". Quoted in HA Deb., 2/4/1963, col. 3896.
- 106) Quoted by Cockram, GM, Vorster's Foreign Policy. Academica, Pretoria, 1970, p.131.

- 107) HA Deb., 4/2/1974, col. 59.
- 108) Quoted by Geldenhuys DJ & TD Venter, op. cit., p.49
- 109) See Nolutshungu, SC, South Africa in Africa : a study in ideology and foreign policy. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1975, pp.114-218.
- 110) Address by the Hon. R.F. Botha, South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Members and Guests of the Swiss-South African Association in Zurich, on 7th March 1979. Press Section, SA Embassy, Berne, p.17.
- 111) See below, p.41-45.
- 112) Geldenhuys DJ, The Constellation of Southern African States and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council : towards a new regional stalemate?. SAIIA, Johannesburg, 1981, pp.6-8.
- 113) See below, p.41.
- 114) See HA Deb., 22/1/1963, col. 58 & 59. See also HA Deb., 6/3/1963, col. 2265.
- 115) Mr PW Botha, Minister of Defence, 1968, quoted by Barber, J, op. cit., p.235.
- 116) Ibid., p.234.
- 117) Geldenhuys, DJ, South Africa's Search for Security Since the Second World War. SAIIA, Johannesburg, 1978, p.12.
- 118) Stephan, GEJ & H Booysen, "The Angolan Conflict : its relevance for South Africa in her relations with future independent Bantustans and the need for a Monroe doctrine", South African Yearbook of International Law (Verloren van Themaat Centre for International Law, UNISA), Vol. 1, 1975, pp.113 & 114; Laurence, P, The Transkei : South Africa's Politics of Partition. Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1976, p.131, and Lipton, M, op.cit., p.13.
- 119) See below, p.39.
- 120) Geldenhuys, DJ, Search for Security, op. cit., p.9.
- 121) United Nations, Resolutions and Decisions adopted by the General Assembly during its thrity-fourth session, 18 September 1979 to 7 January 1980. United Nations, New York, 1980, p.38.
- 122) Rand Daily Mail, 26/11/1979.

- 123) Extracts from a statement by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho, the Hon. CD Molapo, to the UN General Assembly on 25 September 1980, in Southern Africa Record (SAIRA, Johannesburg), No. 21, October 1980, p.31.
- 124) Geldenhuys, DJ, The Constellation, op. cit., pp.16-31.
- 125) Arnold, G, "The key role of South Africa", African Development, April 1976, pp.338 & 339.
- 126) Laurence, P, op. cit., p.131.
- 127) Carter, GM, T Karis & NM Stultz, South Africa's Transkei : The Politics of Domestic Colonialism. Heinemann, London, 1967, 200pp.
- 128) At the time of Transkei's independence, Chief Kaiser Matanzima was prime minister and Chief Botha Sigcau became the first president. Upon Sigcau's death in December 1978, Chief Matanzima became president, in February 1979, and his brother, George, then minister of justice, was elected prime minister. (Post, 3 & 14/2/1978 and Sunday Post, 18/2/1979).
- 129) The ruling Transkei National Independence Party won 71 of the elected seats, the Democratic Party 1, the New Democratic Party 2 and Independents 1. Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf, op. cit., p.53. Transkei's next general election is due by September 1981.
- 130) Cleary, S & S van der Merwe, op. cit., p.19. Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf, op. cit., p.53, puts the percentage poll at 43,5%.
- 131) Cleary, S & S van der Merwe, op. cit., pp.19 & 20.
- 132) Gordon, L (Ed.), Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1980. SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1981, pp.420 & 421.
- 133) Cleary, S, & S van der Merwe, op. cit., p.19.
- 134) In the general election held in August 1977, Mangope's ruling party won 39 of the 43 contested seats, and 4 of the 5 uncontested seats. Gordon, L (Ed.), A Survey of Race Relations 1977. SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1978, p.634.
- 135) Cleary, S, & S van der Merwe, op. cit., p.19.
- 136) See Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf, op. cit., pp.44-75.
- 137) Kotze, DA, op. cit., p.402.

