

# FIGHTING

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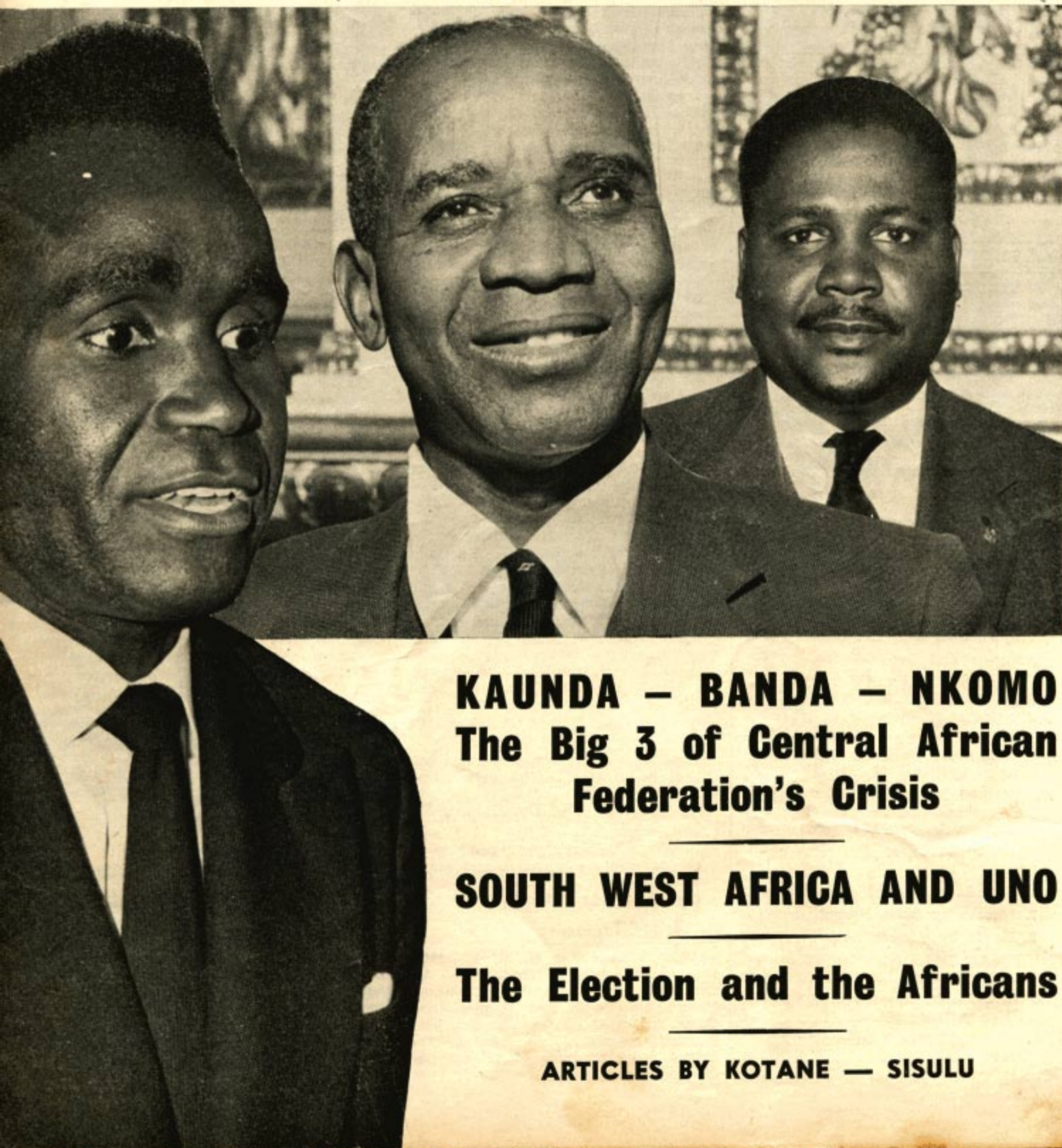
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SEPTEMBER, 1961



# TALK



**KAUNDA — BANDA — NKOMO**  
**The Big 3 of Central African**  
**Federation's Crisis**

**SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND UNO**  
**The Election and the Africans**

ARTICLES BY KOTANE — SISULU

# SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

"Granite walls don't budge easily and usually have to be dynamited out of the ways" says BRIAN BUNTING. The South West African issue comes before UNO again this month; "To preserve the prestige of UNO South Africa will have to be brought to heel."

South Africa has already lost the South West African battle. The only question which remains to be decided is whether she will have the grace to admit defeat, or whether the United Na-

tions will be compelled to remove the territory from her administration by force.

South Africa has no legal or moral case at all over South West Africa. Legally South West Africa is not part of the Republic of South Africa, however much Verwoerd or Louw may wish it so, but an international territory held in trust.

formerly a German colony, is to become independent in December of this year. The Belgian trust territory of Ruanda Urundi is to become independent next year.

But South Africa has refused to recognise the authority of the United Nations in respect of her mandate over South West Africa and, despite the fact that the League of Nations and the Mandates Commission no longer exist, insists that she is still exercising her powers in terms of the original mandate granted at Geneva in 1920.

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### From Mandate —

Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant states, inter alia:

"To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war (World War I) have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet ready to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such people form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the Covenant."

There were three classes of mandate: (a) for those territories, more particularly those belonging to the former Turkish Empire, practically "ripe" for independence; (b) for those territories not yet "ripe" for independence, especially those of Central Africa; and (c) for "territories, such as South West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory."

In the case of the former German colony of South West Africa (population 600,000 of whom under 100,000 are Whites), article 2 of the Mandate instructed that:

"The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory."

### — To U.N. Trusteeship

After World War II, all mandates with the exception of South West Africa were placed under United Nations Trusteeship. Some, like Togoland and Cameroun in Africa, have already been granted complete independence. The British trust territory of Tanganyika,

### The International Court

To some extent South Africa's contention was borne out by the 1950 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice, to which the U.N. had referred her complaint about South Africa's refusal to submit a trusteeship agreement. The International Court held

1. That South West Africa is still under the League of Nations Mandate assumed by South Africa after the first World War.

But, the International Court added:

2. The provisions of the U.N. Charter provides a means by which South West Africa may be brought under the trusteeship system.
3. South Africa is not competent to modify the international status of the territory. This can be done only with United Nations consent.
4. South Africa has an obligation to submit reports and transmit petitions from the inhabitants to the United Nations.

But, again, the International Court held:

5. South Africa is not legally obliged to place the country under the trusteeship system.

The court was unanimous on points 1, 2 and 3. Point 4 was carried by 12 votes to 2, and point 5 by 8 votes to 6.

### A New Case for the Law

The present Liberia-Ethiopia application to the International Court, which may be heard this year or next year, and may drag on for some years before the verdict is handed down, accepts that South West Africa is still a mandate, but argues that South Africa "has violated, and continues to violate, Article 2 of the Mandate and article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations" in that "the Union has not promoted to the utmost the material and moral well-

# "SOUTH AFRICA HAS ALREADY LOST THE SOUTH WEST AFRICAN BATTLE..."

being and social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory."

Liberia and Ethiopia argue that the Union has not only failed to adopt "the necessary and appropriate" measures to fulfil these objectives, "but it has taken affirmative action which denies their fulfilment", and their petition to the Court sets out in detail the application of the policy of apartheid in South West Africa.

"The Union, in administering the Territory, has adopted and applied legislation, regulations, proclamations and administrative decrees which are by their terms and in their application arbitrary, unreasonable, unjust, and detrimental to human dignity" and "have suppressed rights and liberties of inhabitants of the Territory essential to their orderly evolution towards self-government."

Ethiopia and Liberia ask the International Court to find:

★ "That the South West Africa mandate is a treaty in force which has been violated by the South African Government because of the practice of apartheid.

★ "That the Union has the duty forthwith to cease the practice of apartheid in the Territory, and to repeal all discriminatory laws.

★ "That the Union has the duty forthwith to cease and desist from any action which thwarts the orderly development of self-government in the Territory."

## Shoddy Tricks

It is in a shameful and shamefaced last-minute attempt to provide some sort of reply to these detailed allegations that the Union Government has recently made some petty concessions to the Non-White peoples of South West Africa.

The Rehoboth Basters were offered the restoration of the 1923 agreement — but rejected the offer in a referendum on the grounds that it was not a genuine offer of self-determination.

An attempt has been made to establish a Coloured Advisory Board, and the people of Ovamboland have been promised a territorial authority.

Finally, the wages of contract labourers were raised from 1s.3d. a day to 1s.9d. a day, and the period of the contract was shortened from 18 months to 12 months.

With these shoddy tricks the Verwoerd Government hopes to be able to convince the International Court that it has done its utmost to promote the material and moral well-being of the inhabitants of the territory. One can confidently predict in advance that the attempt will be a miserable failure.

The Liberia-Ethiopia court application was widely regarded as a deliberate attempt, perhaps inspired by South Africa's imperialist friends at U.N.O. to delay the inevitable political decision on South West Africa.

## "Get Ready for Self-Rule"

South West African petitioners at the November 1960 session of the General Assembly (Ismail Fortune, Mburumba Kerina, Jariretundu Kozonguizi, Jacob Kuhangua, Sam Nujoma, Michael Scott, Oliver Tambo and Marcus Kooper) in a joint statement declared

"it would be a travesty of justice if the legal action which is designed to enforce rights already adjudicated by the International Court should be used as a pretext to defer General Assembly action."

The petitioners recognised, on the other hand, "that the actual establishment of an alternative administration at this moment would be to anticipate the judgment of the Court" but "preparations must be begun of measures necessary for the restoration of rights and for the most urgent tasks of economic and social reconstruction." These measures would provide for the assemblage of resources, the training and equipment of personnel from South West Africa and the assembly of skills and apparatus through the special agencies of the United Nations.

"We believe," said the resolution "that these tasks should be undertaken now. We believe that a United Nations Commission should be set up which could ensure a continuous U.N. presence in South West Africa, and which would be empowered to draft plans for an eventual transfer of the administration."

## UNO Goes to Africa

The General Assembly did not go as far as the petitioners asked.

Instead, at its last December session, it instructed its special Committee on South West Africa to go to South West Africa immediately to report on "conditions for restoring the climate of peace and security" and take "steps which would enable the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa to achieve a wide measure of internal self-government designed to lead them to full independence." It invited the co-operation of the South African Government in this task.

The South African Government responded, as might have been expected, by refusing to co-operate and refusing to grant applications for visas by the members of the South West Africa Committee.

By this time international anger was beginning to mount against the Verwoerd regime. Steps were being taken to bring about the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth, and in March, 1961, the General Assembly itself, by a vote of 74 to 0, with 9 abstentions, censured the South African Government for its actions in South West Africa.

