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MUNGER AFRICANA LIBRARY NOTES

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Issue #22

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SOUTH AFRICA'S HOMELANDS:  
TWO AFRICAN VIEWS

Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa

and

Herero Chief Clemens Kapuuo  
of South West Africa/Namibia

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FRONT COVER: Figure, perhaps a chief, over three feet tall, wearing a baboon-like mask and heavily beaded garment. From a scene depicting dancing and feasting, probably in honor of this figure, which is considerably larger than most human figures in the rock paintings. Farm Diana's Vow, Rusape. African Arts, Spring 1969, page 48. "Rock Paintings of Southern Africa," by H. C. Woodhouse.

## Introduction

The introduction to Issue #20 of this publication ("Will BophuthaTswana Join Botswana" by Chief Minister Lucas Mangope) reviewed the origins and current status of the "Separate Homelands" of South Africa. In this NOTE, the candid comments of Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa reinforce and extend the independent thinking of Chief Minister Mangope, as well as that of Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, first evidenced in these NOTES (Issue #10). Buthelezi has subsequently called for a "Super Federation" or a federal union of all the autonomous states in southern Africa which would guarantee the identity and cultural autonomy of every racial, ethnic, or cultural group in the country. In his address to the "Umtata Summit" of Homeland Leaders (November 1973), Buthelezi called for a "non-racial society in which every human being will have the right and opportunity to make the best possible use of his life." The popular Zulu leader said, "We dream now of a just society, in which racism will be conspicuous by its absence."

In a speech delivered in 1973 at Lichtenburg in the western Transvaal, the President of South Africa, Mr. J. J. Fouché, acknowledged that the world has entered a period of great change in which even old established values had to be modified to suit new circumstances. He told his predominately Afrikaans-speaking audience that the time for new adjustments in relations between whites and blacks had arrived and should be accepted. Further, he emphasized that the idea of freedom and equality of all people was receiving worldwide acceptance and South Africa could not escape simply by ignoring it. The State President concluded by appealing to his countrymen to respect one another, irrespective of a person's race or color.

There has been some response by foreign critics as well as those in South Africa to the Bantustan concept. France's Ombudsman, Antoine Pinay, on his third officially-promoted visit to South Africa, urged French businessmen to invest in Bantustans. One of the leading manufacturers in Europe, Laborbau of Stuttgart, Germany, is investing \$750,000 in the Transkei for the manufacture of

laboratory equipment. The United Party, during its Annual Congress in Bloemfontein in November 1973, decided that if it comes to power, whites will no longer have any right of veto over independent Bantustans, thus confirming the irreversibility of Bantustans as long as that is the way Africans want it. The Congress stressed the sharing of political power and rejected the old concept of white "baasskap" (white master-ship).

After an extensive tour of South Africa in late 1973, financier David Rockefeller observed: "The Homeland leaders impressed me as men of stature who were committed to the rapid development of their people. They are also concerned with the development of the South African economy as a whole because they cannot now perceive how their areas can develop outside the context of the total economy."\*

Liberal author Alan Paton, as he has done before, called upon white South Africa to change or die, because the days of white domination and unilateral white decisions are over. He believes progress toward political independence of the Homelands (however much they might leave to be desired) is irreversible and the possibility of a black federation, and, in turn, its federation with white South Africa, must be recognized (Durban Sunday Tribune, October 28, 1973).

The dynamic Zulu leader, Gatsha Buthelezi, was quite outspoken with Ethiopian students and OAU representatives in Addis Ababa (December 4, 1973). He said he could not accept all of their judgments on current political developments in South Africa because "...with all due respect, you live far from us. We live within the situation. We must judge the situation ourselves and act accordingly."

One positive indication of political change in South Africa is the recommendation by the Bantu Affairs Commission that the South African government should turn over the "white enclave" of Port St. Johns to the Transkei government. As long ago as 1961, Port St. Johns appeared to be the most likely harbor site for the Transkei, and this editor, after making a study of the situation,

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\*Statement released by Chase Manhattan Bank in New York.

discussed its status with both Chief Kaiser Matanzima and the then-Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. At that time Matanzima insisted that the Transkei must have a port and that Port St. Johns must come under his authority regardless of how many whites had seaside cottages there. Dr. Verwoerd, on the other hand, was adamant about its not being given to the Transkei. He cited the German treaties of the last century from which the anomaly of a "white spot" arose. He also warned of the potential dangers to South Africa if vessels from hostile states could trade directly with such an embryo state. Recently, in hailing the proposed change, neither Chief Minister Matanzima nor the South African officials made mention of Dr. Verwoerd's emphatically intransigent position a decade earlier.

The tocsin of change is sounding from divers quarters. The ban against Africans working as garage mechanics has been dropped. African nurses are officially allowed to care for white patients, although this has actually been the case for some years in Natal. Job reservation is being further eroded, and the building industry has moved to have a significant number of African artisans. Africans have been appointed for the first time to the governing councils of all three "Bantu" universities. Alan Paton, in the Sunday Tribune, January 13, 1974, asserted, "There are very few South Africans who do not believe that political change is inevitable..." The editor of the Nationalist Sunday paper, Rapport (January 20, 1974), stated, "The future is neither integration, nor total separation. . . ." and then discussed what was once anathema to National Party supporters--the possibility of some black, some white, and some mixed areas in South Africa.

When viewed against such a background, the emergence of Cedric Phatudi has a special significance. First of all, he is the only Homeland leader who has come to power by defeating an incumbent leader at the polls. Second, he has a strong constituency support in the urban areas, particularly in Soweto where he was active in civic affairs for a long time. He speaks English exceptionally well, enunciating his words and articulating his phrases with care. A man of personal warmth, although with a certain reserve, Cedric Phatudi repeatedly has been the first African in new positions, and thus has been subject to his share of racial insults. He is compassionate in his understanding of the fears and foibles of the whites and the impatience of younger blacks, but he is firm in matters of principle.

He does not have the charisma of a chief going for him, as do Buthelezi and Mangope, nor does he have the academic prestige of Professor Ntsanwisi in nearby Gazankulu. Cedric Phatudi made a conscious decision to leave a successful career in the urban areas in order to strike out as a political leader in a now poor and relatively remote rural area. His position as Chief Minister is an indication of his superior ability and hard work.

Clemens Kapuuo is generally recognized as the political leader of the Herero people and as one of the most influential Africans in South West Africa. He succeeded the distinguished Chief Hosea Kutako as Paramount Chief of the Hereros. Kutako's 90 years encompassed his wars against the Nama, severe privations of his people in fighting the Germans (which included General Von Trotha's infamous "extermination" policy), and continual tensions with the Pretoria government. Chief Kutako made the first protest to the United Nations from South West Africa in 1949. Shortly before his death, Chief Kutako told this editor that he believed Kapuuo, who was then a young man, was the type of leader needed by the Herero: one who was educated and conversant with the modern world. Now 50 years old, Clemens Kapuuo is a teacher by profession and a political leader by conviction. He lives in Windhoek's Katatura compound, is denied a telephone, and frequently speaks of police harassment. He does not have the support of position and age behind him and is far more vulnerable to government pressure than is Bishop L. Auala of the Ovambos (Issue #17, February 1973), who is the most influential religious leader of South West.

Kapuuo has his political difficulties with those Africans from the territory who are in exile and with those who are associated with guerilla activity. When U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim was in Windhoek in 1972, he insisted on seeing Clemens Kapuuo. They had a three-hour meeting in the VIP Room at the airport, during which Kapuuo presented his petition that the United Nations immediately take over administration of the territory.