- 138) See Post, 3/4/1979, 26/3/1980 & 25/3/1981.
- 139) Gordon, L, Survey ... 1980, op cit., p. 399.
- 140) Kotze, DA, op. cit., p. 174
- 141) Breakaway members of the ruling TNIP in April 1978 formed the Transkei National Progressive Party. Mr. Caledon Mda, former leader of the Democratic Party, became leader of the new party. In March 1979, this party was, however, dissolved to form part of a new opposition under the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The Democratic Party, too, was dissolved to join the united opposition under the DPP. (Post, 28/3/1979).
- 142) Gordon, L, Survey ... 1980, op. cit., p. 402
- 143) Ciskei Commission Report (The Quail Report, Feb 8 80). Conference Associates, Pretoria, 1980, pp. 123-126.
- 144) The Citizen, 8/12/1980. It should also be added that there was a 60% poll of the 503 000 registered voters out of a possible total electorate of 625 000. Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, writing in the Sunday Times of 4 January, 1981, said "What this means is that of the adult black people who would be regarded as Ciskeian, about one half voted for independence."
- 145) See below, pp. 72 & 73.
- 146) See BENS0, Statistical Survey of Black Development 1979. BENS0, Pretoria, 1979, tables 1b, 2 & 3.
- 147) Gordon, L, Survey ... 1980, op. cit., pp. 395-409.
- 148) Africa Institute of South Africa. Africa at a Glance, 1978. Africa Institute, Pretoria, 1978, pp. 14 & 41.
- 149) The South African Homelands, op. cit., p. 3. For an examination of the 1975 consolidation proposals, see La Grange, AA, "The investigations into the consolidation of the national states", Development Studies Southern Africa (BENS0, Pretoria), Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 490 et seq.
- 150) The size of Kwa Ndebele's territory is one of the matters currently being considered by the Van der Walt Commission, and it is likely that a sizeable expansion of its area will be recommended. (Figures on KwaNdebele supplied by courtesy of BENS0).
- 151) La Grange, AA, op. cit., p. 491.
- 152) See note 149), on the 1975 consolidation proposals.

- 153) La Grange, AA, op. cit., pp.490 & 491
- 154) Ibid., p.493.
- 155) Ibid., pp.493 & 497.
- 156) Du Plessis, DT, "The creation of job opportunities for the Black labour force of South Africa within the framework of the policy of multinational development", Development Studies Southern Africa, Vol. 2, No. 4, p.449.
- 157) Simkins, CEW, The Distribution of the African Population of South Africa by Age, Sex and Region-Type 1960, 1970 and 1980. Saldru Working Paper No. 32, Cape Town, 1981, p.22.
- 158) Du Plessis, DT, op. cit., p.449.
- 159) Simkins, CEW, op. cit., p.36
- 160) Memorandum ... W.P.F. - '56, op. cit., p.3.
- 161) Van Eeden, FJ, " 'n Kritiese ontleding van die vordering met ontwikkelingsprogramme in die nasionale state", Development Studies Southern Africa, Vol. 2, No. 4, p.418.
- 162) Van Eeden, FJ, op. cit., p.418.
- 163) Loc. cit.
- 164) Du Plessis, DT, op. cit., p.450.
- 165) Personal communication.
- 166) Figures quoted by Du Plessis, DT, op. cit., pp.465 & 466.
- 167) Van Eeden, FJ, op. cit., pp.420 & 421.
- 168) Ibid., pp.421 & 422.
- 169) The figures for Ciskei, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa and Venda are based on 1970 population statistics, while those for Transkei, Bophuthatswana and South Africa were apparently based on later statistics. Africa At a Glance, 1978, op. cit., p.41.