The Soviet delegate, Mr. S. G. Lapin, said the Assembly should immediately annul the mandate and hand the territory over to a commission of the in-

dependent African states. South West Africa, he said, **SHOULD GET INDEPENDENCE NOT LATER THAN THE FIRST HALF OF 1962.**

The General Assembly followed this up in April 1961 with more specific instructions to the South West Africa Committee. The General Assembly's declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, declares that immediate steps shall be taken to transfer all powers to such peoples, without any conditions or reservations. The deterioration in the situation in South West Africa caused by the Union's tyrannical policies and practices gave grave concern and "constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security", the General Assembly said and instructed its SWA Committee to "discharge the special and urgent tasks entrusted to it" — with or without the co-operation of the South African Government.

This motion was adopted by 84 votes to 0, with 8 abstentions. It is in pursuance of this resolution that the South West Africa Committee was visiting various territories in Africa, interviewing African refugees from S.W.A., and considering ways and means of entering the territory.

## Verwoerd Defiance

The Verwoerd Government once again adopted an attitude of defiance. Visas were once again refused to the members of the Committee, and Foreign Minister Eric Louw threatened to arrest them if they set foot in the territory.

He has, however, said he is prepared to allow an individual of international repute mutually acceptable to both sides to visit the territory to investigate conditions there and satisfy himself that they are not a threat to international peace.

Meanwhile wide-scale arrests in South West Africa and troop movements to Walvis Bay and along the Angola border continue, although both have specifically been condemned in General Assembly resolutions as violations of the mandate.

## United Nations Authority

The intransigent, granite-wall attitude of the South African Government, far from guaranteeing South African immunity, can only bring U.N. intervention nearer. Those very forces at U.N. to which Verwoerd constantly appeals for support — the Western, imperialist powers — are reduced to impotence in the face of South Africa's persistent refusal to carry out General Assembly resolutions, and the wilfully provocative statements and attitudes of Louw and Verwoerd.

Just as at the Commonwealth conference last April it was Verwoerd's refusal to budge a single inch which eventually

(Continued on next page)

## South West Africa and the United Nations

(Continued from page 3)

compelled Macmillan and Menzies to agree to his expulsion, so now the General Assembly will be forced to exert its authority in the face of persistent and insolent South African defiance, however little some U.N. members may want to move at all.

To preserve the prestige and even self-respect of the U.N., South Africa will have to be brought to heel.

Britain's refusal to grant visas to the SWA Committee to visit Bechuanaland unless the Committee promised not to cross the border into South West Africa has already aroused a most unfavourable reaction amongst the Afro-Asian powers.

The April 1961 resolution of the U.N. General Assembly specifically asked members of the United Nations to extend to the South West Africa Committee "such aid as it may require in the discharge of these tasks."

Britain's action can hardly be construed as compliance with the General Assembly's wish, though it is in line with Britain's abstention in the Assembly votes both in December 1960 and in April 1961. But how much longer can Britain continue trying to help South Africa at the expense of her own relations with the Afro-Asian powers which are demanding ever more insistently that South African rule of South West Africa be ended forthwith?

What can the United Nations do to secure compliance with its resolutions?

There are only two courses: economic sanctions, and military intervention.

In the absence of any further initiative from Verwoerd, it is possible that sooner rather than later the U.N. will be compelled to intervene. Certainly it is unlikely that the U.N., if it continues to be insulted and humiliated by South Africa, will be persuaded to wait for the outcome of the International Court case before taking action.

### Dynamite for Granite Walls

Whether things will come to this pass, however, it is impossible to predict with certainty. There are so many imponderables. South West African Whites are already gravely alarmed, and last April the Windhoek Town Council adopted unanimously a motion by the Mayor that the South African authorities be asked to allow the United Nations Committee to visit Windhoek.

The smallest genuine move of conciliation on the part of South Africa might split the U.N. front wide open and allow the imperialist powers to plead for time.

Whether Verwoerd can be persuaded to make such a move remains to be seen. One rather doubts it. Granite walls don't budge easily and usually have to be dynamited out of the way.

# Why ANOTHER Election?

The result of the General Election on October 18 is already a foregone conclusion.

"One knows already not only who is going to win, but with single exceptions which party will get which constituency," wrote Dawie, columnist of *Die Burger*. Dawie thought the Nationalists would capture Queenstown from the United Party, and that with a bit of luck the United Party would recapture Boksburg from the Nationalists, thus evening the score.

Even if the result is lightly different, and the Nationalists capture not only Queenstown, but Pretoria-Sunnyside and Pretoria-Rissik as well, and retain Boksburg, this means a net gain for the Government of only three seats.

For a party with 102 seats, or approximately two-thirds of the seats in the House of Assembly, this is an insignificant gain. Countries are not plunged into General Elections to cause a minor swelling of already swollen majorities.

The reason for the General Election on October 18 must be sought elsewhere, and for once the Parliamentary Opposition has made a correct diagnosis.

"Dr. Verwoerd said we confidently predicted an early election," said Sir de Villiers Graaff. "We did. The reason was that the policies of this Prime Minister were going to make things so difficult for South Africa, so much worse than they are already, that we were quite satisfied he would have to change those policies or seek a mandate from the people before they were aware of the full effects of the policies."

And Mr. Japie Basson added that Dr. Verwoerd's real reason for calling an election was that he no longer had confidence in his ability to get back into power in two years' time (the next ordinary General Election was due in 1963).

The official reason for the calling of a "snap" General Election this year is somewhat different. The main reason given by Dr. Verwoerd is that the country needs a "strong, stable Government" for the next five-year period so that the Republic can be steered in the right direction.

There has been considerable comment on Dr. Verwoerd's election announcement: the United Party has described it as "arrogant", and the editorial writers

The bulk of that dynamite, however, will have to be supplied by the peoples of South and South West Africa, whose mass struggle for liberation, in association with the Afro-Asian and socialist powers, is likely to prove the only force capable of overcoming the inertia of the United Nations and bringing about the restoration of this stolen land to its rightful owners.

in the Press have drawn attention to its extraordinary pettiness and illogical arguments. But the indefatigable army of Nationalist propagandists has leapt into action to defend Dr. Verwoerd's claim that "national unity" is genuinely being sought.

### Hunting for the Kill

The following extract from the *Star* throws further light on the Government's plans: "The Prime Minister last night gave an indication of the main issue on which he plans to fight the forthcoming election. His cry will be: **Defend the White Republic!** And all Opposition groups are to be tarred with the Liberal brush and the electorate warned that their policies could lead only to 'one man, one vote.' Dr. Verwoerd, described at the meeting as 'a world leader of the White man's cause', was in a folksy, informal mood as he addressed about 300 constituents crammed into Balfour's tiny town hall. Much of his two-hour oration was devoted to an appeal for White unity behind the racial policies of the Nationalist Party", etc., etc.

The ferocity of the attack by Nationalist spokesmen on the United Party and on the English-language Press, as evidenced by the opening shots of the election campaign, is of a new order.

Nationalist politicians are noted for their lack of restraint, but now they are behaving now like hunters preparing for a kill.

This is a typical symptom of would-be dictators: they are forever trying to settle insoluble problems "once and for all."

Behind the brave words and loud whistling, there are the unmistakable signs of unease. Dr. Verwoerd realises that the situation is getting out of hand (Mr. Vorster, in fact, in a memorable phrase, admitted that "rights are getting out of hand").

Economically and politically, the Government is fighting a battle against time. What it is trying to do, is to form White South Africans, or at least the majority of them, into a solid White bloc, before the real troubles arrive.

The United Party and the English-language Press are the major obstacles preventing this "realignment"; hence, the furious attacks on them.

There is little doubt that Dr. Verwoerd is preparing for a "fresh start", a "clean sweep", a "once-and-for-all" assault on his opponents — these are all phrases which are indispensable in the modern dictator's terminology.

That he will fail in the final reckoning, is inevitable; but his inability to succeed should not be confused with his capacity to cause damage. The fact of the 1961 General Election is that Dr. Verwoerd is still backed solidly by Nation-

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alist Afrikaners (the "intellectuals" are silently nursing their thoughts) and that these Nationalist Afrikaners control the State, with its police force and army.

### Moves to the Right

What will the position be after October 17?

The Nationalist Party will be back in Parliament crowing about its "great victory", and the 11 Progressive Party M.P's will be back in civilian life, wondering perhaps why they ever went into politics. Their seats will be filled with U.P. stalwarts — those middle-class non-entities whose saving grace is that they are too dim-witted to know that they are licked. Mr. Basson presumably will be there, too, weaving his tortuous course, and in the Senate ex-Chief Justice Fagan will be sitting in rather awkward grandeur wondering whether he is in fact an *eminence grise*, or whether he has just been shunted out of the way by the U.P.

The U.P.'s negotiations with the National Union Party are not just a comic interlude: they point the direction in which the U.P. is moving. The U.P.'s exultant rebuff to the Progressives and its cloying embrace of Mr. Fagan show that Sir de Villiers Graaff is moving rapidly to the right in pursuit of Nationalist votes. In the process, the U.P. is being forced to "moderate" its opposition to Nationalist policies — an erosion which has progressed steadily over the years in fact.

Dr. Verwoerd is not such a fool, therefore.

The election will hasten the process of the swing to the right in the White electorate.

Sir de Villiers Graaff believes the U.P. will benefit from this swing, because Nationalist voters will be brought within his grasp.

Dr. Verwoerd, on the other hand, believes the Government will benefit from the swing, because there will be less opposition to its racial policies and less insistence on civil liberties.

Of the two, Dr. Verwoerd's is the more realistic appraisal. Dr. Verwoerd makes an immediate gain, whereas Sir de Villiers takes a gamble.

### Barnstorm the Voters

The task of all progressive thinking South Africans, Whites and Non-Whites, therefore, is to do something to arrest the rightward swing of the White electorate. They must do something to bring it to its senses.

The Progressives could do a lot by barnstorming the country and trying to shock voters out of their prejudices and complacency. The Liberal Party and the Congress of Democrats could do even more by transporting the issue of multi-racialism into the forefront of the election campaign.

The Liberal Party is reported to be considering sending teams of White and Non-White canvassers into the constituencies. This is just what is needed. Multi-racial meetings should be held where possible.

# Africans and the Elections

by  
MOSES KOTANE

The Whites of the Republic of South Africa are in the throes of a campaign for a general parliamentary election. The election will be held on October 18. Normally it would have taken place in 1963. The reasons given for this serious Cabinet decision to advance the date of the election by a year and a half are varied and revealing.

In announcing the decision Dr. Verwoerd told the country that this was necessary —

★ because "1963, the normal election year was fixed as the year of active rebellion against the Government and the State";

★ because "those who have tried to incite internal disturbances have on every occasion chosen a date to coincide with some event which might make the electorate sensitive to external influences";

★ "to prevent any organised onslaught on orderly administration";

★ in order to forestall "efforts to disturb law and order";

★ to avoid being caught in an election during a period of economic crisis.

★ to resist world pressure on South Africa;

★ to show the world that South Africa has "a stable and strong Government in power for the next five years";

★ in order to deal efficiently with the country's racial problems, and with "events in Africa, particularly near the borders of the Republic";

★ to give full attention to the further economic development and prosperity of the Republic; and

★ to restore "the confidence of the investor in the safety of his investments" in the Republic.

