

DINNER SPEECH / DINEEToespraak

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Ladies and gentlemen

Two events have occurred recently which have caused me furiously to think. The first was the three days of debate recently held by the Parliamentary Standing Committee in Pietermaritzburg on the Provincial Budget. The Province of Natal has a budget of about R1,5 billion, about half of which goes to the provision of health services, clinics and hospitals. Despite this huge expenditure, there is always a critical shortage of funds to do what is required. The same applies to the field of education in the national budget and to many other services provided by all levels of government. In short, we are all overtaxed, yet there is not enough money to go round.

The second event was a few days later when I had occasion to stand on the edge of the escarpment on the northern side of Hillcrest, one of Durban's better suburbs, overlooking the Umgeni Valley, a typical KwaZulu landscape, with Inanda in the distance. Behind me lay the development and sophistication of Durban and its outer suburbs (a small piece of the first world) and immediately in front of me was a huge area of land, devoid of all infrastructure and development, with few signs of agriculture, covered with thousands of little primitive dwellings scattered in unplanned profusion over the earth - the third world component of Natal, both the land and the population.

There was a link between these two events about which I should like to say a few words tonight.

Kyk 'n mens na 'n kaart van die Provinsie Natal wat die gebied aantoon wat deur die Natalse Provinsiale Administrasie geadministreer word asook die gebied wat deur KwaZulu beheer word, sien jy 'n ten nouste onderling verbonde patroon van grondgebiede, een waarvan tot 'n groot mate 'n eerstewêreldse situasie, en die ander tot 'n groot mate 'n dertewêreldse situasie is. Ek gebruik hierdie terme nie om kommentaar of kritiek oor enigeen van die situasies te lewer nie, maar bloot in 'n poging om die feite van die saak te beskryf, en om wat uit die bestaan van sodanige feite voortvloei, te bespreek.

In the first world sector for historic reasons you have in the first place the principal commercial farming regions of the Province, that is to say, this is the area where farming, as it is known in the first world, is carried on, whether by way of large scale ranching or sheep farming or intensive feed-lots for both sheep and cattle or one has, so far as agriculture is concerned the sort of large scale crop planting that one gets in the Midlands and Northern Natal, the intensive sugar farming of the coastal areas, whether under irrigation or on dry land, and, wherever there is deep soil and high rainfall, afforestation both of pine and gum. We are dealing also in this area with the main centres of urbanised population.

By this I mean that most of the towns of Natal developed historically by immigrants from the first world and developed in a pattern similar to what is found in the first world.

Die pad- en spoorkommunikasienetwerk van die Provinsie is hoofsaaklik daar om hierdie stedelike sentrums te verbind, en om te dien as ruggraat van die ekonomie wat daar ontwikkel het. Die nywerheidsentrums het histories in of naby die dorpe wat ek genoem het, ontwikkel en skakels met die buitewêreld, hetsy hulle hawens of lughawens is, is weer in hierdie sektor geleë.

You have a comprehensive system of local and regional government structured historically on a first world basis which to a large extent is both representative and democratic in its nature. One has the main institutions of first world urban life in this area. I refer here to schools, hospitals, universities, technical colleges, training colleges, museums, libraries, churches and all those similar institutions which make up a first world society. In addition to this we have in the first world sector in Natal which I am describing, those controls which have become part and parcel of a modern regulated society such as a Town and Regional Planning Commission and the various controls which stem from the decisions of such a body like town planning schemes and the various planning schemes and authorities which are designed to preserve what is left of our natural environment and to ensure that such development as takes place, takes place in an orderly and planned manner to preserve and enhance an environment in which it is pleasant for people to live and work.

In addition to all this, the area is peopled to a large extent by communities who of their own volition have brought about a stable birth rate or a birth rate which enable the population to grow comparatively slowly.

The political pressures which emerge from this sector, are of the kind you would expect from people who would like to preserve the better aspects of what exists in a first world society.

Across the fence the picture is dramatically different. Historically what is today KwaZulu, stems largely from the pattern of settlement developed in Colonial times by people like Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and as a result of the Beaumont Commission and in more recent times the legislation of 1913, modified of course by a series of Parliamentary enactments from that time to the present day. But the core of today's KwaZulu is of fairly ancient lineage.

I must again emphasize that what I am saying at this stage is an attempt merely to state the facts, not to comment upon it.

Die Zoeloe-bevolking het vir die grootste deel van die afgelope 150 jaar volgens sy tradisionele patroon gewoon en ontwikkel in die gebiede waarna ek verwys het. Daar was not altyd Zoeloes woonagtig buite dit wat vandag as KwaZulu bekend staan, maar die meerderheid het in die tradisionele gebiede volgens tradisionele leefwyse bly woon. Die bevolking het gedurende daardie tydperk toenemend aangewas, sodat ons vandag met 'n groeikoers van nagenoeg 3,5% te doen het.

Die ekonomiese en fisiese ontwikkeling van verskeie aard waarna ek vroeër verwys het en wat in die eerstewêreld-sektor van die Provinsie plaasgevind het, het deels om ekonomiese redes, deels om politieke redes en deels om sosiologiese redes nie in wat vandag as KwaZulu bekend staan, plaasgevind nie. Gevolglik is daar 'n skerp kontras tussen die ontwikkelde eerstewêreld-sektor en die grootliks onontwikkelde derdewêreld-sektor van die Provinsie as 'n mens dit in voëlvlug sou waarneem.