- 170) See The Mineral potential and Mining development in the Black Homelands of South Africa. Chris van Rensburg Publications, Johannesburg, 1977, 127pp.
- 171) Van Eeden, FJ, op. cit., p.423.
- 172) Ibid., pp.423 & 424. See also Du Plessis, DT, op. cit., p.443.
- 173) Van Eeden, FJ, op. cit., pp.242 & 425.
- 174) Ibid., pp.430 & 431.
- 175) Ibid., p.431.
- 176) Du Plessis, DT, op. cit., p.445
- 177) Cleary, S, op. cit., p.8.
- 178) Leistner, GME, Southern Crucible. South Africa : future world in microcosm. Africa Institute, Pretoria, 1980, p.19.
- 179) Leistner, GME, "Homeland development : a critical assessment", Africa Insight (Africa Institute, Pretoria), Vol. 10, No. 3 & 4, 1980, pp.110 & 113. See also Ligthelm, AA, "Fundamentele vertrekpunte vir 'n stelsel van samewerking in Suid-Afrika", Development Studies Southern Africa, Vol. 2, No. 4, July 1980, p.470 On the vexed question of the criteria for economic viability of the homelands, see Butler, J, RI Rotberg & J Adams, The Black Homelands of South Africa : The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1977, p.223.
- 180) See La Grange, AA, op. cit., pp.493 et seq.
- 181) See Ligthelm, AA, op. cit., p.471 and Terreblanche, SJ, Vernuwing en Herskikking : Op pad na nuwe ekonomiese instellings en prioriteite in Suid-Afrika. Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1973, pp.58 -60.
- 182) Projection made by Prof. AJG Oosthuizen, Rand Afrikaans University, reported in Rand Daily Mail, 15/1/1981.
- 183) See Modelski, G, A Theory of Foreign Policy, Pall Mall Press, London, 1962, pp.76-78.

- 184) Extract from a Statement by the Prime Minister of Transkei, Dr the Hon. Kaiser Matanzima, at the Fifteenth Congress of the Transkeian National Independence Party, on 14 March 1978, and Statement to Parliament, Umtata, on 10 April 1978, by the Prime Minister of Transkei, Dr the Hon. Kaiser Matanzima, announcing the severing of diplomatic relations with South Africa, both in Southern Africa Record, No. 12, May 1978, pp.36 & 37.
- 185) See New African, No. 129, May 1978, pp.33 & 34.
- 186) The Citizen, 21/3/1980.
- 187) Gordon, L, Survey ... 1980, op. cit., p.422.
- 188) Ibid., p.422.
- 189) See Koyana, D, "Transkei and Africa : the development of relations with African states and organisations", paper presented at the SAIIA Conference on International Implications of the Independence of Transkei, Umtata, 24-27 November, 1976, 8pp. Published by SAIIA, Johannesburg. 1976.
- 190) Non-aggression pact concluded between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of Transkei, 17 September 1976, in Republic of South Africa. Government Gazette, 22 October 1976, No. 5320, p.26; Non-aggression pact concluded between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of Bophuthatswana, 15 November 1977, in Republic of South Africa. Government Gazette, 6 December 1977, No. 5823, pp.34 & 35, and Non-aggression treaty concluded between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of Venda, roneoed copy, undated, by courtesy of the Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Information, Pretoria.
- 191) Cleary, S & S van der Merwe, op. cit., p.13.
- 192) Information by courtesy of the Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria.
- 193) Laurence, P, op. cit., p.131.
- 194) See Agreement on the Economic Relations between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of Transkei, in Republic of South Africa, Government Gazette, 22 October 1976, No. 5320, pp.33 & 34. Similar agreements were later concluded between South Africa, and Bophuthatswana and Venda respectively.
- 195) For two early analyses of the constellation idea, see Breytenbach, WJ (Ed.), The Constellation of States : A Consideration. South Africa Foundation, Johannesburg, 1980, 81pp and Geldenhuys, DJ & TD Venter, op. cit., pp.36-72.