### Doubt and Suspicion

The fears expressed in points one and two are obviously based on the decision of the All-African People's Conference held in Accra in December, 1958, calling for the liberation of all oppressed peoples of Africa by 1963, and on the experience of the decisions and activities of the liberation movement here in South Africa, particularly in previous elections and during 1960, the year of the referendum for a republic and 1961, the year in which the Republic was established.

The activities of the Congress Movement, and those of democrats and pro-

The duty of the progressive-thinking public is to carry the slogan of multi-racialism right into the thick of the election campaign, even if this means employing shock tactics (legal shock tactics, of course!).

It is not only Dr. Verwoerd who is fighting against time. It is the whole of South Africa.

C.P.E.

gressive peoples and movements outside South Africa such as huge demonstrations of protest in England and elsewhere and the boycott of South African goods, severely shook the political and economic structure of White domination, and cast doubts in the minds of many of its supporters. In addition these anti-apartheid activities here and outside the country made South Africa suspect to many overseas investors. This loss of confidence in the political stability and consequently in the economic soundness of the country has become one of the major threats to the Government of Dr. Verwoerd.

The threats to the Nationalist administration mainly stem from four basic evils: denial of political rights; landlessness; depressed economic status, and denial of freedom of movement. The outcome of these are no voice in the government of our country and in the making of laws which govern us; poverty and starvation; pass laws, the inhuman influx control and daily pass raids; the fraudulent Bantu Authorities and Bantu Education; heavy taxation, group areas proclamations and mass removals, expropriations, job reservation, low wages and high rents.

But instead of removing these real grievances the Government is busy rallying its reactionary forces and adopting measures to counter and, if possible, frustrate the efforts and struggle of the people to end the system of White domination and injustices.

The coming general election is clearly intended to rally the voters in defence of Verwoerd's barbaric apartheid policies.

### The Opposition and the Government

The other major political party is the United Party of Sir de Villiers Graaff. This party has concluded an election agreement with the National Union of Mr. Japie Basson. What positively are these parties, the Nationalist Party and the United Party-National Union alliance, offering the Africans and other Non-White sections?

The Nationalist Party, through its Department of Bantu Administration and Development announced on August 16 that it had "embarked on a five-year plan to provide Bantustan townships and housing for tens of thousands of Africans . . . During this period 51 will be established and developed inside the Reserves, many of them near the borders, to house the labour supply for decentralised industries. Some of the towns

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# THOSE "BANTU HOMELANDS"

## THE 'GRAVES OF APARTHEID' — SAYS WALTER SISULU

"All the Bantu have their permanent homes in the reserves and their entry into other areas and into the Urban Areas is merely of a temporary nature and for economic reasons. In other words they are admitted as workers not as settlers."

— Secretary, Bantu Administration and Development.  
(Article in "Optima", March 1959.)

The Nationalist Government has, in the face of the demands by the peoples for full democratic rights, and the hostile criticism by the world of their racialist policy, stubbornly boasted that separate development of the various racial groups in the country is the solution which will solve all the problems of South Africa.

### Plunder of Land

The Government insists that the Bantu have their National homes, which it describes as those parts of the country which were mainly under occupation when the Whites settled in the interior of South Africa. These are the areas known today as the Reserves.

In fact the African people were driven and crowded into these areas by wars of plunder conducted by White settlers and finally by the Land Act of 1913 which restricted the rights to land ownership by the Africans, who constitute 80% of the population, to 13% of the land. Even on the basis of this proportion it is shameful for the Government to assert as it does that this is a fair share of land and that the reserves are the natural and permanent home of the Africans.

The economic realities in the country have created a situation where one-third of the African population is in the urban areas, another third is working on farms and only one-third remains in what Dr. Verwoerd calls the natural homes of the African people.

Those in the reserves are the poorest section. They have by design been deprived of land to plough. Starvation, malnutrition and disease decimate the population and compel men and youths to migrate to the mines, farms and towns to eke out a living.

For years now many people, Black and White in South Africa, have attempted to find out what precisely is meant by the policy of Bantu Self Government or Bantustans. Even according to the interpretation given by Government officials, from the Prime Minister to the Secretary for Bantu Affairs, it is clear that different Government pronouncements do not mean the same things.

### Bantu Councils

The Government denies that there are no political rights for the African people. It points to the Bantu Authorities as in fact a granting of political rights.

The Act lays down that the Bantu Authorities are to be established by the Governor General with "due regard to

Native law and custom" and after consultation with all tribes and communities concerned (Act 68—1951).

The head will be the chief or headman. Two or more tribes may combine to form a Bantu Authority. The Government will decide the minimum or maximum of councillors to serve in tribal Authorities. Government officials have a right to attend all meetings.

The Bantu Commissioner has a right to cancel any appointment of headman or chief. The Minister may cancel any appointment of councillor with whom he is dissatisfied for various reasons.

### No Elections

The election principle is subject to qualifications. In many areas there is no election at all but appointment.

Of all the Bantu Authorities which have now been established, no popular election has been held as far as I know.

Even with the Bantu Urban Councils which permit an election, a large number of councillors will be appointed by the Government.

The African leaders have never been in doubt that this policy is diametrically opposed to the aspirations of the African people — that the Nationalist Government had never intended to give the African people an opportunity to develop politically, economically, educationally and culturally.

Its real purpose is to keep the African people in a position of permanent serfdom and to prevent any political development among the urban population.

The system is meant to frustrate all African efforts to share in the wealth and management of their country; to turn all the chiefs in the reserves into despotic, ruthless agents of the White 'baas', and finally to divide the African people into small manageable ethnic groups.

### Colonial Governor

The major instruments of this policy are the Bantu Authorities Act, the Promotion of Self Government Act and the Urban Bantu Councils Act. In all these measures, the Minister of Bantu Affairs remains the Supreme Chief with far-reaching despotic powers. These powers are exercised in turn by his subordinate officers or agents, ambassadors, general Bantu Affairs officials including Bantu Commissioners, Paramount Chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen, and various local councils.

The Minister of Bantu Affairs stands in a similar position to a Colonial Gov-

ernor although his powers are much wider.

The Bantustan scheme bears within itself the seeds of the Nationalists' own destruction. The policy is nothing but an attempt to entrench the already outmoded Colonial System. It is not only aimed at the Africans in the Republic but at the Protectorates and South West Africa — and who knows where it may end.

I cannot see how any self-respecting African, any believer in fundamental human freedoms, any upholder of democratic society can hope that any good can emerge from such an evil scheme.

I find it difficult to appreciate the attitude of some of the well-meaning but confused South Africans who believe that you can accept this aspect or that of apartheid or Bantustanisation. Some people say let us co-operate to develop the economy of the reserves. Some have accepted the new Bantu Urban Councils as an advancement. How can it be? The Government makes it clear that everything it does must be within the framework of its policy of separate development which is a negation of fundamental principles of a democratic society.

### Seven Pockets

The Government claims that the urban population is temporarily in the towns. It follows therefore from this that these Councils are to be used to uproot the urban population and send them back to the reserves.

But it does not appear to be feasible to develop the reserves properly once the economy of the country is divided into separate pockets. There are seven areas known as Bantu Homes. They are patches in different corners of South Africa. The Government says these should be developed into self-governing areas. There is no effort to have one Bantustan for the Africans.

The African people have developed the big and wealthy cities of South Africa and are a settled urban community.

The African people reject the so-called reserves as the deliberate creation of camps by White employers in order to continue to draw cheap labour; the areas were deliberately not made self-supporting so that the population driven to these so-called Bantu Homes would be forced by starvation to migrate to the industrial areas.

The Bantu Authorities will bring division not only among the African people but among the tribesmen themselves.

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The tribesmen see in Bantu Authorities the greatest of all evils. They have already been witness to bloody struggle and military operations in their own areas. They have seen a display of modern weapons in such places as Zeerust and Pondoland. Even at this moment there is a State of Emergency in Pondoland.

It is an illusion of the Government if it believes that it has crushed the resistance of the people to the Bantu Authorities. If there is a lull, it is temporary.

The Government seem to believe that its military might will answer the problem. The Government is presently engaged in mobilising the Whites, men, women and youth. There have been continuous threats in the press by the Minister of Defence Mr. Fouche. Recently he made a statement that he was aiming at a target of a standing army of 60,000.

South Africans must learn from history that the march of the people to freedom has never been stopped even by the mightiest military Governments. Governments have been compelled to accede to the people's demands. South Africa can be no exception.

The liberation movement has offered only one possible solution — the calling of a National Convention.

There is still time for the Nationalist Government to save the country from catastrophe by calling such a convention. At Pietermaritzburg delegates representing African people throughout the country pledged themselves to a policy of non-co-operation.

Non-co-operation takes various forms. There are many examples of it in history. In so far as South Africa is concerned the National Action Council, realising that all legal forms of struggle have been wiped out by the Government, directed its National Secretary, Nelson Mandela, to live the life of an outlaw and to direct the struggle from underground. Conditions have forced the African people into that position.

Mr. Mandela has now made a call to the African people and the entire country for non-co-operation with the Government, and has chosen as a first target the Bantu Authorities.

He has made it clear that Bantu Authorities are the cardinal point of apartheid and cannot be the concern of the African people only. The Coloureds have their own councils of a similar kind an Indian Affairs Department has been created, Jewish and English Affairs Departments have not been created as yet.

The Europeans who are now engaged in an election campaign as a struggle merely between the European parties are unaware of the dangers that face the country. Sooner or later the country will be faced with a Zeerust or Pondoland on a large scale. The African people cannot be expected to abandon their legitimate political struggle because the Government is preparing for civil war. This is an issue which must concern everyone.

## CASE IN POINT

# NONGOMA and EMPANGENI

by BEATA LIPMAN

Twelve tribesmen from the Thokazi area of Nongoma, in Zululand, have been found guilty of murder with extenuating circumstances following a great deal of unrest in the district during the last three years. They have been granted leave to Appeal to the Appellate Division.

In 1958 Government machinery moved into action for the implementation of the Bantu Authorities and Betterment Schemes for the area, and met with immediate resistance from the people. Meetings called by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner to discuss the schemes showed almost complete unanimity of opposition among the people, and even Chief Cyprian Bhezekulu, Paramount Chief of the Zulu people, and normally a staunch supporter of Government policy, refused initially to speak for the Betterment Scheme was asked for an opinion by the tribesmen.

### From the Top

An important reason for the opposition of the tribesmen is their concern at the way that traditional methods of arriving at decisions affecting the lives of all have been almost completely ignored, and that there has been no attempt to meet their grievances.

The Scheme has been imposed from the top, without any attempt to gain the co-operation and unanimous approval (as was customary) of all the men of the area.

