

ance, Mr. Buthelezi took the opportunity of commenting, according to the *Rand Daily Mail* of May 5:

I would like to say that the Zulus will not brook interference, no matter from what place it comes.

Chief Buthelezi warned that Zulus were not satisfied with "dummy" independence, and wanted real self-determination, human dignity and freedom:

It is in the interests of peaceful co-existence on this tip of Africa that we should now share power in this land.

This was overdue in the light of the real freedom and independence enjoyed by Africans on the rest of the continent. The South African Government could ignore the KwaZulu call for a round table conference on the land issue only at the peril of the whole of South Africa.

Although he made no specific reference to related consolidation proposals for KwaZulu, Chief Buthelezi said Zulus were unhappy at the government's uncompromising attitude on the basis of consolidation relating to KwaZulu. The reference here is to the fact that the Republic government is attempting to move the Bantu out of white areas and consolidate them in concentrated areas where there would be no whites. What this has done, however, is to leave the map pockmarked with small pockets of blacks and whites mixed together, and it is a most unhappy situation. The government is trying to remove this discontent by removing the blacks from the white areas entirely and consolidating them in their homelands on black enclaves.

Speaking at the opening of the first meeting of the KwaZulu Legislature, Chief Buthelezi declared his determination to lead the African people to full freedom and human rights, if possible without any bloodshed. He said he hoped Afrikaners would have the grace and understanding to accept that he and African leaders, like Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei, would not rest until they had full freedom and full human rights:

At least my government and I are determined to find a solution without any bloodshed. This may be a long way off, or quite near, depending entirely on us.

Chief Buthelezi said that once the African people had a measure of economic power, their battle would be half won:

More than 60,000 of our people have shown during the recent labour unrest what unity can achieve. Poor as we are, we almost control the economy of this country. It is for white South Africa to meet us because we have no intention of disrupting the economy of our country.

May I just interject here that they have no unions. They have not declared, appointed or elected, trade union leaders, because if they did these people would automatically be clamped in jail. There is a large group of people acting in concert with no declared leaders, but this is the kind of protest organization that is developing there today.

Continuing, he said:

We appreciate that, although we are at present getting only crumbs and the lion's share goes to white South Africa, those crumbs from the master's table keep us

[Hon. Mr. Cameron.]

alive. I appeal to white South Africa not to force us by her attitude to disrupt the economy of our country.

This statement, by one of the leading chiefs in the homelands governments, is typical of that being made by many others—and there are seven homelands governments today—and is symptomatic of the rising discontent with the status quo which is to be found everywhere in Africa.

The discontent among the Bantu people is emphasized in an address by a leading economist, Professor Jan H. Lange, of the University of the Free State, speaking at a seminar organized by the National Development and Management Foundation, when he warned that unemployment among Africans was rising at the rate of 100,000 a year, and he said he shuddered to think what could happen if employment opportunities were not increased. Professor Lange said that industrial development in the homelands had to be stepped up at a greatly increased rate, and that transport had to be improved. He indicated that the latest figures showed that 6.9 million Africans were living in the homelands, and 7.5 million in the white areas. He suggested that on the basis of one per cent of the African population entering the labour market every year, it meant that 69,000 new jobs had to be found in the homelands each year and 75,000 outside these areas. However, since 1960 fewer than 15,000 industrial jobs had been created in the homelands and border areas. Professor Lange indicated that, while he did not have the latest figures, those he did have indicated that fewer than 40,000 new jobs were created every year in the industrial sector, indicating an annual increase in African unemployment or under-employment of more than 100,000:

The seriousness of this is clear if the potential political and security implications are considered. Social scientists say that economic expectations and political sensitivity increase with the increasing literacy of a people.

Knowing this—that the literacy and general enlightenment of both the urban and platteland Bantu is increasing uninterrupted—a person cannot but shudder to think what will happen if the increasing unemployment among the Bantu is not ended.

My personal opinion is that the days in which White South Africa could argue about who was responsible for creating employment for the Bantu are gone for all time. The only question which remains is: What is the most effective way to create work opportunities in the homelands?

One way would be to extend the system of subcontracting. But here the transport problem is serious. Some promising undertakings had already been forced to close their doors because of difficulties with transport concessions.

Related to the unemployment situation and the unrest which is associated with it is the fact that leading African business organizations are beginning to respond to the needs, and are attempting to ameliorate the situation by raising wages. For example, on May 10, the Stellenbosch Farmers' and Wine Tasters' Association urged its members to pay farm labourers the equivalent of at least 3 rand a day—approximately \$4 a day in our money—or run the risk of being outbid on a turbulent labour market. This