- 196) Quoted by Geldenhuys, DJ, The Constellation, op. cit., p.6.
- 197) Quoted ibid., p.5.
- 198) Quoted ibid., pp.6 & 7 For details of the new regional development centres, see "Government's major plan for economic black areas", Rand Daily Mail, 9/12/1980.
- 199) Geldenhuys, DJ, The Constellation, op. cit., p.7.
- 200) Loc. cit.
- 201) See the statement issued by the heads of government of South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda after their July 1980 summit meeting in Pretoria, quoted by Shaw, JA, Introductory address delivered at the inaugural meeting of the three multilateral sub-committees on education and training, held in Mmabatho on 24 February 1981, and attended by 55 representatives of the RSA, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and SWA/Namibia. Roneoed, by courtesy of Dr JA Shaw, Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Information, Pretoria, pp.9-12.
- 202) Ibid., pp.1-7.
- 203) Ibid., pp.12 & 13.
- 204) Geldenhuys, DJ, The Constellation, op. cit., p.7.
- 205) See the list of agreements concluded by the Government of the Republic of South Africa with the Government of Transkei, 1976, in Republic of South Africa. Government Gazette, 22 October 1976, No. 5320, pp.1-112. Similar agreements were later concluded between South Africa, and Bophuthatswana and Venda respectively.
- 206) Quoted by Geldenhuys, DJ, The Constellation, op. cit., p.5.
- 207) Transkei strongly objects to the creation of a second independent state for the Xhosa people, and insists that Transkei and Ciskei should be amalgamated. Transkei has threatened to withdraw from the constellation, should South Africa grant independence to Ciskei. (Beeld, 9/2/1981).
- 208) Geldenhuys, DJ, The Constellation, op. cit., p.10.
- 209) Quoted ibid., p.11.
- 210) Quoted ibid., p.14.

- 211) Quoted ibid., p.11.
- 212) See above, p.16.
- 213) See above, p.20.
- 214) See above, pp.16-19.
- 215) See Rand Daily Mail, 4/7/1979, 3/1/1980, 2/9/1980 and 12/5/1981, on ANC and PAC activities in Transkei.
- 216) See below, p.78, where the idea of turning independent homelands into 'liberated areas' is further discussed.
- 217) See above, p.36.
- 218) See Statistical Survey, op. cit., table 2.
- 219) Rand Daily Mail, 11/11/1980.
- 220) Loc. cit.
- 221) Rand Daily Mail, 19 & 27/11/1980.
- 222) Agreement between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of Bophuthatswana concerning the utilisation of water resources of common interest and the management of communal water works. Republic of South Africa. Government Gazette, 6 December 1977, No. 5823, pp.149-153, and Agreement between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of Venda concerning the utilisation of water resources of common interest and the management of communal water works. Republic of South Africa. Government Gazette, 12 September 1979, No. 6652, pp.176-180. A similar agreement was concluded between South Africa and Transkei. See also Van der Riet, P, Co-operative water resources development in Southern Africa. Report No. 5/80, Hydrological Research Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1980, 255pp.
- 223) See above, p.40.
- 224) See above, pp. 19 & 20.
- 225) See below, p.78.