In his evidence at the preparatory examination on the murder charge held in Nongoma in January this year, Walter Kanyile, an employee of the Usutu Tribal Authority and thus one of those concerned with the actual work of implementing the Betterment Scheme, said: 'I was present at this meeting called by the Paramount Chief where the people refused the Betterment Scheme. Putting it at a rough estimate I would say there were about 500 people present . . . all the people stood up as one man and said they were against the Betterment Scheme. No further meeting was attempted on this basis again. No inquiry was made by the Usutu Tribal Authority why the people had rejected the Betterment Scheme as far as I know. After this rejection by the people the Betterment Scheme was enforced and applied.'

Opposition to the so-called Betterment Scheme in many of the Reserves stems from a number of reasons, most of them linked with a well-founded and profound suspicion of Government motivation in the matter.

Not only have some people been entirely dispossessed of their land, and placed in rural locations, while other more favoured tribesmen now have larger plots for cultivation (as happened in Empangeni), but the re-organisation required by the Scheme has frequently resulted in smaller and more widely dispersed individual plots.

As one elderly induna of the Thokazi

area put it: 'How can this be called a Betterment Scheme when it does not better our conditions but only worsens them? The fields are reduced, stock is culled, people are set one against the other, and soon we are to be homeless because our huts are to be demolished.'

At all times the Schemes have meant an increased financial burden in the form of special taxes and dipping fees for a people already existing at subsistence level, and free services (for example for the manning of the dipping tanks) are also frequently made compulsory. The culling of cattle for a people who have for generations counted their wealth not in money but in the number of beasts that they own is another well-known factor making for hostility.

Under the 'Betterment Scheme' the land is re-divided into new units for arable, grazing and residential purposes.

Where the people have not co-operated, as in Nongoma, the best land has been handed over to those few who have supported the Government, and this has been done at the expense of the opponents of the Scheme.

One of the Crown witnesses in the Preparatory Examination at Nongoma, an old man called Absalom Mhambili, said that he had been given the fields of a close relation of his, Sigidle Ndandwe. He said that when he ploughed his new lands the cattle of Ndandwe had destroyed the ploughing. When he drove the cattle out Ndandwe, who is one of the accused, had driven them back into the fields and then attacked him.

Another Crown witness at the Preparatory Examination, Flora Dhlamini, whose husband was assaulted and subsequently died in hospital, said in her evidence: 'I know all the accused before Court. There is not one of them that has accepted the Scheme or who has shifted to the new residential area.'

### Starving

Statements from families in the affected areas read with a simple and straightforward consistency. All say that their opposition to the Betterment Scheme was never given the slightest consideration. All comment on the fact that from the start the Government has attempted to force them into acceptance, by the imposition of large fines and by refusing to allow them to plough their old lands. And all speak with desperation of hunger and suffering.

'We are starving,' says one woman in a letter to Durban, 'We have not cultivated our crops for 3 years now. My husband was deported early in 1960. My children are naked. Those who are in school need books, clothes and school fees. I have four children. I just do not know what to do now.'

The pattern of opposition that has emerged in Nongoma duplicates exactly the response of the people of Zeerust,

(Continued on page 16)

## REPORT FROM RHODESIA

Central African Federation is a doomed craft. Welensky will cut his losses over Nyasaland, but will try at all costs to hold the Northern Rhodesian treasure house, for Welensky, Verwoerd and Salazar will make White supremacy's last ditch stand

# NO FURTHER NORTH THAN THE ZAMBEZI

*By A Special Correspondent*

## FEDERATION: DOOMED CRAFT

In 1953 the Rhodesias and Nyasaland were welded into an unsatisfactory — and partial — unity, giving rise to the Central African Federation. Nyasaland was very much the junior partner and the whole operation was carried through without consultation of the large African majority.

Initial suspicion in the Northern Territories has gradually given way to positive hatred.

## MALAWI'S TRIUMPH

The depth and extent of this hatred has been demonstrated in the recent Nyasaland elections. The main plank in Dr. Banda's electioneering campaign was the promise of total rejection of the Federation. The poll — especially on the lower roll — set records. In one constituency it recorded 100%; and of all the votes cast — including European — Dr. Banda's party secured 98%.

In the lower-roll constituencies, every opponent of the Malawi Congress lost his deposit!

That this feeling is fully shared by the Africans of Northern Rhodesia can be doubted by no-one who knows the territory. They feel themselves exploited and most unjustly tied to a partner — Southern Rhodesia — in which race discrimination is flagrant and which is more than friendly to the hated Verwoerd regime further South. The outlook of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia, on this question, is, naturally, different. Their condition is, in any case, desperate: they lose nothing through union with the more liberal (or slightly less illiberal!) Northern Territories.

## NORTHERN RHODESIA: TREASURE HOUSE

The attitude of the Federal Government to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is interesting and instructive. Federal supporters would, of course, like to hold both territories; but they have shown, quite unmistakably, that they are prepared to "cut their losses" so far as Nyasaland is concerned, while remaining determined to hang on to Northern Rhodesia.

The explanation is two-fold. In the first place, Nyasaland brought no wealth to the white population of Southern Rhodesia. It is, in fact, something of a liability. Whether Dr. Banda can make

good his promise so to improve the economy of his country that it will be independent of outside assistance need not concern us here.

## GRAPPLING IRONS ON NORTHERN RHODESIA

The case of Northern Rhodesia is vastly different.

Here are found the incredibly rich mineral deposits of the Federation — deposits which have enabled the White settlers to accumulate immense wealth, and export many millions of pounds to other countries. For many years Northern Rhodesia has lain like a creature whose life-blood is sucked away. Since federation, a great deal of the loot has gone to enrich the Whites further south.

Small wonder, then, that Welensky and his clan are prepared to use every trick — fair or foul — and any political chicanery to keep the North grappled to their own doomed craft; but there is another reason: Welensky — like Verwoerd — has eyed, with dismay and foreboding, the southward advance of African liberatory movements.

It is not my purpose, here, to discuss the political stratagems employed to establish "moderate" Africans in the new states; we merely note that the southward advance has been rapid; and it has been obvious for some time past that Welensky, Verwoerd and Salazar would — overtly or secretly; openly or tacitly — strike a pact to form a solid block of white supremacists in the south.

So it is clearly to the advantage of this unholy trinity, to keep the "last ditch" as far north as possible.

Even the most optimistic of their followers could hardly hope to include Nyasaland. In any case, the loss of this territory would affect but little the ultimate boundary line.

It became of paramount importance, however, to neutralise the African liberatory movement of Northern Rhodesia. A glance at the map reveals the much longer border — and the much greater danger from bordering states! To the west lies Angola and to the north-west the Belgian Congo. The loss of Northern Rhodesia would be a devastating blow. The necessity to contain African nationalism to the north became vital after the emancipation of the Congo. In the event, however, Portugal unexpectedly suffered first. The issue of

this conflict is still in doubt — despite the brutal and barbaric methods adopted by the Portuguese.

If the Africans of Angola win their war, the battle for Mozambique will be on. The collapse of Portugal in east and west would place Southern Rhodesia and the Republic in a parlous position indeed and would almost inevitably hasten enormously the collapse of white supremacy in those countries.

It is understandable, therefore — though none the less reprehensible — that Welensky has employed every trick to hold the North — bluff, intimidation and every type of skulduggery. He has spent large sums of money on bringing out British M.P's and on an extensive propaganda campaign.

What are the results and what are the prospects?

Nyasaland, as we have seen, will soon be lost to him.

## SOUTHERN RHODESIA: APARTHEID over the LIMPOPO

In the South, a combination of clever strategy and good luck on the part of Sir Edgar Whitehead coupled with deplorable political naivete on the side of the National Democratic Party, has resulted in a resounding victory for the United Federal Party. This is likely to be far less permanent than Sir Edgar imagines, but for the immediate future, it must be considered as a major setback to the progressive element. Sir Edgar has succeeded in establishing white supremacy on a sounder foundation than ever before. Appearing to have made considerable concessions, he has, in fact, done the reverse. How sincere is the vaunted reduction of the colour-bar may be judged from the ludicrous reactions of the Europeans to the recent "swimming-bath" decision!

No, Southern Rhodesia may avoid the term "apartheid", but the systems north and south of the Limpopo are, in practice, well-nigh indistinguishable.

It is clear, therefore, that as the danger draws closer, the bonds between Verwoerd and Welensky — or their successors — will become ever stronger. That Southern Rhodesia will actually throw in her lot with the Republic seems rather unlikely — but by no means impossible; especially if the ties with Britain are weakened as a result of the



latter having to join the Common Market or face economic disaster.

It seems likely, then, that Southern Rhodesia and the Republic will fall, at last, together — the final monuments to man's colossal and unjustified conceit.

## BREAKING POINT IN THE NORTH

To the North, the situation is very different. Until recent months, there was every hope of a peaceful transition to responsible African government. There seems little doubt that this was Macleod's original intention. As a result, however, of Welensky's quite unjustifiable interference and pressure, the most outrageous and complex constitution has been proposed for Northern Rhodesia.

Frequently referred to as a "dog's breakfast" the proposals have met with bitter opposition from all sides except the U.F.P. It was recognised, from the start, that the new "constitution" was hopelessly loaded in favour of Welensky's party.

Recently it has been shown that the proposals do not mean even what the Governor of Northern Rhodesia thought they meant! Whether Welensky and Greenfield realised the true situation is a moot point. It is, however, interesting that the Federal Government has failed to comment on the exposé—now a month old.

One may also speculate on the reason of Welensky's peculiar behaviour when the proposals were under consideration in London. He was ready to fly to London — but received a phone call and decided it was unnecessary to make the trip! Finally, it is understood that Greenfield was instrumental in framing the wording of the new proposals!

In any case, the weak behaviour of the British Government has brought the Africans to breaking point.

They have listened quietly while the Europeans threatened and raved; Kenneth Kaunda pledged his party to non-violence but, as he has so often warned, there is a point beyond which one's patience can be no further strained. That point has been reached in Northern Rhodesia.

Violence is breaking out everywhere — though it is instructive to note that it is directed against property and government papers, not life — with the significant exception of the loss of life and "beating-up" inflicted by the security forces on Africans.

The whole situation is heartbreaking.

Neither the British Government nor the Federal will be able to stem the tide in this territory.

There was every opportunity to reach an amicable agreement. Kaunda bent over backwards to reassure the Europeans — but Welensky, like Hitler, is never satisfied. The result — property up in flames, spotter planes circling overhead all day and worst of all, rapid deterioration of race-relations. In the

FIGHTING TALK. SEPTEMBER, 1961

## THE BIG THREE OF FEDERATION'S CRISIS

# I. KAUNDA

## Will his leadership weather the African Storm in Northern Rhodesia?

Kenneth Kaunda is a Christian. For him as for Chief Lutuli, religion and politics are not in conflict: rather does he find in Christianity his most convincing reason for seeking and preaching liberation and justice. And because of this, it has never been easy for the most rabid White supremacists to picture him as a black mamba—his integrity is too lucid, his origins too respectable, his reasoning too cogent to be written off as agitation or emotion. The truest index of the desperate state of things in Northern Rhodesia is this — that the man who has been forced into the position of fiercest rebellion and most relentless hostility is none other than the cool, coherent, rational Christian, Kaunda.

