

TRANSKEI LEADER THE NATAL MERCURY BEHIND 13 MAR 1975 VORSTER

Mercury Correspondent

UMTATA—The Transkei Government would do everything in its power to make separate development work for the homelands.

This was said here yesterday by the Transkei's leader, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, in his policy speech, read for him by his brother, Minister of Justice Chief George Matanzima.

Warning that "immoderate demands and extremist posturing" could precipitate a "White backlash," Chief Matanzima said: "If separate development is the only way in which the vast majority of South Africans can be persuaded to allow their Black countrymen a better way of life, then my Government will do everything in its power to assist the Republican Government — and particularly Mr. John Vorster who is handling a volatile situation with aplomb—to make the policy work so far as the homelands are concerned."

He claimed that the Transkei had given all Blacks in Southern Africa a new dignity by blazing the trail and founding a Black Transkei.

Referring to the collapse of apartheid in sport and the easing of race restrictions elsewhere, he asked: "Do you think any of this would have been possible without separate development and without a Black Government, the Transkei's, having been courageous enough to have accepted the challenge and initial opprobrium accorded to supposed 'White stooges.'"

The Transkei had succeeded in getting ordinary Whites to start thinking along more open lines in matters of race.

Because the Transkei desperately needed economic development it was prepared to tolerate exclusive Whites-only schools after independence, Chief Matanzima said.

Explaining his recent decision to allow the homeland's few White schools to function under the control of the Cape Provincial Education Department after independence, Chief Matanzima said: "The advantage of tolerating segregated schools greatly outweighs the disadvantages."

In Liberia poverty

13 MAR 1975

13 MAR 1975

and nepotism go

hand in hand

INTERNALLY, President Tolbert of Liberia has his own problems, some of which could become serious later this year. Monrovia is rapidly becoming a city of shanties as poor and hungry people flood in from the rural areas. Although it is "rally time" in Liberia and money is being spent on public services, not enough is being done.

When I asked what most of the townsfolk did for a living I was told: "Mugging." One White man I met had been jumped by four men in the city's main street a few days before I arrived. They tried to tear his watch off his arm.

Must rob to eat

He was not resentful. "These people have to rob to eat," he said. Most Whites in Monrovia don't give their neighbours the opportunity. They take taxis everywhere after dark and many have "boys" — Black chauffeurs who act as bodyguards as well as drivers.

Families are crammed into windowless, squalid tin shacks which fill in the cracks between the more durable buildings by the hundred. Others occupy the stained and grimy shells of once stately mansions built 100 years ago.

Whites leaving

Already, some Whites are leaving because they fear race relations will deteriorate with the social situation. The Liberians are colour blind, without prejudice. But the Whites are noticeably the people with money, many of them Lebanese and other European traders who send huge savings out of the country every month.

"I'm getting out," a British worker told me. "I earn good money here — nearly R700 a month.

I know other expatriates earning more than R900 a month. The minimum wage for a Liberian is only R24 a month and a bag of rice to feed his family for a month would take R13 of that. The average wage for, say a machine operator is higher — between R60 and R70. But it's still a huge difference and they resent it.

Frustration

"There's a host of frustration here," he added. "A lot of Liberians don't like the Tolberts, but they've no one to put in his place. The True Whig Party is too powerful. But that won't necessarily stop an explosive situation from developing. I think it's going to happen fairly soon."

Other people told me about widespread, low-key resentment over the small clique of rich and powerful families who hold much of the country's wealth, as well as most of the power. The Government has been accused of nepotism. President Tolbert's brother, Steven, is Minister of Finance. A relation, Mr. Cecil Dennis, is Minister of Foreign Affairs, his father, Charles Dennis, is a Congressman and his brother owns three of the local newspapers.

"When Congress sits," I was told by one cynic, "you see a line of Lincoln Continentals and other expensive cars a mile long. It's easy to see who has the money here. The True Whig Party has been in power for 50 years."

Corruption

When President Tolbert succeeded President William Tubman in 1971, he tried to root out corruption in Government. But everyone tells you he did not succeed.

The widespread dissatisfaction with the ruling clique has led to a reformist group of young radicals forming inside the ruling party. There is also opposition to Tolbert from an "old guard" who don't want to see any

STAN MAHER
of the Mercury's
Africa Bureau con-
cludes his report on
detente and the poli-
tical and economic
facts of life in
Liberia.

change in the comfortable position they have enjoyed for years.

There is talk of an opposition candidate being put forward at the election this year. In spite of this, President Tolbert is expected to be given a mandate to rule for an eight-year term.

Liberia's one-party system restricts people in some ways as effectively as does South Africa's multi-party system.

Minority elite

The world knows South Africa is governed by a White minority. What has not been emphasised is that Liberia too, is ruled by a minority elite.

An "Afro - Liberian" who had come into the capital from the country told me: "I hate the Tolberts. Those families have all the money. They should go back to America where they came from."