- 226) Personal communication.
- 227) Resolutions of the Organisation of African Unity, op. cit., p.12.
- 228) "The so-called independent Transkei and other Bantustans", resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 58th plenary meeting, 9 November 1976, in United Nations. Resolutions and Declarations adopted by the General Assembly during its thirty-first session, Vol. 1, 21 September - 22 December 1976, United Nations, New York, 1976, p.10.
- 229) See United Nations. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-second regular session, 20 September - 21 December 1977. United Nations, New York, pp.69 & 70.
- 230) See the General Assembly's resolution on "Bantustans", in United Nations. Resolutions and Decisions adopted by the General Assembly during its thirty-fourth session, 18 September 1979 to 7 January 1980. United Nations, New York, 1980, pp.44 & 45.
- 231) Geldenhuys, DJ, International Attitudes on the Recognition of Transkei. South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, 1979. pp.1-3.
- 232) Ibid., p.4. See also Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf, op. cit., pp.44-75, where he discusses the vital question, "who chose independence?".
- 233) The Star, 13/5/1981 and Gordon, L, Survey ... 1980, op. cit., pp.413 & 423.
- 234) See Fawcett, JES, The Law of Nations. Allen Lane, London, 1968, pp.41-47, and Starke, JG, An Introduction to International Law. Sixth Edition. Butterworths, London, 1967, pp.124-154.
- 235) Quoted by Maasdorp, G, "Forms of Partition", in Rotberg, RI & J Barratt (Eds.), Conflict and Compromise in South Africa. David Philip, Cape Town, 1980, p.117.
- 236) "The Graaff Cut", features in an article, "Partition : an Emergency Operation", in Africa 1963/64, No. 25, December 20, 1963, p.2. Published by Africa 1963/64, London.
- 237) Tiryakian, EA, "Sociological realism : partition for South Africa?", reprinted from Social Forces, Vol. 46, No. 2, December 1967, pp.208-221.
- 238) Blenck, J & K von der Ropp, "Republic of South Africa : partition a solution?" Aussen Politik, Vol. 27, No. 3, 1976, pp.310-327.

- 239) Maasdorp, G, op. cit., pp.122-133.
- 240) Boshoff, CWH, "Tuislandontwikkeling - wentelpunt van ons beleid", Die Afrikaanse Studentebond-kongres 1977, Universiteit van Pretoria (ronoed), 21pp. See also, Botha, RP, Toekomsplan Suid-Afrika : 'n basis vir dialoog. Perskor, Johannesburg, 1978, 249pp.
- 241) Report of the Commission, op. cit., pp. 206 & 207.
- 242) HA Deb., 20/4/1979, col. 4590.
- 243) Kotze, DA, op. cit., pp.232-235. In 1976, Mr Vorster told Parliament: "I have not heard of a single Tswana leader who has said that they want to unite with the Botswana ... Nor do I believe that it will happen". HA Deb., 22/4/1976, col. 5211 .
- 244) To the Point, 25/7/1975.
- 245) Rand Daily Mail, 11/10/1979.
- 246) To the Point, 9/12/1977.
- 247) See Charton, NCJ, "Black Elites in the Transkei", Politikon (South African Journal for Political Science, Pretoria), Vol. 3, No. 2, October 1976, pp.61-74; Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf, op. cit., p.135, and Southall, RJ, "The Beneficiaries of Transkeian 'Independence'", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1977, pp.1-23.
- 248) See note 207), above.
- 249) See Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf, op. cit., p.136.
- 250) Ibid., p.136. See also Carter GM, T Karis & NM Stultz, op. cit., pp.181-183.
- 251) See the findings of a black political attitude survey in Ciskei Commission Report, op. cit., p.109, and Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf, op. cit., p.134. Stultz also discusses the implications of homeland independence for radical territorial partition in his chapter, "Some implications of African 'homelands' in South Africa", in Price RM & CG Rosberg (Eds.), The Apartheid Regime : Political power and racial discrimination. David Philip, Cape Town, 1980, pp.199-209.