Kaunda was born at a mission — Lubwa, near Chinsali, in the northern province of Northern Rhodesia. His father was a Church of Scotland minister, originally from Nyasaland; his mother was a teacher. He passed Standard VI at 15 and trained as a teacher at Munali, Lusaka; for years he taught at Lubwa.

Then wanderlust bloomed and he set out for Tanganyika, where for two years he taught and revelled in a wider Africa and a freer society. Returning, he wandered restlessly about Rhodesia: to Salisbury, back to the North, and to the Copperbelt, where for a time he worked in the welfare office in Chingola before returning to teaching.

Then he joined Congress, and it was soon clear that his teaching days were

end, African nationalism will win the day.

It is extremely unlikely that the "proposals" will ever get further than they are at present, but how much better had the step been taken gracefully!

Whether the confidence of the Africans can be re-won is doubtful.

What is in no doubt is that the white supremacists will have to draw their line no further north than the Zambezi. Whether the immediate future holds war or peace for Northern Rhodesia, it certainly holds no hope for the continuation of white domination here — and for this, at least, we can give thanks. In the words formerly used by a B.B.C. speaker: "Good-bye Federation"!

over. Like Nkrumah, he became an indefatigable party organiser, beating the countryside to form Congress branches deep in the bush. Once, they say, he came face-to-face with a lion in a forest clearing. Confident of his mission, he stared the lion down and watched it slink away. He became Secretary-General of Congress; went to prison with Harry Nkumbula; then broke away to form the Zambia National Congress. When Zambia was banned in 1959, he was exiled to a desolate part of the Northern Province. Deliberately, he held an illegal meeting there, and went to prison again. While confined, he thought deeply — and it was perhaps then that he reached the conclusions which have guided and sustained him since.

After his release, he formed the United National Independence Party (UNIP); with the Reverend Colin Morris, the Copperbelt's fighting parson, he wrote "Black Government?" — a clear and reasonable exposition of the unanswerable case for democracy in plural societies.

He played a principal role in the negotiations which led to the initial agreement on a constitution for Northern Rhodesia which gave a reasonable prospect of an African majority — and he most keenly felt the weight of the tragedy when pressure from Sir Roy Welensky and Conservative back-benchers in Britain destroyed that agreement.

Whatever he does now — and his grounds for fury and emotion are overwhelmingly strong — he will not lose his clear mind or the moral basis of his policy. As he said in 1960.

"The more I ponder over this, the more sure I am that I am right in refusing to believe that what the White man does against me and my people is done because he is wicked. The White man is only bad because the system is bad. The answer is to change the system. Transfer the power gracefully from the minority to the majority, and the Whites need not fear anything from the Blacks. How morally wrong I would be if, having fought and suffered as I and my people have suffered to defeat what we believe to be wicked, and having succeeded, we replaced that wickedness with our form of evil and began to oppress the White man." That is Kaunda's clarity and Kaunda's morality.

ROBIN FARQUHARSON.

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## 2. NKOMO

Who is this thickset meditative figure, this slow-spoken moonfaced man with a half-smile between his hairline moustache and crescent beard? It is no businessman, though he has been in business; no preacher, though he has preached: it is Joshua Mqabuko Myongolo Nkomo, the Sage of Golders' Green and the Bulwark of Buiawayo, unchallenged leader of Southern Rhodesia's National Democratic Party.

Nkomo had none of Kaunda's literate antecedents. He was born in the Semokwe Reserve in the Southern Matopo district — he spent his boyhood herding cattle. Then he found his way to a primary school and at last southwards to Adams College, where he was deeply influenced by the Christianity of Dr. Edgar Brookes. He trained as a social worker at the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Science; then was employed by the Rhodesia Railways in Bulawayo as a social worker, the first African appointed. His evenings were spent neither in politics nor in dissipation; soon he qualified, by correspondence, as a Bachelor of Social Science of the University of South Africa.

The railway workers whom he served, impressed by his cap and gown as well as by his assiduity for their welfare, offered him the post of Secretary of their Trade Union, at a higher wage than he had earned from the Railways. He accepted; as Secretary, he put the Union's case to Patrick Gordon Walker, visiting Rhodesia as Secretary for Commonwealth Relations; and, thus brought to the attention of the powers that were, flew to London soon after as a delegate, invited by Sir Godfrey Huggins to the London Conference on Federation.

Federation he opposed; and, suddenly, without experience in politics, he was President of the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia. He left the Railway Workers' Union and turned without notable success to business: insurance, auctioneering, a secretarial agency. Soon the Congress, reinvigorated by the vigour of its Youth Leaguers, Chikerema, Mushonga and Nyandoro, was taking up all his time.

In 1958, he flew to the Accra Conference, and then to Cairo and London. While he was away, the Congress was banned by Sir Edgar Whitehead — and Nkomo, the only man in the party with freedom of action, set up in Golders' Green an effective headquarters which did much to help turn British public opinion against Federation, Whitehead and Welensky.

In January last year the NDP was formed — in mid-year Nkomo returned in triumph to lead it. Then in January this year he made what now seems a false step: at the Southern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference, he allowed himself to be persuaded to accept a Constitution which extinguished Britain's reserve powers to veto Southern Rhodesian

## 3. BANDA OF MALAWI

One of the great questions of history is whether situations make leaders or whether it is the completely accidental appearance of a certain man that makes history go one way or another. Characteristically, Dr. Hastings Banda has himself answered the question.

"Those who want to destroy me politically are quite welcome to their wishes, so far as I am concerned. They can do what they like, but they will never destroy me. It is not I but the spirit of what I stand for, with which they have to contend or count. I mean absolutely nothing. Destroy Banda and two other Banda's will turn up."

### Leopard Skin and Broom

Hastings Kazumu Banda, the modern messiah: militant, fanatical, fearless, defiant, leads Nyasaland today. Greeted by cries of Kwaca! Kwaca! (Dawn) on his return to the territory after an absence of forty-one years, he was draped in a leopard skin and given a broom to brush Nyasaland out of the Federation.

Since his return (is it coincidence?) there has been a state of National Emergency, the granting of a Nyasaland constitution, fiery Federal Review talks — and victory of Banda's Malawi Congress Party at the polls during elections held under the 1960 Lancaster House Constitution.

His strategy: tough talk to the Nyasaland Whites, immediate African Self Government and prompt withdrawal of Nyasaland from the Federation.

During the December Federal Review talks he walked out of the Conference while Sir Edgar Whitehead was speaking. The Malawi Congress delegates followed. Dr. Banda afterwards told the press that, while 49 Africans were still

legislation, while introducing 15 African M.P.s in an enlarged House of 65. Perhaps he thought of this as a stage to universal suffrage — it soon became clear that the Whites who had negotiated it with him thought of it as a final concession, the utmost the African could hope for.

From the first his followers were restive — by the time of the Constitutional Referendum, the whole party and Nkomo had swung into furious opposition, and held their own private referendum to record an overwhelming "No."

The future is obscure. But Nkomo, husband of a Chief's daughter, mindful of the glories of the Matabele, will remain a central figure of Southern Africa. As he wrote in *Voice of Africa*, Accra, in April 1961:

"Our vigilance is firm and our determination unshakable. I remain true to freedom, on behalf of the children of Mambo, Lobengula and Mtasa, the African people of Southern Rhodesia." So Nkomo.

ROBIN FARQUHARSON.

held as political prisoners in Southern Rhodesia, it was nauseating hypocrisy for Sir Edgar to pose as a friend of the Africans.

Summoned to Chequers — with Nkomo and Kaunda, he was confronted by Macmillan, Sandys and McCleod: but walked out on the following day when the Southern Rhodesian delegates got up to speak. The Conference was postponed, Sir Edgar saying: "It would teach the extreme racialistic leaders a salutary lesson which was long overdue!"

### Swept to Office

They have tried to smear him, but Banda is popular. His supporters say that he has been made a martyr by the press which looks for the spectacular in his speeches. In the attempt to discredit him they have made him the kind of political character that Africans love — the defiant hero, the fearless man, who wants to destroy the order of society that keeps them in subjection. His speeches draw the crowds who want to hear what he has to say: "We intend to be our own masters in our own house in our own country on our continent of Africa."

Swept to office during the elections under the new constitution, Banda's Malawi Congress Party won a comfortable majority over all other contenders for the 33 member Legislative Council.

The Congress Liberation Party and the Christian Democratic Party — now fused to form the pro-federation Christian Liberation Party, have no effective say in the new Nyasaland Government — nor any seats in the Executive Council, from which the Ministers will be drawn. On the Executive Council the five elected members will have Ministerial status. There will also be 5 official members.

Hastings Banda, leader of the Party with the strongest representation will lead the Government. There is much to be done: the Executive Council is Advisory to the Governor who technically may reject the advice of the Council. He may also increase the size of the Executive Council by nominating additional members; franchise is qualified (there are two rolls, limited in age and literacy) — and Nyasaland has still to achieve independence.

His critics speak of his political inexperience, egotism, even megalomania but the Malawi programme is a serious and realistic one. It is pledged to serve as the vigorous political vanguard against oppression; to vitalise economic and social life of Nyasaland's 2,700,000 people; to establish a democratic national government; secure the unity of all the people and the chiefs; promote the political, economic and social emancipation of the people, and work with other democratic and Socialist movements in Africa. A pre-requisite to this programme is the need for genuine independence and withdrawal from the white dominat-

ed Federation. The ultimate goal is an East African Federation of Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda, parts of Northern Rhodesia and Mozambique.

### Never Conquered

Nyasaland has an ancient history. Today it is one of the two Protectorates that comprise, along with Southern Rhodesia, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is a small country 50,000 sq. miles. Its people are largely farmers or fishermen in the great lake. Its mineral wealth is unexploited and unlike the Rhodesias very little of the land has been alienated from the people. Multi-racial in its population, it has 175,000 Whites, 20,000 Asian and approximately 2,400,000 Africans.

Declare a Protectorate in 1882, it was called British Central Africa. The Malawi were never conquered. Illiteracy and backwardness of the chiefs enabled Cecil Rhodes to obtain treaties in which the chiefs sold the control of their territory for false promises of protection. From 1911, Nyasaland took on its form which it retained until Federation was imposed in 1953. Administered by Great Britain through the Colonial Secretary, the people had no say in the Government. In the Legislative Council of 17 up to recently only three were Africans.

The territory fared little better under Federation. African wages averaged less than 2/- per day — the legal minimum is only 1/3 in most places.

The poorest of the "partners" in the Federation, Nyasaland had a budget surplus before 1953. Its leaders feel that given an energetic policy of expansion; exploitation of the untapped mineral wealth; modernisation of farming and proper use of the potential skill of the people, Nyasaland can substantially raise its standard of living.

Essential for this is self-government.

### Flame Shimmer

The Malawi Congress Party is the main movement for self government. Malawi means the flame-like shimmer of the sun on the water. Malawi to Nyasaland is as Ghana to the Gold Coast. The African National Congress of Nyasaland (declared unlawful during the 1959 Emergency) was succeeded by the Malawi Congress Party.