I have already given a survey of what the first world sector looks like. It may be useful to look at the third world sector from a similar viewpoint. One has in the more remote parts of KwaZulu a pattern of subsistence farming along the age-old traditional lines.

Nearer to the urban centres and in all the coastal reserves the pattern changes from subsistence farming to something closer in first world terms to totally unplanned peri-urban residential areas. On the fringes of the urban areas there is shack dwelling on a vast scale. At the coast and in the areas of higher rainfall and more fertile soil there are the beginnings of crop-farming, particularly in sugar, similar although on a smaller scale to what is found in the first world sector of the Province. There are also planned centres of urbanisation in those parts of KwaZulu that are close to a first world urban centre and of course at Ulundi, but in general terms the rest of KwaZulu is unplanned in first world terms - it has no structures of the Town and Regional Planning Commission nature. It has few laws relating to the environment and the local and regional government structures are not geared to meet the needs of an urban or peri-urban environment of today.

The main task facing those who, in the future, hold positions of power in government, both in Natal and in KwaZulu, will be to try to bring about a constitutional structure, whether joint or several, which enables KwaZulu to benefit from the type of structures, administrative controls and systems such as one has in the first world sector.

If KwaZulu is to have the advantage of -

- (i) towns and cities;
- (ii) a system of communication;
- (iii) the advantages of a planned and protected environment;
- (iv) the infrastructure to support the above;
- (v) jobs to give its people money to pay taxes so as to create a first world environment,

then what is required is not only political reform so as to create an ordered and peaceful society, but economic reform on a large scale.

The longer I live on this planet, the more I come to the conclusion that the very basis for the creation of wealth is the private ownership of property, in particular land. What is more, all the evidence available to me indicates that the free enterprise system is not only the principal source or engine-room for the development of economic power and wealth, but also that such a free enterprise system must exist in a society where land can be owned in private ownership. This requires a complete re-think in the traditional Zulu concept of communal ownership of land, particularly in those areas adjacent to the urban nodes of Natal. It requires an acceptance of the concept and systems of town and regional planning and it requires a revision of traditional thinking in respect of local government. I know that there is a tremendous affinity amongst particularly the rural Zulu for the traditional system of land ownership and occupation and for the local governmental structure which traditionally is built on that system, whilst at the same time many urbanised Zulus are moving away from both traditional systems which they regard as a hindrance to their advancement into the first world. Nevertheless, just as the first world component of our population has had to adapt its systems to an African environment, so I believe that the third world component of the population can be expected - nay, will have to adapt to the economic pressures of the 21st century if it is to survive and prosper, and this means inevitably, in my view, that the historic system of land tenure and tribal structure will have to change, to the extent that it will allow the development on tribally owned land of urban and peri-urban areas where individual ownership of land is possible. Only then can the third world component of the Province work its way out of the poverty syndrome in which a large part of it exists at the present time.

As al die rykdom van die eerstewêreld-sektor môre onder die totale bevolking van hierdie Provinsie verdeel sou word, glo ek nie dat die meerderheid se welvaart noemenswaardig daarby sou baat nie. Die stelsel wat die rykdom van die eerstewêreld-komponent tot stand gebring het, moet na die res van die bevolking uitgebrei word ten einde hulle deur deelname daaraan in staat te stel om hulleself vinnig te verhef tot die vlak van die eerstewêreld-komponent sover dit die genieting van die voordele van die eerstewêreld-omgewing betref.

What I am saying may sound in some ears to be revolutionary, but the more one looks at the hard facts of the situation - we in the Executive Committee of Natal are required to do so on a weekly basis throughout the year - the more I become convinced that this is the only path ahead. As I have said on a previous occasion, political rights, in the popular sense of that term, will achieve nothing unless they are to be used to extend to all the people of the Province the benefits of what exists in the first world section thereof. Look to the north of us. Nearly all the States there have achieved what they believe to be full political rights, yet they are poorer than what they were in colonial times. They have won the political battle and lost the economic war.

Economic growth, better use of the land, better use of the available manpower, the wealth to train the people, to educate the people, to increase the health standards of the people, to provide homes in which to live - all these things can only flow from an acceptance of the systems and the experience of the first world sector,

and only then, when these have been achieved, is there likely to be a natural, voluntary slow-down in the growth of population, which alone will allow standards ultimately to rise to the heights that we all desire. So the acquisition of political power and responsibility should, in my view, be directed largely towards that end, otherwise it will have achieved very little.

Almost every day the financial columnists exhort us to cut down on government expenditure, to de-regulate and to privatise as though these measures alone will

solve our problems. Success in measures such as these will certainly help, but ultimately the solution lies in increasing the tax base which means bringing about a change in the climate and structure of our economy, particularly in the Black areas, such that huge numbers of Black people can become commercial farmers or have their own businesses or become employed and sufficiently productive that they can be paid high enough wages and salaries to enable them to become taxpayers and as such contributors towards the provision of desperately needed services.