In November 1973 Kapuuo traveled to New York where he asked the United Nations to recognize the National Convention (of which Kapuuo is a stalwart member) as the official spokesman

for the indigenous people of Namibia. This recognition would have been a direct challenge to the exile organization, SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization), and, in effect, would have cast the exile leaders and their guerilla counterparts aside. Informed sources reported that the Chinese delegation at the United Nations asked to see Chief Kapuuo and indicated possible support for him. Soviet influence with SWAPO has been far greater than Chinese influence, but this does not imply that the organization is under any nation's control. Kapuuo's approach posed something of a dilemma for the Organization of African Unity, which had recognized the exile SWAPO as sole spokesman for South West Africa. The United Nations Council, however, denied Kapuuo's request for recognition of the National Convention and voted recognition of the exile SWAPO organization.

During the last decade, Kapuuo has managed to turn an unfavorable situation to his advantage. Previously the Hereros had their own political organization, which the more numerous Ovambos and other groups had not. The approximately 40,000 Hereros are greatly outnumbered by the approximately 300,000 Ovambos. Twenty years ago educated Hereros in South West Africa candidly told this editor that they wanted independence so that they could resume their own dominance of the other ethnic groups for most of which they felt contempt. But now Kapuuo is a prominent force in a movement covering most ethnic groups, making it very difficult for African bodies outside the territory and the United Nations to deny them recognition.

However, Clemens Kapuuo must contend with rival leaders inside the territory to whom the South African government prefers to give recognition and pays increasing attention through the Prime Minister's council. Thus, the white government views Kapuuo as a dangerous radical, while those in exile see him as a non-violent leader. Militant or moderate, he is caught, in an expression common to South West Africa, between the bark and the tree. His room to maneuver is limited.

Whereas Cedric Phatudi weighs his words carefully in order to be sure of clearly expressing a definite point of view, Clemens Kapuuo measures his sentences by what their meaning might be to different ears.

E. S. M.



## I. LEBOWA: HOMELAND FOR ALL

Q: Honorable Chief Minister, why don't you like the term "Bantustan"?

Chief Minister Phatudi: Bantustan conveys the impression that only Bantu-speaking people are welcome in Lebowa. We think of our country as a Homeland--Home and Land--for all people.

Q: But is it not officially a Homeland for Africans who speak Northern Sotho languages?

Phatudi: Yes, it is a Homeland for my own Mphahlele people and other Sotho-speakers. But we also have many Zulu-speaking peoples. We have those who speak Sechuana--Chief Seleka's people--and we have Shangaans as well. We are all citizens of the Lebowa Nation.

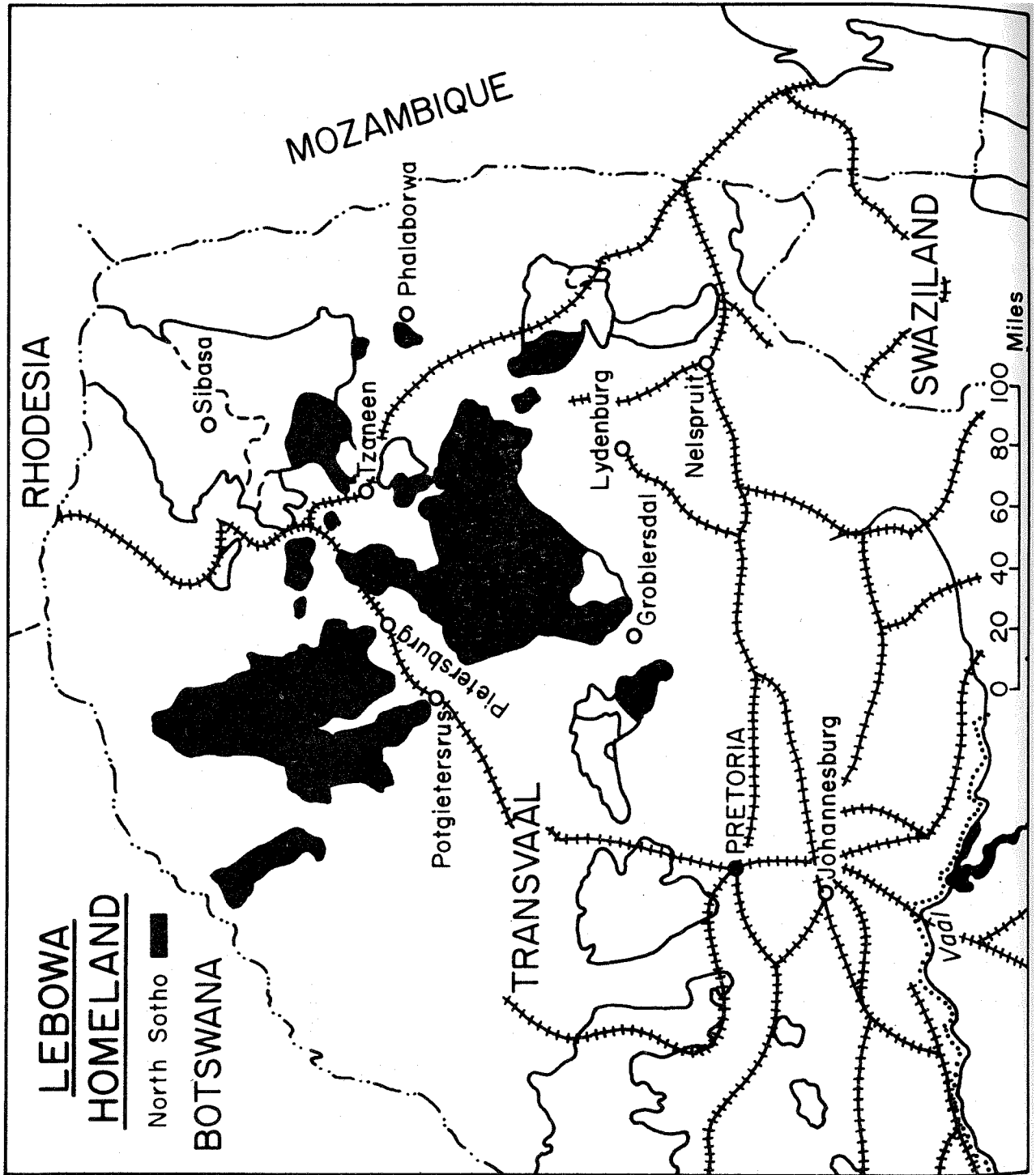
Q: And non-Africans?

Phatudi: Of course. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has told the Coloured people that they are welcome in KwaZulu; we already have Coloured citizens in Lebowa. We also have Indians, who, by the way, are very good businessmen. We want to have more land because a nation cannot be developed effectively with five separate pieces of territory. But we don't want any whites to be forced to move, particularly since some of them have lived among us for many generations. Their skills and their capital are needed. They are welcome to be citizens of Lebowa and I hope they stay. That is why I don't like the term "Bantustan," as though only Bantu are welcome.

Q: Chief Minister Mangope has said that he would like BophuthaTswana to join Botswana some day. Would your Batswana citizens also want to join nearby Botswana?

Phatudi: No. Why should they join another country if they are satisfied citizens of Lebowa?

Q: How do you feel about suggestions by Gatsha Buthelezi and



Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima [of the Transkei] for a federation of Homelands?