Formed in September 1959 when Banda was in gaol, its aims and objects are "to work for self government and ultimate independence for Nyasaland and to bring about unity of all the people in Nyasaland."

The growth of the African National Congress of Nyasaland coincided with the return of Banda to the territory, and the rapid rise of independent African states on the continent. Within months of his arrival he was to get a following such as had never before been seen in the territory.

Congress quickly changed from an ill-organised political machine with some small schisms in its ranks to a well organised, disciplined movement determined to win self government and secession.

The number of branches rose from 80 to 200; district organisers were appointed; a national secretariat sat in regular session, and Congress was inundated with new members.

"Our Saviour is coming" was the slogan with which he was greeted. "The next President-General of Congress" — "the man who will win self-government, who will break the Federation like a reed!" How had he acquired this popularity?

### 1000 Mile Walk

He was born in 1906 to a poor, uneducated Chewa family — Banda is one of the four main family names of the Malawi. He received his early education in Nyasaland; ran away from home at the age of thirteen and reputedly walked a thousand miles over the space of a year to South Africa, there to become a mine interpreter in Johannesburg. From there to Ohio; twelve years of study for a medical degree; completed his work in Edinburgh in 1938; practised as a physician amongst the white working class in London. Here he became the centre of young African Nationalists.

In 1945 he led a bitter fight against Federation and it was probably during this time that he became a legend, a symbol of freedom for Nyasaland. There had been two previous attempts at Federation the first in 1928 and the second in 1938 (The Bledisloe Commission). In both cases Royal Commissions of Enquiry reported that the Africans in Nyasaland were utterly opposed to Federation. The Commission reported African opposition to be justifiable. When in 1945 Federation was again proposed African opposition was just as vociferous. This time Dr. Banda put forward the case of the Nyasaland people and lobbied endlessly in the British Parliament.

### Riot and Shootings

In spite of all the protest and the undivided opposition of the people, Federation was imposed upon Nyasaland. Banda, a close friend of Nkrumah, left London in disgust for Ghana (then the Gold Coast). In 1958 he returned to Nyasaland after 41 years absence where he was received as the natural leader of the Nyasas.

In December 1958 he represented the African National Congress of Nyasaland at the Accra Conference. His return to Nyasaland was followed by intensive campaigning and the increased militancy of Congress. In January and February 1959 preliminary talks were in progress for a revision of the territorial constitution. Congress demanded an African majority in the Legislative Council. Meetings became widespread. The authorities panicked. Regular troops were flown from Southern Rhodesia and on February 20, police fired on a rioting crowd near Fort Hill.

The situation took a sharp turn and the Northern province of Nyasaland passed out of the Government's hands altogether. Two Africans in a crowd at

Lilongwe were shot dead. The whole of the Federation was aflame. The Southern Rhodesian Government declared a state of emergency and imprisoned 425 people in a dawn swoop. The militia were mobilised. On the 3rd March the Nyasaland Government itself declared an emergency and began the wholesale detention of Africans alleged to be members of Congress.

Banda was among those detained and imprisoned in Southern Rhodesia. The death roll rose from 30 by March 5 climbing to 51 by the end of the month. The total arrests rose to over 1,300; 539 were still detained and 134 convicted by August 1959. There were a number of brutal arrests designed to break up Congress, and troops were used (in the words of the Devlin Commission which was appointed to enquire into the rioting) "to cow tow the population."

### Secrets in the Bush?

The Government claimed that an African plot had been uncovered to undertake large scale massacres and gave this as its reasons for the terroristic measures. Neither the details nor the source was disclosed. They claimed that this decision was made at a secret meeting in the Nyasaland bush which, as the story goes, Banda did not attend.

The Devlin Commission uncovered no such scheme. In its report the Commission claimed that the popular basis of the demonstrations was dissatisfaction with Federation; that the movement was not confined to the ignorant; 34 out of the territory's 35 AFRICAN GRADUATES WERE IMPRISONED. Those in jail were local leaders from every station of African life, and those who died were mostly obscure villagers."

The Malawi Congress Party had grown from strength to strength. Popular support for Banda and the campaign for the release of the detainees caused the Colonial Office in Britain to reconsider its actions and negotiate self government for the territory. Banda left his prison cell to negotiate (together with the parties of the Protectorate) a self-governing constitution.

It is under this constitution that he today stands as the chief Minister of the territory.

His determination to win freedom for Nyasaland and the support which he undoubtedly enjoys, places him among the popular leaders of the liberated territories on the Continent. He has not the quiet diplomacy of Nyerere, the Pan-Africanist vision of Nkrumah or the statesmanship of Sekou Toure, but he has the blunt, militant African Nationalism that can inspire a people to be their own masters in their own house in their own country, on the continent of Africa.

NORMAN LEVY.

# Nigerian Talking Points

by 'ZEKE' MPHAAHLELE

Olatunji, a Nigerian, and Alex Johnson, an Englishman, are friends of mine. Olatunji, or Tunji, is a "native of Ibadan", as Nigerians like to say. Both he and Alex are civil servants, but in different departments.

Tunji is a squat fellow with a broad round face and a large mouth. There are few things as spectacular as a Nigerian when he is amazed or incredulous. He stands with his mouth wide open; and for that time — it could be ten seconds — the functioning of every other part of his body, every other facial organ, is suspended.

He is a "been-to" — London School of Economics and all that, and he represents the new blood of his country, is part of its hope. And as with many of his kind, a bit of Nigerian hauteur breaks through his good-natured disposition now and again. That's when he is being accommodating.

Alex has the inevitable British long nose, and his mouth and chin are always threatening to disappear into his head or somewhere. He is tall and slim. Before he was married, he used to say some nice things about Nigerian girls. Although he still says them, he is not extravagant and indiscriminate in his remarks which, he admits, came of a colonial romanticism. Now, he is just humanly kind.

Although we are both expatriates, there is a sense in which Alex is still regarded by Nigerians as a representative of a power which I'm not. He is also part of a way of life that has registered favourably with Nigerians. I am the side of the Nigerian's life which he takes for granted. So there is just that much difference in the weight of our words when they are assessed by Nigerians. But as we are both uncommitted in our context, it doesn't matter really.

Alex is not one of that petty class of Whites you find in rest houses — a famous institution in Nigeria — or in Kipling-haunted clubs (to borrow a phrase from Orwell), swallowing quarts and quarts of beer, talking about petty things.

"What department are you in?" opens a conversation the same way weather talk does in England. They are representatives of commercial firms and civil servants. The men of the Public Works Department will come in, looking desperately wan, and shuffling along with a prehistoric gait. Then they sit and complain about their African workers; lazy . . . no sense of urgency . . . shamming illness . . . they can never do without us Whites (belching importantly at intervals for emphasis). Or they gossip about their African superiors. One of this type can often be seen at sundown in his garden, stripped to the waist, the breasts hanging down in cliffs of rubber. Next to him may be his wife; the two will stand in an attitude

of primal expectancy, scouring the horizon with their eyes as if for some elemental sign — a sign that is to determine their instinctive move for the hour or season.

No, Alex is not one of these. He is the quiet sort who has neither an exaggerated sense of mission nor that back-to-the-womb look which characterises so many Whites who have come to work in Africa. He has been in Nigeria five years, and he's due to go back to Britain. His son must go to grammar school, and so the family won't come back. It's always happening. White children of grammar-school age are invariably wrenched from the country, and that almost always means the whole family must call it a day as far as expatriate service goes.

"Why don't your children go to Nigerian grammar schools?" I ask Alex.

"They'll eventually have to go to English universities, and so they might as well do their preparatory work in familiar conditions."

"You're sure it has nothing to do with popular White expatriate opinion of Nigerian educational standards?"

"It has, partly. But one could get over that hurdle somehow. The main thing is simply that I'm not a Nigerian and don't intend to become one, so there is no point in my children attending school with Africans. Integration for me's out of the question."

"But what about these multi-racial private primary schools like those at Ibadan?" Tunji asks.

"No, for the same reasons."

"It's a pity, you know, that there are no state-aided multi-racial schools," I say. "The more there are of them, the less anxiety there will be about standards. For instance, I simply couldn't think of sending my children to a multi-racial school at Ibadan. The African children are a minority and people have come to attach a snob value to the school. So I send them to a Nigerian school and feel happy about it."

"You wait," says Tunji. "Now we're independent all these snob institutions will vanish."

"But there is class snobbery among Blacks themselves, isn't there, Tunji?" I say teasingly.

"Yes, but it can't get out of hand if it's indigenous and not imposed from outside."

"Just what I always say," Alex leaps in. "We're supposed to be the regular Jonahs in every colonial situation."

"Wait-wait-wait," says Tunji. "You people brought in the snob values — the acquisitive urge, professional distinctions, high-powered advertising and so many other accessories."

"Oh, we never get anywhere in this sort of talk," says Alex despairingly.

Another time I prod Tunji in the ribs: about Nigerian women. They work too hard; in many cases, maintaining men

who generally want to have a good time. He doesn't like my references to the males. As for the women, Tunji says: "They are perfectly happy that way." Yes, they are up at dawn, and take their posts at the numerous markets. They stay there all day, and in some towns a greater part of the night. The Nigerian market woman is tough and independent. Pregnant or suckling, she sticks to her post with extraordinary patience. She will defend her rights, no matter what it costs; just as if she felt if she had conceded so much to man, and here at the market stall, or street kiosk, a boundary has to be drawn. Talk of emancipation of women! Once the Nigerian woman has launched out as a trader, she becomes independent of the male species for maintenance. There is in her a mixture of relentless grit and a traditional feminine pliability.

At dawn you can see droves of these women walking down to the market with huge baskets on their heads or bundles of fire wood or sheaves of leaves used for wrapping food in; you see their profiles, slender as twilight at first, and then taking solid shape as they move into daylight; you see some of them suckling babies on their hips while they walk; you sense an inborn endurance in that loop of an arm round the baby, in that upward curve of an arm holding the load on the head.

A strange kind of independence. For these women are not at all sophisticated to the point where they have any use for modern appliances and conveniences (except electric lighting where it exists), or good furniture, even where they can afford these things. The educated woman herself, with very few exceptions, has not given herself over to urbanised life and urban thinking. In contrast, the semi-literate or illiterate urban woman in South Africa thinks in terms of a systematically furnished house, even in shanty town; in terms of a radio, modern appliances where there is electricity; in terms of a women's club. Man and woman are much more interdependent; oppression is no doubt responsible for this. Insecurity — yes, but of a different order, easily related to the political and economic hardships.

In West Africa, one senses a feeling of insecurity among women that has very much to do with social ills that go much deeper than any that could be released by a colonial situation. One hears much too often, during a women's radio programme, a speaker give a cooking recipe and say: "I'm sure that delicious dish will keep your man at home and he's not likely to wander away in search of company."