- 252) Stultz, NM, "Some implications", op. cit., p.208.
- 253) See Butler, J, RI Rotberg & J Adams, op. cit., pp.228-230.
- 254) HA Deb., 6/2/1980, col. 249.
- 255) See above, p.21.
- 256) See Address by the Hon. P.W. Botha, MP, Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and of the National Intelligence Service at the opening ceremony of the Summit Meeting in Pretoria on 23 July 1980. Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Information, Pretoria, p.5.
- 257) See below, p.71.
- 258) See below, p.71.
- 259) The Daily News (Durban), 15/4/1981. See also Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, reported in Beeld, 11/4/1981, and Dr Koornhof reported in NAT 80's, Vol. 1 : 9, March 1981. Published by the Federal Council of the National Party and issued as a supplement of Beeld.
- 260) See above, p.41.
- 261) Starke, JG, op. cit., p.108.
- 262) This kind of thinking would probably find favour in institutions such as BENS0.
- 263) See above, p.44.
- 264) See above, p.45.
- 265) New Republic Party, NRP-voorlegging aan die Parlementêre Kommissie van Onderzoek oor 'n nuwe Grondwet. Undated, roneoed, 15pp., and New Republic Party, 1st Anniversary 1978. Commemoration edition, 13pp.
- 266) Oppenheim, L, International Law : A Treatise, Eighth edition, edited by H. Lauterpacht. Longmans, London, 1961, p.173.
- 267) See below, p. 69-77.

- 268) The summaries of the three models are taken from Geldenhuys, DJ, "South Africa's constitutional alternatives", South Africa International (South Africa Foundation), Vol. 11, No. 4, April 1981, pp.207-212.
- 269) Malherbe, PN, Multistan : a way out of the South African dilemma. David Philip, Cape Town, 1974, 172pp.
- 270) Ciskei Commission Report, op. cit., pp.123-126.
- 271) Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis, Alternatives to the Consolidation of KwaZulu, Special Focus, No. 2. BEPA, University of Pretoria, 1980, 52pp. The authors are Professors JA du Pisani, JA Lombard, GC Olivier and WB Vosloo.
- 272) Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis, Political Stability, Focus on key economic issues, No. 26, July 1980. Mercabank, Johannesburg, 1980, 9pp. The authors are Professors JA Lombard, JJ Stadler and Mr CA de Kock.
- 273) The new economic strategy was first revealed by the Prime Minister at the 1980 Transvaal National Party congress. Toespraak deur Sy Edele PW Botha, DVD, LV, Eerste Minister, Minister van Verdediging en van die Nasionale Intelligensiediens tydens die Nasionale Party Kongres van Transvaal : 1 September 1980. Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Information, Pretoria, pp.21 & 22. The strategy was spelled out in greater detail in Opening Address by the Prime Minister, the Hon. PW Botha, at the Annual Congress of the Associated Chambers of Commerce (ASSOCOM) in Johannesburg on 21 October 1980. Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Information, Pretoria, pp.17-19.
- 274) See The Star, 28 & 29/10/1980; Sunday Times, 2/11/1980; Rand Daily Mail, 3 & 7/11/1980, and Sunday Tribune, 19/4/1981.
- 275) See Hugo, P & HJ Kotzé, Suid-Afrika : Oorlewing in politieke perspektief. Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, undated, pp.101-113.
- 276) Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf, op. cit., p.144.
- 277) The PFP policy : Consensus Government. Official PFP publication, undated, 8pp.
- 278) Marquard, L, A Federation of Southern Africa. Oxford University Press, London, 1971, 142pp.
- 279) Interviews with Chief Buthelezi in Rand Daily Mail, 27 & 28/11/1979 and Post, 17/3/1980.
- 280) Beeld, 19/9/1980 and Sowetan, 3/2/1981.