Phatudi: I haven't discussed it with them, but I must sound a note of caution. You must remember our history in South Africa. It would be wrong for the black nations to join together without consulting the whites. We do not want to make them afraid or to dominate them. That would not be a democracy.

Q: The United Party's shadow Foreign Minister, Japie Basson, M. P., has been saying in America that, as opposed as his party now is to continued white domination, black domination would be racism in reverse. Is that what you are saying?

Phatudi: We have not had a fully democratic society. We are moving in the right direction. The whites must understand our aspirations, and we must take cognizance of their fears.

There is sense in black unity, but I caution that any move in that direction should not exclude the whites. For once that move excludes the whites, then we are sowing a piece of dissension straightaway and without peace or concord. We are just looking for trouble. I think that our history shows that the white government makes very many mistakes mainly because it excludes us from the seats of power. Now, when we formulate a new setup, if we make the same mistakes or similar mistakes as were made in the past by excluding any of the important sections of the peoples of South Africa, we are not making progress.

At the same time we draw advantage from the policy of Separate Development. It is very encouraging to find white support in South Africa because we find we cannot do without the white people and the white people cannot do without us. We are becoming more and more aware of our interdependence. And this, to our way of thinking, is very advantageous.

The present Homeland policy is an attempt to find a state of affairs which may give more people more opportunity. It isn't the final thing or the true answer. It is leading to somewhere and it depends on how it is handled. We are trying to find harmonious states of affairs politically. I think we are all aware of the fact

that economically we are interdependent. But the problem is to find a political arrangement which will reflect the economic reality. And if both white and black, as I think that the climate is now developing, will be prepared to modify arrangements, we will eventually, I believe, find some structure more harmonious politically. But I do want to emphasize that this is what I have always tried to say--that Separate Development doesn't give all the answers.

Our Lebowa people who live in the "white" urban areas don't want to all come to Lebowa, and we couldn't give them jobs if they came. The emphasis in the Tomlinson Report was on how to build up the bulk of the African people outside the white cities, and the Report concentrated on that. That assumption, I thought, was very wrong. The whole thing is that the people in urban areas are related to the people in the Homelands. One of the things that should be understood is that the white politicians are not always equipped with all the facts about us. They say things using inadequate information or twist it in discussion of the facts. The African must decide for himself. Africans must say what they want to do.

Q: Prime Minister Vorster has recently said that the government would not oppose, or would even encourage, Africans moving into many more skilled jobs than they ever moved into before.

Phatudi: That is true. I think the tide turned when the leadership of the Homelands moved into the hands of the enlightened people. But I don't know whether Africans outside the Republic of South Africa, or the people of the United States, the United Kingdom, of Europe, or anywhere else in the world--whether they appreciate the changed attitudes.

Q: Do you feel that the decision of the Zulus to go for a Bantustan and Gatsha's decision to stop opposing it could have been an influence also?

Phatudi: I can't speak for Chief Buthelezi, but I respect the view that although he differed with Separate Development, he was quite prepared to try it. It could have been a different state of affairs if he had said, "I'll have nothing to do with it, I'll just kick with both my feet. We will get nothing out of that, or very little indeed." But the fact that he said, "Well, I'm going to have a go at it, in spite

of the fact that I think it is very imperfect," I think that was the point. If the critics outside of the Republic of South Africa or even within the Republic would take that attitude--that he was trying for change--I think that would have been very, very useful. All politicians have learned that it is always the best if they take a positive attitude toward things and explore the possibilities objectively. And when the problems arise, they are genuine problems. They are not made up. They are not from prejudice. They are real problems that affect all.

Q: Would you please give a brief sketch of your life?

Phatudi: I was born in Pietersburg in northern Transvaal on the 27th of May in 1912. My father was the chief of the Mphahlele tribe. It is a big group but it is a sharing with the North Sotho tribe in Lebowa. My father's name was Mnutle Phatudi and my mother's name was Ramaredi. My father had a number of wives, because it was traditional. He had nine. My mother was the fifth wife. I had one sister and two brothers; we are four in my mother's family and we are all alive. In my father's family, with my half-brothers and half-sisters--give me time to count--I think there are about 21, the total family. I am in close contact with my brothers and sisters although we are scattered all over. Some are in Pretoria, others are overseas. There are those who are married to people living abroad and some married outside of the Mphahlele tribe.

Our people--the whole tribe--have been in this area in Pietersburg much of the 19th century. They migrated from the plains in the direction of Portuguese Mozambique, and they lived for a long time at a place near Tzaneen. They moved away from that area to the area where they now are. This all happened somewhere in 1800. They didn't displace anybody, they were sort of absorbed.

For a short while I attended mission schools. I studied for a few months in the old Dutch Reformed Mission School, and then I went to the Presbyterian Mission School where I spent more time. Then my father--he was a popular fellow--put up the first Tribal or Central School in the Transvaal in 1921. My father was a great believer in education. Using the standards of the time, he was reasonably educated because he went to Lovedale. I'm not so sure how the facilities were at the time, but he attended Lovedale--I think it was in 1916--and received a postprimary education.



Chief Minister Phatudi wearing his chain of office.

I attended that Tribal School in Pietersburg, which was a school for the entire tribe, Christian and non-Christian people together. That was the school that brought an end to a number of mission schools that existed in the tribe at the time. My father was not hostile to the missionaries, but he had an idea of pulling the tribe together, because he felt that one Central School was better than a number of mission schools of different denominations. As you know, the ambition of each church is to have followers. Naturally people who belong to a church would have their loyalty there, too. And if you have a number of types of church denominations, you have a number of people leaning to the various church denominations and their loyalties are there. For instance, many Afrikaners-- who are another ethnic group--do look askance at anyone who moves outside one of their three different churches.

The Central Tribal School drew its teachers from the mission schools. At the time there was a subsidization of teachers. You see, the school was registered, so the Education Department paid so much money toward the salaries of the teachers. We have had a great deal of difficulty with the Anglican Church that had a big number of Anglican mission schools on the border and other places. In fact, the then-Bishop, Ambrose Reeves, had an option when the government withdrew its subsidy. He closed the schools against the African children. African parents wanted their children to come to school, but the Bishop took a pretty strong stand.

After the Central Tribal School, I went to a training institution in Pretoria where teachers were trained. I taught a teacher's course there and I finished in 1931. After that I did private studying on my own and took my matric in 1940-41. By then I had been actually teaching in Lebowa for about 10 years. At first I taught in a Dutch Reformed Mission School--I am a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. I taught in the Seminary School for a short while in Pietersburg, then I proceeded to teach in the first Tribal School in Sekhuneland. I went there because that was the first Tribal School and I applied--they advertised for the post--and I applied, and I was accepted. It is a Sotho-speaking school. I remained there until 1941 when I left for Fort Hare. I decided to go on for more education as I wanted to take a university degree. I took my BA at Fort Hare after a three-year course.

A few of the professors I particularly remember from there are Professor Chapman, a professor of history, which was one of my favorite subjects. At the time there was not a wide choice in history. You had to do the medieval times, the French Revolution, the English Revolution, as well as America as a developing American state. South African history had a lot of emphasis on the Great Trek and the constitutional development of the Republic of South Africa, tracing all that from the days of British Colonial history. There was also Professor Barlow, professor of English. I did not take regular English at the time, but studied English under Professor Barlow and I was very much impressed. Professor Z. K. Matthews\* was there, and I studied under him doing Roman Dutch Law. There was Professor D. D. T. Jabavu and there was a lecturer in charge of teaching the Sotho group of languages.