The ruling clique's influence is felt in commerce and industry — so much so that fishermen now have to sell their catch to the Mesurado Company at a nominal price. And the largest shareholder is Mr. Steven Tolbert, the President's brother.

Bribery

Liberians have freedom of movement inside their country and can sell their labour to the highest bidder — if there is one. Sometimes they

have to pay bribes to get jobs.

Black South Africans are hedged by legislative restrictions but can earn better pay and generally enjoy better housing and other facilities.

A Liberian wanting to leave the country must be personally vetted by the President. Black South Africans can hold passports, but Whites in Liberia may not. A man who had lived here since 1946 told me sadly: "To get a passport or to be a citizen you have to be Black."

Provided he has the money, a Liberian can live in the equivalent of Soweto, District Six or Mondeor. There is no Houghton.

In spite of their apparent obsession with freedom, in terms of economics, they seem never to have thrown off their bonds. The country is Africa's oldest independent colonised State, yet it looks as though it was founded only yesterday.

Their religions range from orthodox Christianity through some strange variations to paganism, a myriad of mystery cults and pure voodoo.

Hostility

Both among the general public and in Government I found a reflex hostility to my having come from South Africa.

A newspaper editor turned away when he heard my origins. "Hey man," he asked only half-humorously, "are you sure you want to shake my hand?"

To members of Government and ordinary men alike, if you come from South Africa you are a racist. There is no distinction between South African liberals and Nationalist supporters. We are all tarred with the same brush.

Racism

I also met some out and out racism.

It is sadly ironic that both colonists — the Liberian slaves and the Dutch settlers in South Africa — applied opposite solutions to the problem of the native tribes they encountered.

The Dutch fought them and started their own separate society. The Liberians fought them — then tried to integrate them. Up to now the experiment has been successful. But some people in Monrovia see trouble ahead as the capital is flooded by the unemployed.

Boredom

In some ways the Liberians seem never to have found their dream of a just society. Political weariness, boredom and apathy are everywhere. The streets of the capital are filled with people who have all day to watch doorways or sit

on the pavements and claim a dollar for directing you to the next street.

TRANSKEI DROVE A 'HARD BARGAIN'

13 MAR 1975

Mercury Reporter

UMTATA — Enormous concessions in land, money and the treatment of urban Blacks were expected by an independent Transkei in exchange for its loyalty to and friendship with South Africa.

This was spelled out in the policy speech of the homeland's Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, which was delivered on his behalf here yesterday by the Transkei's Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima.

Outlining the "expectations" of an independent Transkei, Chief Matanzima said explicitly that even should all homelands opt for independence, it would not mean that the South African Government had discharged its obligations to urban Blacks.

"On the contrary, we expect White South Africans to make their lives at least as acceptable as those of foreigners of European extraction living and working in the Republic," he said.

As a precondition for independence — scheduled for next year — the Transkei also expected "territorial adjustments."

"My negotiations to this end have entailed hard bargaining, but I believe this House will have reason to be

TURN TO PAGE 2

Transkei drove a 'hard bargain'

FROM PAGE 1

pleased with the outcome," he said.

This is understood to be a reference to the Government's expected decision to cede to the Transkei the White district of Port St. Johns and White farms in the Ongeluksnek area of the Matatiele district, as well as the Ciskei homeland's districts of Herschel and Glen Grey.

Chief Matanzima said he expected the South African Government to "continue, after independence, to assist us as generously as heretofore."

"The literally hundreds of millions of rands we have received from this source has put us on our feet," he said.

OFFICIALS

The Homeland Government wanted White officials to remain in the civil service after independence and he hoped that with greater Black prosperity and affluence, Whites in the Transkei would "accept equality as a fact, accept it in good grace and perhaps accept Transkeian Citizenship."

He expected Black Transkeians to behave irreproachably towards Whites — "particularly, in the joyous days immediately following independence when they may be tempted to give vent to their pent-up feelings."

His government also expected that "the good example of racial harmony we will have set will result in the amelioration of the lot of the Black people living and working in the Republic."

Remote citizenship had serious disadvantages and, apart from migratory labourers, "the millions of Blacks in White areas of South Africa" were "unlikely soon to return to the homeland in significant numbers."

BLOOD TIES

The Chief Minister continued: "Our ties of blood and citizenship with these people will not be broken, but their interest in the domestic politics of the Transkei may be expected gradually to wane and increasingly to become comparable with that of, say, South African Jews in the affairs of Israel." In short, his Government "expected that the Republican Government will not regard independence for the Transkei as the last word on Blacks in general and Transkeians in particular in White South Africa."

The Transkeian Army, which the Republic would be asked to train and equip, would stand side by side with the Republic to give Mr. Vorster "more than the six months he sought to put South Africa's house in order."

South African's Natal Mercury 12 March 1975

dramatic
New era



DR. JAN MARAIS . . . "Southern Africa could assume new world-wide importance, economically and otherwise."