- 281) Financial Times (London), 29/8/1974; Beeld, 24/5/1975; Rand Daily Mail, 16/3/1977 and Beeld, 23/3/1981.
- 282) Interviews with Mr Mabuza, Rand Daily Mail, 11/10/1979, The Star, 21/5/1981, and Growth, Journal of Development in Southern Africa (Corporation for Economic Development, Pretoria), Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1981, p.11.
- 283) The Citizen, 28/12/1978; Die Transvaler, 12/4/1979; The Citizen, 17/3/1980, and Sowetan, 26/2/1981 & 18/3/1981.
- 284) The Star, 25/2/1981. See also Die Transvaler, 17/4/1981.
- 285) Quoted by Stultz, NM, Transkei's Half Loaf, op. cit., p.153.
- 286) Matanzima, KD, Independence My Way. Foreign Affairs Association, Pretoria, 1976, p.38. See also p.104.
- 287) The Star, 7/12/1977. See also Beeld, 8/2/1979.
- 288) Sebe, LL, "Negotiated change or bloody confrontation - the choice for South Africa". Paper read to a conference at Mmabatho on behalf of Dr LL Sebe on 25 February 1981. Issued by Dept. of the Chief Minister and of Finance, Ciskeian Govt. Service, Zwelitsha, 6pp. It is worth noting that the Quail Commission recommended that Ciskei should only accept independence if five conditions were met, viz.
- "(1) That majorities of Ciskeians both in the Ciskei and in the South African common area vote in favour of independence in a carefully supervised referendum on this issue.
 - (2) That citizenship on satisfactory terms is negotiated which gives non-resident Ciskeians the choice of either Ciskeian or South African status or both, and that the South African government relinquishes its rights to expel, deport or otherwise remove from the common area Ciskeians who have chosen South African status.
 - (3) That on land, an enlargement of the Ciskei to an extent acceptable to the Ciskeian government has been agreed with the South African government. (The Commission is aware that the Ciskei government claims the corridor and East London).
 - (4) That the rights of Ciskeians to seek work and remain employed in South Africa are explicitly reserved.
 - (5) That South Africa agreed to provide equitable financial support."

Ciskei Commission Report, op. cit., p.127.

- 289) Quoted in HA Deb., 4/2/1974, col. 56.

- 290) Sunday Tribune, 6/1/1974. See also HA Deb., 4/2/1974, col. 54.
- 291) Rand Daily Mail, 17/1/1980.
- 292) Sunday Tribune, 20/1/1980.
- 293) Sunday Times, 18/2/1973.
- 294) Rand Daily Mail, 23/4/1980; Beeld, 19/9/1980; Rand Daily Mail, 29/9/1980; The Citizen, 1/12/1980, and Die Transvaler, 3/4/1981 & 29/4/1981.
- 295) In April 1980, a seven-man select committee of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly rejected independence for the homeland and instead advocated a federation comprising the homelands and "white South Africa" as "the only advantageous constitutional dispensation available to all South Africans". (Post, 1/4/1980).
- 296) Interview with To the Point, 15/12/1974.
- 297) For excellent, concise analyses of federation and its applicability to South Africa, see Kriek, DJ, "Politieke alternatiewe vir Suid-Afrika op soek na 'n nuwe paradigma", Politikon, Vol. 3, No. 1, June 1976, pp.57-89, and Kriek, DJ, "Enkele gedagtes oor die teorie en praktyk van federalisme", Politikon, Vol. 5, No. 2, December 1978, pp.188-205. For a good overview of homeland leaders' positions on the issue of a federation, see Kotzé, DA, op. cit., pp.299-236.
- 298) Barratt, J, "From South Africa to Azania : An Interview with Nthato Motlana", in Rotberg, RI & J Barratt (Eds.), Conflict and Compromise in Southern Africa. David Philip, Cape Town, 1980, pp.40-47.
- 299) Ciskei Commission Report, op. cit., pp.104 & 109.
- 300) Hanf, T, H Weiland & G Vierdag, Südafrika : Friedlicher Wandel? Kaiser, Grunewald, 1978, pp.364-366.
- 301) See above, p. 56 & 57.
- 302) HA Deb., 27/1/1959, col. 61-66, and 20/5/1959, col. 6219-6227.
- 303) HA Deb., 4/2/1974, col. 54.
- 304) HA Deb., 6/2/1980, col. 247 & 248.
- 305) See Ciskei Commission Report, op. cit., p.109; Hanf, T, et al, op. cit., p.364. and Barratt's interview with Motlana, in Barratt, J. op. cit.
aka Bull. Comm.