Insecurity is also indicated by the large numbers of people who can be seen crowded round a magician, looking entranced. On another plane, it must be responsible for the large distribution of the monthly magazine, *Psy-*

FIGHTING TALK, SEPTEMBER, 1961

chology, in Nigeria. This is one of those journals that thrive on the cult of success and purport to supply the answer to the individual's quest for personal release from the forces that spell failure. Perhaps it is a form of escape from some sense of failure that so many of those we may call "the masses" flock to cinemas to see Indian pictures. These films have a grand stage and a somewhat unearthly setting; they often tell a fairy-like story of love and adventure — old style — and the audiences simply live the enchantment of all this, making audible sounds in response to the action throughout.

Tunji tells me a man would never die of hunger in this country. "Because food is plentiful, or because of a communal sense of responsibility?" I ask. "Because of the latter and because native foods are cheap and the average man eats simply."

"But your children, Tunji," Alex observes. "This child labour is bad for society. Look at these children carrying heavy baskets on their heads. What chance have they got in life?"

"No parent is forced to make his child work for him — I mean it isn't the organised genocide of your Victorian industrialism."

"If the government doesn't legislate against it, it can only mean your rulers wink at it."

"Would you say because the British government keeps throwing out Fenner Brockway's Bill that makes race discrimination illegal, then government winks at this bad practice?" Tunji says, impatiently.

"Yes. Or if it doesn't, it's indifferent. Just as bad."

"Give us time, give us time. Sometimes I'm tempted to ask you to stay longer with us to try and help us reconstruct."

"Irony apart, sometimes I feel wanted, and then just as often I feel someone is very glad to see me go. By the way, has there been a war here?"

"Why?"

"I think you said reconstruct."

Tunji laughs.

"Tell me," I say, "I've always been treated most respectfully by the police here — at police stations and on the road. All too overwhelming, of course, for a South African. But I'm told they are pretty tough with illiterate-looking or simple folk. Why?"

"Yes. I think they are like police all over. Because they're generally not liked, don't they compensate by power demonstration? And what's the level of education in our Force after all?"

And so we continue to enjoy the Nigerian sun and the gloriously cool evenings in abundance; the shilling night clubs, and high life dancing; and now and again we sit and listen to the earthy juju high-life in some smaller, misty and intimate joint, where the combo usually consists of an electric guitar, two drums, a miniature xylophone, and the players sing with throaty gusto. When I fail to understand one aspect of Nigeria or another, I know Tunji is here to interpret things for me. There are

those features which simply hit you between the eyes at a glance and then you feel you have entered a country too huge for you even to bother to ask: questions seem so superfluous, so irrelevant, even in their relevancy.

I'm thinking of the beggars, blind and crippled, that swarm Lagos, Ibadan and other towns and cities; mostly from the Northern Region. Often a bunch of blind women can be seen with children on their backs or a female cripple on her knees with a child in the arms of a companion — all this, no doubt, to tug at the onlookers' heartstrings. The size of the whole social malady makes you feel so insignificant. And if you are a teacher like me, you shrink back in your protective shell and cuddle in the vanity that you are wanted, because Nigeria's desperate need for teachers is not going to be fully met for a long time. Again, if you are an exile, like me, you'll be happiest if you don't try to live on your own terms.

And the slums? — those ulcerous portions of Lagos (now being cleared) and Ibadan (far from being cleared, even on blueprint). Nothing in South Africa comes near some of these areas. Yet there is no sign of depression in Nigerian slum living: an invincible gaiety and an intensity of being — yes. In South Africa there is depression that breeds violence, mental and physical, as an expression of the same intensity of being. As it was in Gorky's world, suffering man at one stage turns his anger against himself and neighbour.

All this notwithstanding, Tunji, the symbol of the new Nigeria, feels confident. He has come into his own. He has become, to the millions still under the heel in this continent, the epitome of

the fulfilment towards which Africa is striving.

"I wish our people realised this one thing," Tunji remarks, "that it's not enough that they are free to sign treaties, agreements and other documents. They've got to be mentally free, not tethered to a system of values simply because it's European. Talk of brainwashing — we need it badly."

As a "been-to", Tunji, like so many others of his status, has absorbed a good deal of Western thought. His cultural entertainment is not that of villagers or peri-urban folk. He thinks in terms of Western democracy. Only when he feels a little guilty that all these Western conveniences—material and philosophic — have muffled the echoes of his traditional past, only at such times does he become enthusiastic about the "African personality". But he feels consoled when he remembers his last defences will never be broken down: his national dress, his food habits, his language.

Something radiates from him when he is in this national attitude that tells you he feels he has arrived. Tricky business, this national consciousness: especially when you keep thinking that it is your duty to vindicate yourself as a black man, to show that you are worthy black man, to show that you are worth of the epithet *emergent*, even while you try to make yourself heard above the tin-can clatter of commercial radio and vie with your syndicated Maverick for first consideration on the country's TV programmes. For although his part of the country boasts the first TV in Africa, Tunji realises all too poignantly that this is a cultural invasion of no mean implications.

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ALEXANDRA TOWNSH 'P

# WAGES: Black, Brown and White

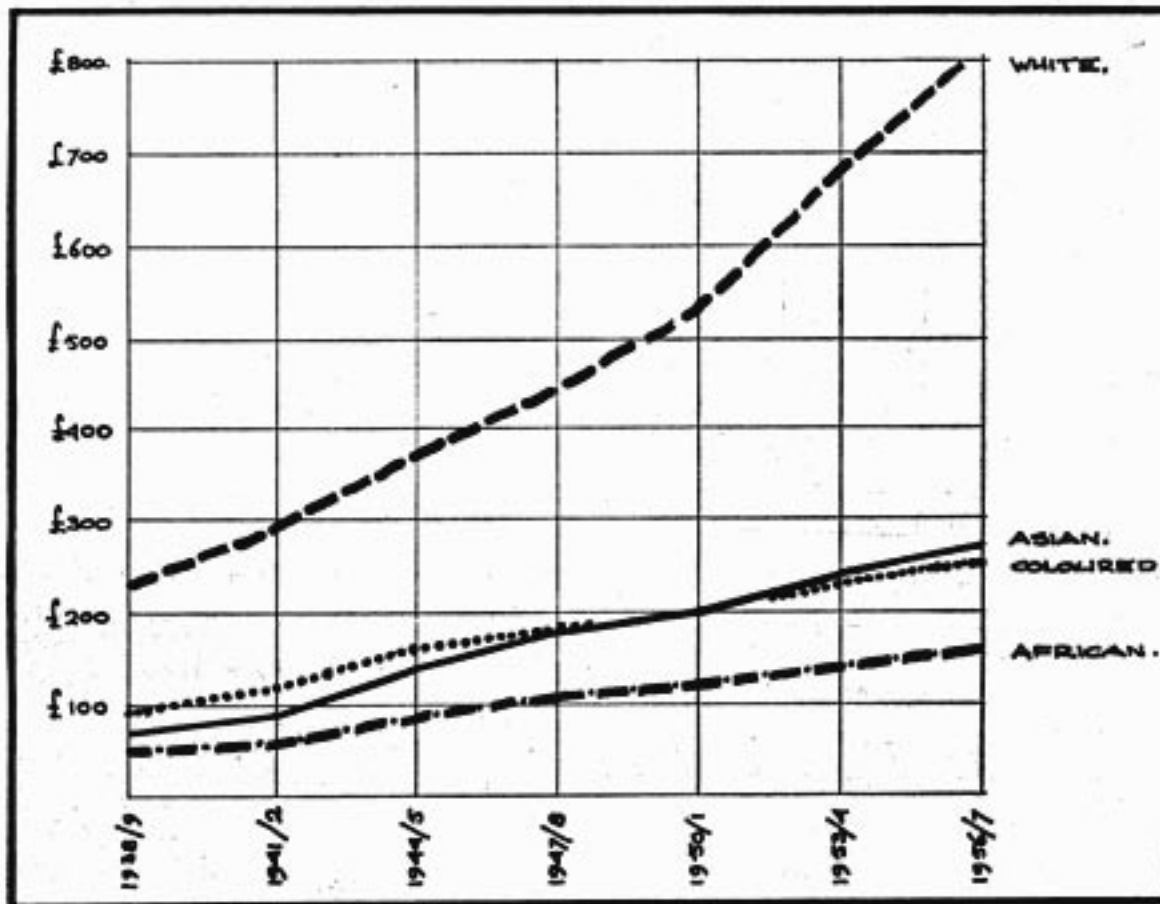
In a former article\* reviewing wage levels I showed that the narrowing of the gap between the earnings of White and Black workers which took place during the war and early post-war years did not persist after 1950.

The Industrial Legislation Commission in its report (U.G. 62 of 1951) had posed the question as to whether the declining ratio between these levels was 'a new downward trend' or 'merely a temporary phenomenon'. We suggested that it was the latter.

Unhappily the latest figures up to and including those for 1957 confirm this. They expose the true nature of apartheid: an unjust, vicious and crude discrimination against Black and Brown people.

Look at the graph below:—

Average annual salaries and wages of wage-earners, managers, accountants, salaried staff, working proprietors and persons regularly employed at home in Private Industry according to race.



## Not Workers But Managers

The figures include salaries paid to managers, accountants, salaried and clerical staff. The more favourable position of the White workers is due not only to increased wages, but to the fact that more and more of them are travelling from the artisan to the executive class. The Wage Board has commented on the decrease in the proportion of Europeans employed in manufacturing industry. The reason, it states, is that Europeans are finding more attractive employment in business and commerce, clerical and other service occupations. In 1948, 21% of all White workers were classified in the managerial, salaried and clerical group. Though later figures are not available, there is no reason to suppose that the percentage is different

\* Fighting Talk, Feb. 1957, p.10.

by  
NANCY DICK

now. I think it is fair to include the amounts paid to this class when comparing the earnings of White with those of Black workers.

My previous article showed that the wages of African, Asian and Coloured workers expressed as a percentage of White wages and salaries had risen to a peak in 1945/6. They were then 26.0, 43.2 and 44.3. By 1957 they had fallen drastically to 18.5, 32.0 and 30.8 per cent of White earnings.

The above figures relate to private manufacturing industry. But the

same picture of white privilege and black depression exists in gold mining, in government employment, on the railways.

## One Pound in Ten

On the mines, wages for daily paid miners have risen by 147% between 1939 and 1957: that of Africans by 115% (including the value of housing, food and medical attention)\* African wages are only 10% of the White.

In government service the position is no more favourable to the Non-Whites. Take, for example, the Department of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones. This Department received the third largest Vote in the Budget for 1960/1. It offers about 30,000 authorised posts of which

\* Job Reservation and the Trade Unions. 1959. Alexander and Simons.

about one-third are for Africans, Coloured and Indian.<sup>1</sup> Whites only have the right to belong to the Provident Fund. Of the authorised posts reserved for White, almost half offer salaries rising to £1000 or more per annum. But the top salary for a Coloured man, a Postal Assistant, is £690 per annum. Three-quarters of the authorised posts for Europeans carry salaries above £600 a year. But only 7 per cent of Coloured employees could hope to rise above £600, and no Africans could attain this level. Compare the following:

European postman,	
Grade 1	£330 to £850 p.a.
Coloured postman,	
Grade 1	£260 to £660 p.a.
European Post and	
Telegraph Ass.	£650 to £900 p.a.
Bantu Postal Ass.	£260 to £540 p.a.
Indian	£330 to £690 p.a.