Mercury Reporter

IF South Africa succeeds in its Southern Africa detente moves, it would establish the strongest economic complex on the continent, and become a leading political power group, Dr. Jan Marais, president of the South Africa Foundation, said yesterday.

He prophesied that by working together, the whole of Southern Africa would assume new importance.

Dr. Marais, speaking at the annual convention of the foundation in Durban, said the moves towards detente in Southern Africa by the Prime Minister and President Kaunda had provided dramatic news for world media.

Evidence of similarly responsible actions internally would prompt further encouraging evidence of latent goodwill towards South Africa.

"If some formula exists whereby these actions could be presented as dramatically as are the reports of diplomatic manoeuvre, we should certainly use it.

"Unfortunately, the signs of domestic change are subtle rather than vivid, and often their significance is not fully appreciated overseas, or even locally.

WELCOME

"By South African standards, many of the changes are considered revolutionary and too fast, whereas by the standards of overseas commentators they are looked upon as too few, too late.

"It depends on the background, the perspective and intentions of the individual concerned."

Dr. Marais said there

See page 2

Southern Africa's

THE NATAL MERCURY

'dramatic new era'

13 MAR 1975

From Page 1

had been a particularly welcome increase in the number of talks held by the Prime Minister and Cabinet members with non-White leaders. Also welcome was the announcement that homeland leaders would negotiate directly with industrialists about investments in the homelands and that non-Whites would be joining South Africa's foreign service.

Dr. Marais said various local authorities had inaugurated changes, including the opening of libraries, parks and art galleries to all while the South African public took quite naturally to multi-racial sports events.

"Apartheid signs in elevators, on benches and in offices have disappeared in their thousands.

"More and more members of the White population meet and share bonds of friendship with more and more of their non-White counterparts."

These counterparts were, in ever-increasing numbers, entering the economic life of the country and being enabled to better themselves by the growing economy and the opening

up of wider job opportunities.

Dr. Marais added that it was vital that South Africans became fully aware of international reactions to events at home and of the necessity to exercise responsibility during the time it would take South Africa and the rest of the world to come to terms with each other.

He said the United States had been impressed with the South African attitude following the Lisbon coup and the subsequent events in Mozambique.

"The Government's consistency and coolness in a potentially explosive situation has won it a break in America, the like of which we have not seen in 20 years or more.

"We should recognise that people in the United States are not motivated by malice towards South Africa.

"On the contrary, like all of us, they face grave difficulties which can best be overcome by mutual aid and international co-operation."

On relations with Britain, Dr. Marais said new elements appeared in 1974 to complicate the picture.

"Most important of

these was the return to power of a Labour Government more under a Left-wing influence than any other post-war Labour Administration."

The new Government included several Ministers, occupying sensitive posts in foreign affairs and defence, whose political reputation had been built on an anti-South African militancy.

Dr. Marais said that after the Portugal coup with its effect on Mozambique and Angola and the end of the military regime in Greece, Labour's Left had few issues in foreign affairs with which to occupy itself and concentrated firmly on trying to bring Anglo-South African relations to an end.

But naval manoeuvres with South Africa and the exercise of the British veto to keep South Africa in the United Nations, were two issues that divided Britain's ruling party.

"Other facts tended to highlight the unreality and even irrelevance of the debate in Socialist Britain about relations with South Africa. Britain's parlous economic situation, where her investors turned to South Africa's Kruger rand for financial security, emphasised that coun-

try's inability to do much on the international stage.

"At the same time, the spread of terrorism from Northern Ireland into England itself forced the British Government to introduce security measures which the Home Secretary described as draconian.

"In spite of this, various British charitable organisations, unable to grasp that terrorism is terrorism wherever it appears, advertised for funds for liberation movements in Southern Africa."

Dr. Marais added, however, that South Africa still had many faithful friends in Britain.

"Many British observers, not least the Government's spokesman in the House of Lords, noted with appreciation South Africa's own efforts to achieve detente in Southern Africa and at the same time its undertaking to the United Nations Security Council to work for the elimination of racial discrimination at home."

GUZANA WARNS OF BLACK ELITE DANGER

The Natal Mercury

13 MAR 1975

Mercury Reporter

UMTATA — A warning that a "growing band of Black elite was exploiting the proletariat" was sounded here yesterday by the Transkei's Opposition leader, Mr. Knowledge Guzana.

Replying to the policy speech of the homeland's Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, he said that unless steps were taken the Transkei would have a "small Black elite substituting for the White elite now exploiting the Black majority."

Mr. Guzana said he was worried about Government officials who were "expanding their net into the economic field" thereby shutting out small businessmen. "This is a dangerous trend and we have to watch it in case we repeat here the inequalities of a capitalistic State which has a heterogeneous population," he said.

The Opposition would welcome continued White investment in the Transkei, Mr. Guzana said — so much so that it hoped the Transkei Government would not at any time in the future "jeopardise" the capital investment of industrialists.