After I finished Fort Hare, I stayed in teaching. Then I got an appointment as Supervisor of Schools and was stationed in Springs, a suburb of Johannesburg. This was for the Transvaal Education Department. I was inspecting primary schools, all kinds of schools; no particular studies; we did not have time to specialize, we just had to do the whole work. We were called Supervisors. But we did exactly the same work as the white Inspectors, except that we did not have the title. These Inspectors were mostly Afrikaners and some Europeans. It was a very special thing to be a Supervisor of Schools. I was among the first African Supervisors. We were paid a much lower salary than the Europeans were paid. We were not called Inspectors at the time.

I got on with the Supervisory group until 1955, when I was appointed one of the first Sub-Inspectors of Bantu schools. That was supposed to be a notch higher than a Supervisor. That was when the Bantu Education Act was begun and we were elevated to the position of Sub-Inspectors. It was one of the things under the Bantu Education Act to make it less unacceptable to Africans who were generally fairly much opposed to it. It was an indication that a door was being opened for more responsible positions to Africans.

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\*A distinguished African and Botswana's first Ambassador to the United Nations.



I was severely criticized by some of my countrymen seeming to be a part of the Bantu Education Act myself. I was threatened in many, many ways. Sometimes they broke up my meetings, made anonymous telephone calls, called me names, sometimes sent anonymous letters.

Whilst I was carrying on as Sub-Inspector, I attended part-time classes at the University and took a degree in Bantu Education.

Q: That took a lot of perseverance. Wasn't it hard to keep studying?

Phatudi: Very hard, indeed. But still I attended and in 1958 I was appointed, with a few others, full-fledged Inspector. That was the very first group of African Inspectors. I'm not very sure of the year, but it happened after 1955. I was then moved from the East Branch to the West Branch as Senior Inspector in charge of Soweto. There was a European as Chief, C. A. MacDonald. As Sub-Inspector I was stationed at Krugersdorp, where I covered the West Branch. I remained there for a long time. In 1969, with the political development, I felt I should take to politics.

Q: Had you been involved in politics up until then?

Phatudi: No. Just school politics. I was purely interested in education and I had spoken at such functions.

Q: You had not been a member of, when they were legal, the African National Congress or Urban Bantu Council, or any of those earlier organizations?

Phatudi: No, I was never a member of any organization.

Q: Had you known any of the political leaders?

Phatudi: Well, I had known the political people, all of them. I was in education and I did take notice of their statements of political interest. I knew very well, for instance, Dr. Xuma. But I must say, before 1969, I had not taken any active part in politics. I kept my place as a civil servant. But somehow in

1969 I felt things were not drifting the way I felt they should. My Lebowa people needed me.

Q: Do you have any idea how people in Soweto, whom the government considers Lebowan citizens, voted?

Phatudi: The response was very encouraging. About 70 percent voted. They took an enormous interest. I campaigned in Soweto and there was a lot of support for me there. There was support not only from Soweto but also from the Homeland itself.

Q: Are most of your people in Soweto very nervous or uneasy or unhappy about Homelands? Do they fear they are going to be forced out of Soweto?

Phatudi: No, I don't think so. At first they opposed the idea of Separate Development. They feared that they would be told to move lock, stock, and barrel. But recently we have put it quite clearly--at least, I put it quite clearly among the other people--that in the Homelands we have no extra space, no extra room. We have no jobs to take in people from the urban areas. Even if they had come to us, we would not be able to give them very good facilities. In principle we think they belong to the urban area. They were born there, some of their fathers were born there. And they have made contributions toward the building of the towns and the cities where they are. They are entitled to enjoy living right there. That includes all the rights that a citizen, a free citizen, should enjoy: they should be entitled to own land, to vote on local issues. If we are to be a democracy we should accept that.

Q: What do you think of the idea that Soweto should be extended to some 20 miles to the south and form a separate Homeland of its own?

Phatudi: What would that solve?

Q: Well, presumably, it would solve the problem of the white politicians not wanting to give Africans votes in the so-called "white" areas, and it would enlarge and make a mini-state of an area in which there would be representation on local issues.

Phatudi: Well, if they did that with the view to accepting the people in Soweto as members of the urban community with rights, facilities, and opportunities, I would support that.

Q: There is an African expression, "Isidolobha," based on the Afrikaans word, "dorp," or small town. "Isidolobha" refers to the culture of the towns, implying that there is a new ethnic group that has emerged in South Africa--that is, a syncretic grouping essentially urban and different from all the ethnic associations in the past.

Phatudi: That's right. It is an admission of the fact that these people have become a new group insofar as their urban life and their emotional life is concerned, and they are sharing the civilization of all the civilized people.

But the Homelands are also moving from traditional social centers to a Westernized, nationwide, urbanized setup. So if there is anything given up, it is not the towns that are giving up, it is the Homeland that is giving up traditional structure. Now we have school systems, the churches, the induction of the people in the trades, with new values similar to those of Western society. The Homelands are growing to be more like Soweto. We call ourselves Lebowans, all of us. But if you split hairs, we have a portion of Lebowans and Zulu people, and we have a portion of Lebowans who are Tswana people, and they are in the Seleka area, Chief Seleka's people. We also have many Shangaans.

Q: So, in a sense, you are saying that Lebowa in some ways is a rural Soweto made up of many different ethnic groups and different language groups?

Phatudi: Yes, we are fairly nicely mixed up in Lebowa. And we want to keep ourselves like that. We have no intention of expelling any groups that aren't Sotho-speaking. It would be really taking ethnic grouping too far, and it would be unwise. For example, if a non-Sotho African teacher is sufficiently qualified, we won't refuse to make use of his services. Why should we, when we use white people?

We must rule ourselves. We must know on which side the bread is buttered. We must decide those issues and nobody else must interfere. We are seeking investments from Europe and America for our Homeland. Of course, not everybody would have to fill

our cup. Now, investment might come from all friendly countries, too. I believe we will be careful not to invite the Communist people. I don't think it is necessary to do that. But all the other non-Communist countries, investors who really want to assist in developing our Homeland, they should really find us cooperative to do that. In fact, I would be glad if I could get the support of investors for Lebowa, because we need them. But we want investors to train Lebowa citizens and give Lebowa citizens a chance to invest themselves. What would be the point of investors just coming and having them monopolize? The agency system for investment that we now have isn't satisfactory. We think that we should have a Lebowa Development Corporation and we would like our people to serve on the Board of Directors. I gather that the Xhosa Investment Corporation has no black man on the Board of Directors. And to us that is a very serious defect in the scheme. We would like the Lebowa Development Corporation to have our people on the Board of Directors. We are not going to shut out the whites because they have the know-how. But we would like our people to start participating together in this.\*

I think presently there is the feeling for investment of between 25 years and 30 years duration. Now that, in the opinion of those who know, is a very short period. But I believe that if in that time there is no competent black man or black woman in the organization who can take over, something has gone wrong. But let me emphasize this: The present arrangement is inherited by us from the white government. If investors would come to us, then we could discuss the matter. Then we would come to a compromise which may be something quite different from what we are talking about when we now discuss investment. To me the door is open. It rests with the Homeland government to consult with investors to find a happy agreement, which can promote the common interest without prejudice or without running our industry for us. I believe that it is quite possible to find some sort of arrangement whereby industry can be happy and at the same time the Homeland itself can benefit.

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\*Chief Minister Phatudi later met with Prime Minister Vorster in Pretoria. Phatudi reported he was given a firm promise of the formation of a special development body for Lebowa which would replace the Bantu Investment Corporation.

Q: What problems do you encounter in putting across your message to potential investors?

Phatudi: The outside world is not prepared to believe most news about the Homelands if it comes from the South African government, no matter how true a report may be. For our own sake we really need a Homelands Information Department. During my talks with several American Congressmen, I hammered away at the idea that people in America don't understand what we are trying to do for ourselves. The world just won't listen to white South Africa. But we can honestly tell white cattle ranchers that we have excellent land in Lebowa for ranching and that we need their help. We can tell investors about our mineral resources. We need help from bankers, because money is power and if we cannot control it properly, we won't be able to canalize it properly for our best development. Too many investors who would like to help us don't know about Lebowa or don't trust what the white government has to say. That is why our own Information Service must have a high priority.

Q: How do you feel about educational arrangements in Lebowa now?

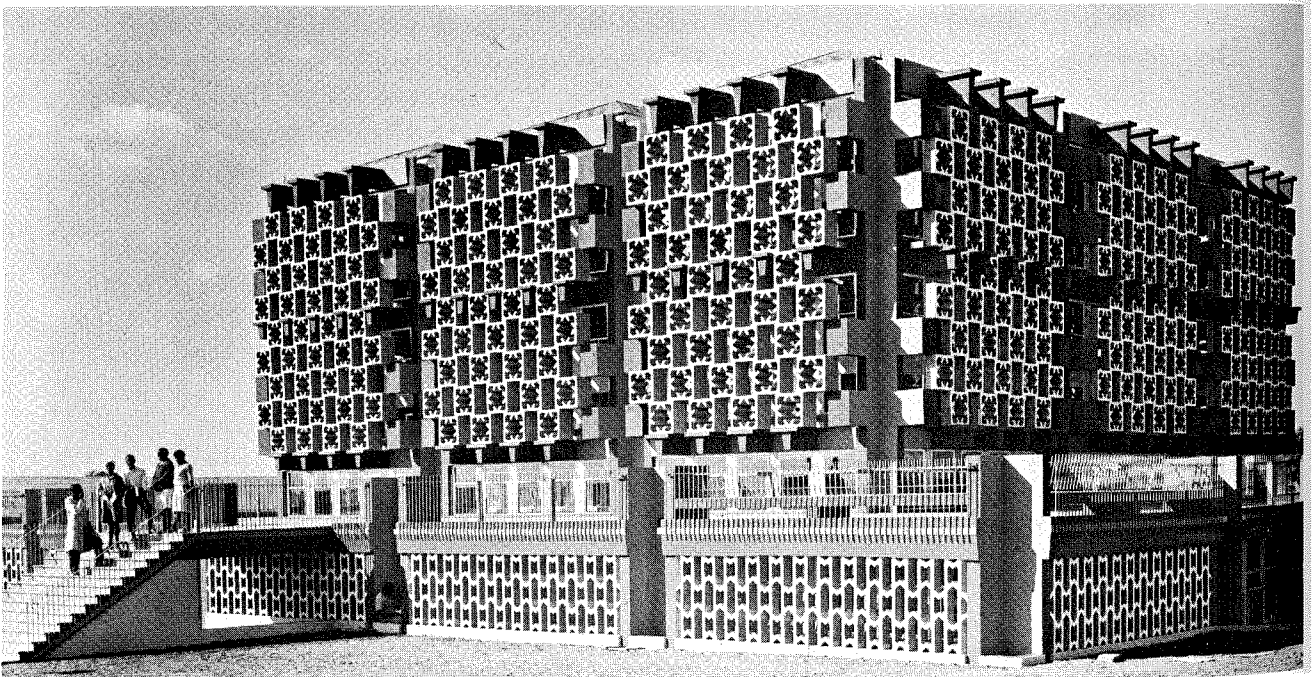
Phatudi: The Education Act, you see, was placed before the Legislature. But the indications are that they are in favor of using English language as a medium of communication much earlier than it is now at Standard 6. By that time most people, half the people, are through. They are finished with their education. The Transkei started the ball rolling by starting English in Standard 2. I think this excellent example is liable to be followed by the others. Parents must have the right to choose the medium of instruction in which their children are educated. I believe, I am not so sure, but I believe the schools will be given to use one medium. If it is English, it will be English. Because there is provision made that the second language has got to come. But for the legal instruction, one medium is sufficient.

Q: What do you think of the organization of the universities?

Phatudi: I think it is unfortunate that any government should interfere with the running of a university. The university should be an independent, autonomous voice free to teach whomsoever it



South African State President addressing  
opening ceremony of the  
Lebowa Legislative Assembly, May 1973



Students on the steps of the library of the  
University of the North in Pietersburg

wants to teach. It should teach whatever it wants, and in the manner it wants to do it to get the maximum results of high education: that is, to produce an efficient, balanced, human being, according to the standards which the universities alone are competent to evolve. So if that is the case I wouldn't like the idea that the Republic of South Africa should interfere with the university. Nor should Lebowa's government interfere with the university. But I do admit the fact that if the government has to pay subsidies to help with the development of the university, then the government should be satisfied that the work done at the university is in the very best interest of all the people. I'm not able to draw a line just exactly how much say the government should have in the setup. But I believe that it would be unfortunate for universities to become too much under a particular government, because government has all kinds of preferences and predilections and prejudices. If universities are now going to conform to the dictates of the government, then they won't produce the kind of student that is best.

Q: How far has consolidation proceeded in Lebowa?

Phatudi: We have 14 pieces--14 fragments of land--in Lebowa. But the government has recently put forward proposals that we should consolidate them into 5, which would be an improvement, having regard for the fact that 14 are far too many to manage. But the proposals are unsatisfactory. Five pieces are far too many. It is necessary--not just desirable--it is necessary for proper government that Lebowa should be consolidated into one cohesive mass so that we can know where we stand.

We are now hoping that the Land Commission appointed by our session of our Legislative Assembly will be reporting to us, and we hope that they will bring the whole matter clearly so that we can see where we stand. And the Republican Government, too, would see where we stand.

Q: Do you have any idea how many Europeans would be involved if a greater Lebowa were made around the outside boundaries of the five pieces?

Phatudi: I can't give you statistics, but it is obvious that there would be quite a number of Europeans who would be involved,

because we have a couple of towns--Phalaborwa, for example, Tzaneen, Pietersburg, Groblersdal, and, of course, there is even Lydenburg. It is our intention that people should stay where they are. We would be quite prepared to accept Europeans as citizens in Lebowa who wanted to stay there. They have many skills. And they are developing the area and they are happy with us. Now, why should they move?

Q: It would seem that the hardest thing a white government is constituted to do is to take land from white farmers, even though they are financially compensated, and give it to the Homelands. Such action produces great antagonism among National Party supporters. Only a few days ago several hundred white farmers on the border of Lebowa protested to the government. Mr. H. J. Geerkens of Hebron farm in the Limburg area near Potgietersrus charged that "...the Bantu Affairs Commission has not lived up to the undertakings it gave to white farmers in this district that when white farms were bought, production would be maintained or even increased." So, wouldn't you agree that this is a difficult as well as emotional undertaking for the South African government?

Phatudi: Yes. It is very difficult. I appreciate that.

Q: What do you say to the charge made by some that the African people of Lebowa are not making effective use of the land they now have? That they are not farming it efficiently, that they have a considerable absentee landownership, and that they produce only three or four bags of mealies per morgen?

Phatudi: I can't deny that some of those charges are true. But I must add this: that same criticism holds good even in respect to the whites. They don't use profitably all the land they have-- I have seen it myself. Many open spaces are not used. Many open spaces are left to soil erosion. In the white sector it becomes quite serious because they have the know-how, they have the opportunity which we have not. The white community is more privileged than we are. They have much better credit facilities than the Lebowan farmer, which means, among other things, that they can buy tractors and fertilizer more easily, and so forth.

I attach a lot of importance to the use of land. It would be



unfortunate if we get more land than we could make use of, or we would use it badly. It would be very unfortunate. But I don't think Homeland government will be worth anything if it can get land and not make use of it properly. The little land we have now we intend to use properly. In the past there was simply no real opportunity of training our people in modern agriculture. I am not underestimating the fact that there has always been a Department of Agriculture that has been trying to teach our people soil conservation, crop rotation, irrigation, and so on. But I do feel that the efforts were not intensive enough. The education of the people was not properly ordered. I don't think we can keep on using the traditional ways of land tenure as an excuse for not introducing the proper techniques.

Q: What is the role of chiefs in the Legislature?

Phatudi: We have 60 nominated chiefs. Forty legislators are elected.

Q: Is a large percentage of the seats going to be nominated seats in which the chiefs have the predominate influence as opposed to ones in which there is a general election? Because so far you are in the pattern of British Colonial areas, where you start off with many nominated seats and a few elected and then you move eventually to no nominated seats and all elected.

Phatudi: That is right. I think that is going to happen because now we have the right to change the constitution in the way that we think fit. To give you some idea of how the chiefs think, we have two political parties--the Lebowa People's Party (that is my Party) and the Lebowa National Party under Chief Matlala, who is the leader of the opposition and who is the ex-Chief Counselor.

Q: Is Lebowa the first Homeland in which the government has been voted out of office?

Phatudi: Yes. The chiefs changed their views. About 70 members of the 100--70 members in the House, members of the Government Party, and that included the very huge majority of the leading chiefs in Lebowa--support me. And only about thirty or less are supporting the opposition party. The first public voting took place this time.

Q: Are you a chief yourself?

Phatudi: No, I am not a chief. My father was a chief. An uncle--a younger brother of my father--is the chief now. He supports me wholeheartedly. I think the chiefs are very progressive, they have taken a progressive line. People have said--and this is unfortunate, because you hear negative ideas very often from people who are ill-informed--they keep on accusing chiefs and saying the chiefs are traditional and they are conservative, and they will not do this and they will not do the other thing. I find a great majority of chiefs are willing to learn and to listen to an enlightened man as long as they trust him. The chief respects the land that belongs to a family. It is absolutely unfortunate that people regard the chiefs as if they are unreasonable dictators and exploiters. On the contrary, most of the chiefs defend the interests of families as far as land tenure is concerned.

Q: What view do you have about guerillas who come across the border a short distance from Lebowa?

Phatudi: Nobody can allow himself to be robbed of his little possession. The question of guerillas to me is not easy, because I don't quite know whether the guerillas, taken in all, are coming for our interest or not. Are they coming to take from us what we have? People say that they come to liberate, and I don't know whether that is true or not, because I don't know who "they" are, in fact. Are "they" democratic people mainly, or are "they" communists? What are their purposes? Are they few, are they many? I don't know where they get their support from. These questions are intriguing and I want more details before I can know what stand to take. But I don't like to feel that anybody can take Lebowa--the small piece of Lebowa, which we have--when we want more.

Q: What kind of response have you had from the people you have talked with in America?

Phatudi: The circles in which I move ask me very intelligent questions without making any statements. They just want to know. The first group of students I spoke to was at the Southern Illinois University, in the Political Science Department. There was a very

enthusiastic discussion after my talk and there I was impressed by the fact that they wanted to know. There are a few who did not quite see that the changes in South Africa on the political scene have been very, very quick and in some respects very illuminating. When people here don't know about, or don't understand, the changes, they are critical of people like myself. Gatsha Buthelezi, for example, had great hostility when he spoke at an Episcopal meeting in St. Louis. But most of the criticisms came from South Africans like Dennis Brutus. They really threatened to beat Buthelezi up. They said he was a stooge and all kinds of things. Most Americans are quite prepared, I must say, to listen and to get the facts. I do my best, of course, to expose the situation objectively and try to show that we are aware of the defects.

Q: Would you care to comment on anything that has impressed you, favorably or unfavorably, during your stay in this country?

Phatudi: I think television is necessary and desirable for the reasons of instructing the public and entertaining the public. Freedom of speech must be qualified. Because you have to speak your mind and give an honest exposition of your own feelings, as long as you are intelligent enough to take the full consequences of what you are saying, and as long as you know that you are supposed to speak your mind but not to endanger. Freedom of speech must be qualified. People mustn't think that when you speak your mind you are offensive to them. Even in individual lives you don't go about swearing at people and insulting them. So, if anybody talks carelessly in order to spark off a row or a riot, I think that shouldn't be allowed by people of any race. I think that it is a responsibility to all people not to do or say anything that will cause an actual explosion, and this is not just peculiar or characteristic of my land. I mean, you take a football match. If the spectators talk carelessly before the game, then the players will fight. Or their supporters will fight. So I do think that in any organized crowd there is some responsibility on the part of all of us not to spark a commotion.

Q: Speaking of games, what did you think of the Pretoria Games?

Phatudi: Oh, I was very pleased, indeed. We have a certain limited number of young Lebowan players that are making a mark.

But I am very pleased with the games, and would like to see more of that sort of thing.

Q: You have been studying various migratory systems in foreign countries, such as the Mexican labor in California. Do you have any observations to make?

Phatudi: Yes. My government is going to review a number of laws, such as influx control and migratory labor, which are causing my people a lot of misery. None of the systems I have studied abroad have the hostel and compound system we have in South Africa. I find that migrant families abroad live decent lives and are free to stay where they wish. And each person is paid according to his ability and not his color. We must abolish influx control in South Africa. What we need is a system which allows each and every person to give of their best. Color should not determine what a person is worth. And urban people should be given the right to own property in the areas where they live.

Q: Would you comment on population figures for Lebowa?

Phatudi: The official figures are 2.7 million for Lebowa, but actually, in traveling up and down the hills and valleys and plateaus and mountainsides, the population is probably much closer to 4 million, and there has been a serious underenumeration in the census. This is very bad because people get money on the basis of 2.7 million people and we plan on that, when we should be planning on the basis of money for 4 million people.

I haven't thought about it very much at all, but I am not at all sure that African men would necessarily oppose birth control. Obviously, Africans don't want the whites to increase their births and Africans have to cut theirs down. But the idea that Africans think they should have large families because that gives them status and prestige and compensates them for rights they haven't got--I think that is debatable, indeed. It isn't really the sort of thing that you hear in the educated and cultural circles. On the contrary, the college man and the college woman are so involved with the education of their children and the welfare of their children that they would rather have a smaller family than a larger one.

The girls are now numbering more than the boys in school in a

great many localities. And the girls who drop out of school, it is not because they are girls, but just due to, perhaps, the poverty stricken circumstances and they are forced to drop out of school. And that is a fact as far as boys are concerned, too. But there is no more of that former attitude of debarring girls from education just because they are girls. I have much experience of this. When I was Minister of Education in Lebowa, not so long ago, I used to have regular contacts with the community and, after teaching the girls in traditional dresses in the schools, the girls and the boys would still go to the initiation schools. And then, they would come back! There is a harmonizing of the cultures.

We would like to stimulate educators and people in industry to discover for themselves the potential power of the Homeland, and the chances and the evidence for further development. I think the Homeland will provide the evidence for getting people to change in South Africa. The rapid pace can be stimulated by education, college, by encouraging knowledgeable people to come over to the Homeland, to see what they should do and to help discuss the various problems with us.

There are huge changes going on now and it is very necessary that the world take a part in it. Because with these changes there is enough evidence that there is an opportunity to help. You know, we have minerals in Lebowa. We are developing what is in Phalaborwa now, although we don't get the full share of it. But my information, and I think it is reliable, is that we have all the minerals except diamonds. We have platinum, coal, chrome. We have bauxite. We have minerals that have not yet been exploited in Lebowa, and we would like people in the mining companies and other helpful forces to come to our aid. We would like to make use of it because that would improve our economy.

Maybe the Republican Government might have had certain restrictions in the power or certain conditions like that. But as we are aware, they are now perfectly willing to get the door wide open for exploitation of these minerals. And they expect the Homeland government to be actively interested, because they have to determine their destiny. Now that is part of our responsibility, to make use of the resources we have. The

Republican Government now comes and tells Lebowa how to go about its mining operations. On the contrary, it is Lebowa that must tell the Republican Government and all its departments how these things should be done. People who say Homelands are not the final answer are correct, but they are often looking for excuses not to do anything. Now these are the changes that to me are possible, and, in Lebowa, the United States and other powers could be aware and probably come sooner or later to our aid.

I would like to emphasize that I believe there is one great error made in this country and elsewhere outside of South Africa. That error is the viewpoint that Separate Development is nothing but an end in itself. This is not true. Separate Development is a means to an end whereby a new arrangement is created by which black and white South Africans can work out the future together. Actually, the more we practice Separate Development the more we are learning cooperative development.

## HE BROUGHT THE THUNDER

it rained and thundered for days  
when I was born  
an ominous gloom settled over our village  
when I was born  
I did not cry when I was born  
only a muffled sob

it rained and thundered for days  
when I was born  
I have been trapped in that storm  
since I was born  
a man from Europe brought the thunder

-Chabani Manganyi

Dr. Manganyi is a psychologist practicing in Johannesburg. He was born 33 years ago in Sibasa in the Transvaal, and he comes from the Tonga ethnic group. He received his education at the University of the North and at the University of South Africa.

## II. POLITICAL VIEWS OF THE LEADER OF THE HEREROS

Q: Mr. Kapuuo, you are aware of the positions taken on Homelands by such men as Gatsha Buthelezi, Kaiser Matanzima, Cedric Phatudi, and Lukas Mangope, who see more or less value in supporting some aspects of Separate Development. What do you think of Bantustans in South West Africa?

Mr. Clemens Kapuuo: We don't like the idea of a totally separate Herero group. We want independence for all of the country and for all the groups in it. There is an Herero group and an Ovambo group. But we don't like the idea of Bantustans when the whole territory needs independence.

Q: Some years ago in Windhoek, you told me you were concerned about the way your Herero people felt so superior to other ethnic groups, such as the Damaras. Do your people still feel superior?

Kapuuo: Some of the rural people do. But not most of the Hereros. That is the real reason we are uniting politically; the Damaras, the Ovambos, and the Basters--they have at last joined with us. The representatives on the government councils are only individuals, they don't represent anyone else.

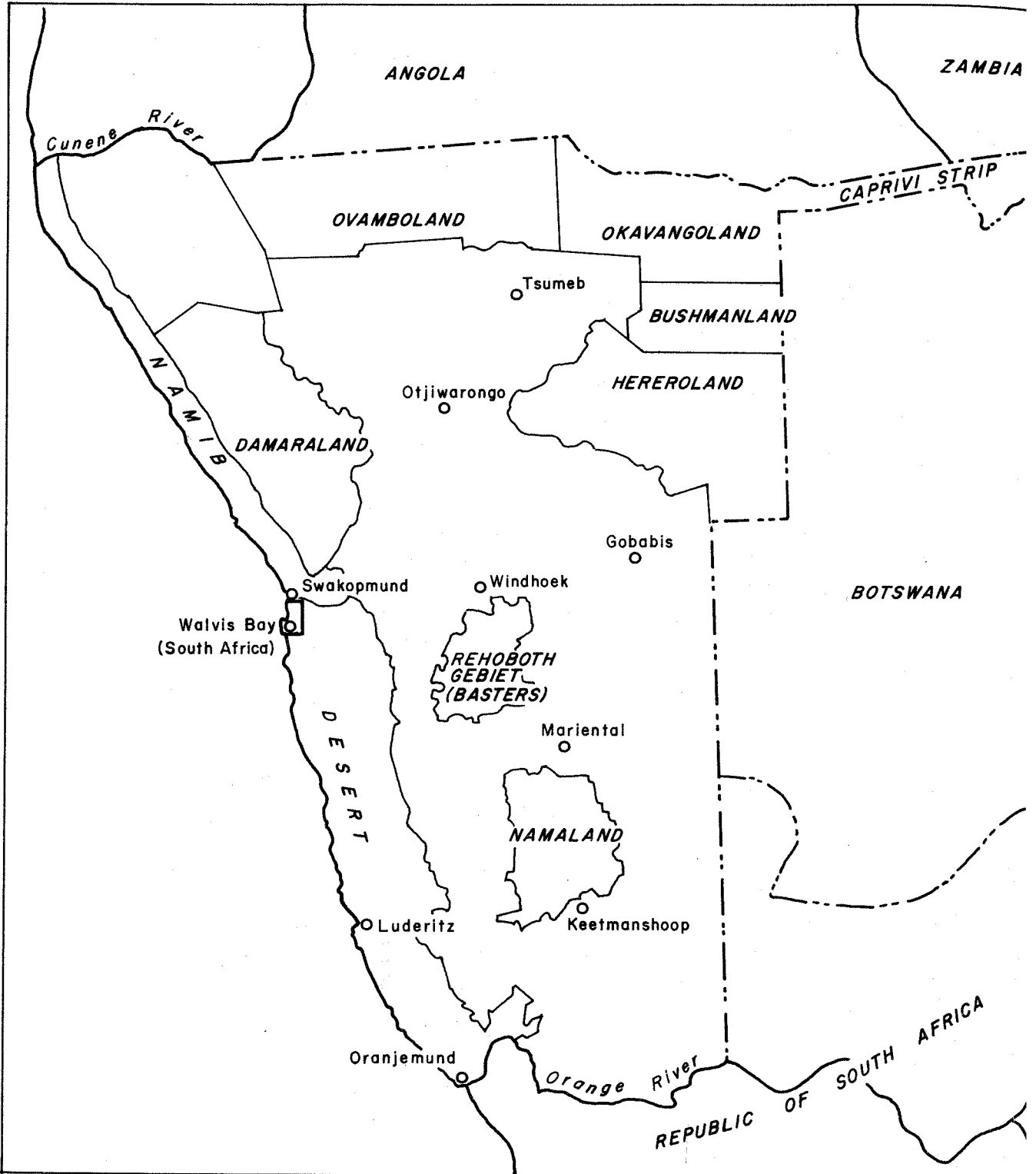
Q: Isn't the Ovambo Homeland furthest along to some level of autonomy?

Kapuuo: We don't really care about that. We want the United Nations to take over. We are not interested in playing the government's game. We are not interested in Bantustans. For example, we are not asking for more land the way Buthelezi is doing. The government confiscated our land and sold it to the farmers from South Africa. Over 90 percent of our land has been taken away. So it is useless to be asking for more land from the man who took away almost all your property.

We would like our country to be given back to us. But by that we don't mean to say that the whites must leave the country. That



# SOUTH WEST AFRICA / NAMIBIA



is not what we are advocating. That is the wrong view. The whites have been there for generations, too, and they spread to us from South Africa, their home. So what we want is a country only for all the people, you see, all the people taking part in the government of the country.

Q: How would you handle the land question? Would you buy people out?

Kapuuo: We haven't worked that out. There must be a redistribution of land, but how to do it is the question. It must be worked out. The Damaras have very little land, and theirs is pretty dry and stony.

Q: Don't the Ovambos have the best land and the best rainfall?

Kapuuo: No, it is not the best. It may be the best for growing crops, but not for grazing. The Herero have the best land for grazing. I think we are right in saying that we have the best land, however, because when the whites came to our country they took only the Herero land, but they left Ovambo land, you see.

Q: But wasn't that partly a question of accessibility?

Kapuuo: No. The whites could have taken part of Ovamboland, but they didn't take it. The land is not so good.

Q: It is believed by many in South Africa that to give independence to South West Africa would expose much of the Republic to guerilla attack. If it were your decision, would you follow Botswana's policy of denying bases to guerillas?

Kapuuo: It is difficult to say at this stage. We haven't discussed the question at all because it hasn't arisen. Basically, we do not want war. We want to make an amicable settlement. [Conversation in Herero.] My traveling companion here, who speaks only Herero, has just said to me that we wouldn't want people to come from outside our territory to fight against South Africa. I agree with that. The South African government has been trying to satisfy the United Nations. Many whites did not expect Prime Minister Vorster to speak of independence as depending on the people of the territory. The whites have thought of South West as being part and parcel of South Africa.

Q: The press in South Africa claims that some fundamental changes are occurring in white attitudes? Do you agree?

Kapuuo: Yes, well it is true. But it is hard for me to tell my people that the white South Africans must talk with Africans. The South Africans must send people to the United States and see what is going on here, how people live in America. We must also see that our chiefs and the man in the street--the ordinary man--that they come to the United States and see that some of the racial problems of the past have been solved.

Things are moving in the right direction, but there are things I don't understand. Why are the Kenyans so against Indians? Are the Indians the same as the whites there? We don't have any Indians in South West. We have a few Coloured. Some want to be white, but the majority have joined with us. Formerly they tried to be like the whites, but they have changed their attitude. They think they have no future in the white community.

Q: Do you know the Herero who passed himself off for awhile as a Coloured in Cape Town?

Kapuuo: You mean Kerina. He was in South Africa for awhile attending school, then he came home to South West and then went to America. I don't see him.

Q: Do you know about other exiles?

Kapuuo: I have almost no contact with them. For instance, Sam Nujomo left the country more than ten years ago, and we do not have contact with him. He is now a member of SWAPO. He is outside the country and we have a SWAPO inside the country. Once you are gone for ten years you are out of touch. That is the difficulty. I thought I might meet him in New York, but he didn't come to the United Nations.

Q: Is your traveling companion also a chief?

Kapuuo: [Conversation in Herero.] He is not a Herero chief. He is working under the chiefs. He says he works in the council of his chief, but he is not a chief. He doesn't want to be a chief because they have too many troubles with the people. That is what he says.

Let me say to the earlier question that the main thing is that change will come. Although it will not be quick, it will come.

Q: What can you tell us of the relation of foreign governments with South West Africa?

Kapuuo: They told me in the State Department that the United States does not like South African policy. Is that true? The Russians come to our coast and they take the fish, our fish, when they come, and sometimes they come to port for fresh water and supplies. And sometimes for fuel oil. They do that. They come with ships and the helicopters come from the ship and go around town. The Russians do that. The German government is often criticized in the United Nations for its trading in South West. But the German diplomats at home tell us that their office in Windhoek is only to look after the interests of German citizens who live there, only to take care of the Germans. There are about 4,000 Germans with German passports out of over 20,000 Germans. They say the rest are South African citizens. But the office in Windhoek looks like recognition. I think an office means recognition. We haven't made up our minds what we think about Germany paying for private schools and for the visits of symphony orchestras.

Q: Are you a Lutheran?

Kapuuo: I was a Lutheran, but we broke away from the Lutherans for political reasons, when the Lutheran church leaders were supporting the South African government. The Anglicans have changed a bit--only individual bishops, of course. The majority of the white Anglicans haven't changed. The Afrikaans churches haven't changed at all. A very, very small percentage of whites appear to want to talk to Africans. But the police attitude is changing slightly in South West. They have become more reasonable. And the white South African police have changed in South West. They have become better.

You see, when we created the National Convention in South West Africa which comprised various political parties, we debated the admission of the whites in the National Convention. Some people were against the admission of the whites to the National Convention and some of them were for the whites. So it became a very hot debate, debated for a few days. Those who were opposed

to the whites said the whites were responsible for all the evils in the country. Why have them in the Convention? They didn't want to have anything to do with them. Those who wanted the whites to be admitted into the Convention said, "Yes, but if we want to introduce a new system, it cannot be the same as the old system. We know that the whites have been on the wrong system, but we have created a political organization, a new political organization, so it must have a new system. New systems must be better than old systems. We cannot start a new organization and then have discrimination against the whites. It would make no difference: the white system is bad, the black system is bad. There would be no difference between the two systems." It was debated a long time and then finally it was put to the vote, and so the people who opposed the admission of the whites were defeated.

Whites can be members now provided that they accept our principles. It was illogical just to refuse a man because he is a white man. Take the Secretary General of the United Nations--he is a white man. So he comes to South West Africa to hear our grievances. The United Nations is a body of black and white people. It is illogical to refuse a man simply because he has white skin. Those who were opposed to whites were not many. The hostility was as a result of the suppression by whites.

Q: Did the strikes of over a year ago bring about any real gain for workers?

Kapuuo: Very little. Not much change took place in South West Africa. The only thing which was done was that the wages of the laborers were increased, but it was a very slight increase. The contract system still remains the same. The people are separated from their families, and after their contracts have expired they must go back to the so-called Homelands and then come back again on contract. The system is still the same. Many Hereros are involved in that. Those who live in the city are better off. But those who live in the Homelands have to come on contract. The only difference between the contract system and other employment is that once they are in jobs they are not sent back to the Homelands unless they are out of jobs.

Q: Do you expect the Organization of African States to recognize the National Convention?

Kapuuo: Yes, I am confident of that.

Q: What impresses you most on your travels in Europe and America?

Kapuuo: Successful social integration in both continents. More white South Africans should go overseas and see for themselves. The white man in South West Africa must understand that we need him to contribute his share. He doesn't know that we know we need him. That is one reason he is worried. Our black-white relations at home are not good, but we can build a new society.

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