Our figures showing the inequalities between white and black wages take us up to 1957. Can the position have altered since then?

Since 1957 there has been a campaign to increase African wages. African Unions have campaigned for £1 a day, though their powers of collective bargaining have been seriously handicapped by Nationalist Government policy. The Minister of Labour in 1957 instructed the Wage Board to expedite investigations of all unskilled workers' wage rates, some of which had not been increased for sixteen years. (BUT HE DID NOT INSTRUCT THE BOARD TO INVESTIGATE THE WAGES OF AFRICAN MINERS, WHO HAVE HAD NO WAGE INQUIRY SINCE THE LANSDOWN COMMISSION OF 1943).

## Have Wages Gone Up?

The employers, too, answering calls to increase wages made by the S.A. Federated Chamber of Industries, Managers of Native Administration, Social Workers, University Professors and even the D.R.C. have made 'voluntary' increases.

What have all these efforts amounted to?

In 1960 the Wage Board recommended for the first time in its history a wage of over £3.5.0 per week for unskilled workers. This was in the Cape. The Chairman, Dr. F. J. Steenkamp, stated on the 11th March, 1961, that "last year it had fixed the minimum basic pay, plus cola for all unskilled workers in the Peninsula at R6.87 (£3.8.9) per week, and would not be able to recommend less than that for unskilled pay in the Cement industry." We can take it therefore that the Board's level for labourers has now reached £3.8.9.

BUT THIS IS STILL LESS THAN £15 A MONTH! £15 a month is the level at which economic rental is payable in Municipal housing schemes. The Government recognises that a man getting less than this is not receiving even a

<sup>1</sup> House of Assembly Debates 9-2-60, p. 1146.

# JIMMY LA GUMA: A Tribute by J. Gomas

Jimmy La Guma died on July 29 this year at the Groote Schuur Hospital at the age of 67.

It is greatly to be regretted that his health failed, for the national liberatory struggle could have benefitted considerably from his long and rich experience.

After some schooling he was apprenticed as leather worker in Cape Town. It was then as a boy in his teens that he came in contact with the Socialist movement by frequenting meetings of the Socialists in Cape Town and reading pamphlets on the Socialist movement.

At the age of 18 he migrated to then German South West Africa because of the scarcity of employment in Cape Town, and found work under severe German task masters. After the first world war Jimmy took a lead in organising and led a strike of diamond field workers in Pomona for increased wages and better conditions of employment. He formed a branch of the I.C.U.—Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union—as a result of correspondence with Clem Kadalie, leader of the I.C.U.

Later he was summoned to the I.C.U. Head Office at Cape Town and then he was assigned to reorganise the I.C.U. at Port Elizabeth following the strike led by Mashabalala and the shooting down of Non-White workers in 1921 under the Smuts regime. Thereafter he was required at head office, Cape Town and appointed Administrative Secretary, since the ramification of the I.C.U. had by then grown to national importance.

bare subsistence wage and is charged a sub-economic rent.

The employers have done a little better. Since the formation of the Association for Improvement of Wages and Productivity of Bantu Workers, in 1959, we have been informed through the Press of enormous sums of money being paid by certain firms to unskilled workers. '£1,500,000 more for Labourers.' '£3 million pay rises for Non-Whites' read the captions. But when one examines what this means in terms of the individual's pay packet, it is not impressive. Taking 16 of these announcements at random, we find that in only two firms will the individual worker get an immediate increase to over £20 a month. In contrast, the wage reckoned by economists as the minimum income needed by an African family of five in Johannesburg is £24 a month.

Whether or not these increases have been sufficient to make a change in the pattern of our graph can only be discovered when the Bureau of Census and Statistics decides to publish up to date reports.

## Flash in the Pan

But the likelihood is that these increases are only a flash in the pan. Some think that many of them were given in the hope of staving off further 'riots'. When money becomes tighter, as it is bound to do with the present government policies, employers may

He arranged a centralised banking scheme for the funds of all branches of the Union. In 1925 he moved, with head office, and his wife and child, to Johannesburg to be at the centre of the industrial activity. At that time the Union had more than 15 full time paid officials.

Before he left for Johannesburg he joined the Communist Party at Cape Town during the British Seaman's strike. While in Johannesburg he became increasingly involved in the activities of the Party.

The National Executive Council of the I.C.U. was urgently convened towards the end of 1926 at Port Elizabeth to consider a long programme of action. In the meantime relationships with La Guma have become strained. The N.E.C. was confronted with two agendas, La Guma's had the item of Communist Party membership last and Kadalie's was first. Kadalie's was accepted.

Kadalie maintained that C.P. membership was incompatible with I.C.U. membership; demanded that C.P. members of I.C.U. should resign from the C.P. and should owe allegiance exclusively to the I.C.U. Kadalie's resolution was carried by a narrow majority.

There were three C.P. members present at the N.E.C. — La Guma, Thomas Mbeki and myself. La Guma had informed us that the Communist Party had decided that we should refuse to resign from party membership. As we stood by that decision our expulsion was

think of wage cuts. The only guarantee that African wages will go up is a strong African trade union movement, the withdrawal of job reservation and political rights.

## Coloured Workers

By 1957 wages of Coloured workers had dropped in proportion to those of Whites, even more than had African wages. Since then the Coloured workers have been hit by job reservation, and their bargaining power has been weakened by the enforcement of apartheid in trade unions.

Mr. Viljoen, then Deputy Minister of Labour has told us that 'since job reservation was applied to industries, the position of the Coloured worker has improved. There is less unemployment, many of them have gone from industry to take white collar jobs and employment generally has increased. He did not, however, claim that their wages had risen. According to official figures unemployment among Coloured and Asian workers has increased steadily since 1955. Unemployed Coloured and Asian workers registered at Government Labour exchanges numbered 7,177 in 1955, 9,887 in 1958 and 13,524 in August, 1961 (monthly averages). Up to date figures are not available, but in 1947/8 only less than 1% of Coloured, Asian and African workers together were classified in the managerial, salaried and clerical group of private industry.

moved and carried. The Council's meeting was then adjourned indefinitely.

In 1927 La Guma was delegated to the international conference of the Anti-Imperialist League at Brussels and addressed meetings in European cities.

He was also invited to attend the 10th anniversary celebrations of the Soviet Union in Moscow that same year. The Communist International consulted him about the national liberatory movement in South Africa and drafted a thesis for the emancipation of the South African oppressed people, proposing that the African people should play the leading role in the struggle for emancipation from capitalism and colonialism. As a consequence some White Communists regarded Jimmy La Guma in an unfavourable light in South Africa and faded from C.P. activities.

Jimmy's activities shifted to the African National Congress while still a member of the C.P. and he was elected secretary of the Cape Town branch in 1928.

During the later part of 1928 he was invited to take up the secretaryship of the African Federation of Trade Unions in Johannesburg. The A.F.T.U. consisted of African workers employed in the Clothing, Laundry, Furniture and other industries. It was something very close to his heart to be active in the organisations of the workers.

In 1930 he assisted in the organisation of Non-White workers and led a demonstration to Parliament demanding work or maintenance. He was sentenced to 10 days or £10 fine for leading a procession without permission.

Later that year he led a strike of clothing workers against wage cuts and was charged and sentenced under Riotous Assemblies Act to 10 days imprisonment.

In 1934 he took a lead in forming the National Liberation League with branches throughout the Cape peninsula and Northern suburbs. Its members consisted largely of Coloured people. The League held (until then) the largest torch light demonstration through the streets of Cape Town against the Class Areas Bill of Stuttaford in 1938 (the Bill was in the nature of the Group Areas Act). Unfortunately for posterity the N.L.L. split on the question of White leadership and soon vanished.

La Guma also organised laundry and tobacco workers into trade unions.

Shortly after the outbreak of World War II he joined the army and served with the Cape Corps in Abyssinia and Egypt. He was demobilised in 1947.

Jimmy La Guma retained an active interest in politics. When the Communist Party was dissolved in 1950, he was a member of its central committee.

When his son Alex was arrested in 1956 on a charge of high treason Jimmy came forward to take his place in the Coloured Peoples Organisation and became its President. He was detained during the state of emergency last year for four months, but was again speaking on a C.P.C. platform from the City Hall only a few weeks before his death.

In him the freedom movement has lost a brave and militant fighter and a socialist.

## AFRICANS AND THE ELECTIONS (Continued from page 5)

will be set up inside the borders of the Reserves, close to the hoped-for White factories outside the Bantustan borders." These towns are "to replace existing African urban townships."

Well, there you have it! So much for the much-vaunted Nationalist policy of African self-government and economic development of the reserves.

In the nine-point election manifesto of the United Party-National Union, they too do not seriously face the fundamental issues of the franchise, citizenship rights, the territorial oneness of South Africa and the interdependence of interests of her different racial groups.

Instead they merely confine themselves to palliatives and to the Smutsian platitudes such as "sympathetic application of such measures as the pass laws", "controlled freehold title for responsible urban Bantu", the establishment of "effective machinery for mutual consultation between the different race groups", "positive fostering of healthy race relations"; removing "those things which offend against the dignity of the Non-White groups", the "belief in the vast and rapid economic, social and constitutional development of the Bantu areas within the framework of the plan for race federation and carried out with the aid of White capital, initiative and skill." The federation plan is said to be "a race federation in which all groups will be represented in the central Parliament."

However, a grave responsibility rests upon the European voters of South Africa. As things are and as things have always been since Union, they alone possess the power to make or break a government. So, by voting for reactionary governments and for unjust and selfish policies for the past fifty years they too are responsible for the mess and sorry state in which this country is today. They cannot escape the blame.

In this election the responsibility of the voters is greater than ever before. Their verdict at the polls will largely influence the future course of events in South Africa; it will have a bearing on the nature and character of future political changes. The electorate's decision can help in deciding the choice between the country remaining as it is today — the land of oppression, racial discrimination, hatred and bitterness — or joining the rest of the continent and the world in the forward march to freedom, progress and prosperity.

But while actions of White voters may aid or retard our cause, the fate of the 11 million rightless and voiceless Non-White inhabitants of South Africa does not depend on the wishes or decisions of the 3 million White inhabitants of the country. It must always be remembered that White South Africans possess the franchise and enjoy full citizenship rights, and that they benefit materially from the numerous restrictions placed upon and exploitation of the Non-Whites.

They cannot therefore be expected to champion the cause of Non-White liberation or to feel enthusiastic about it.

Our emancipation depends on ourselves, on what we ourselves do about it. It is for those of us who have no freedom, who suffer injustices and daily insults and humiliations to fight for our liberation if we really want to be free.

### One Man — One Vote

Our aspirations, the aspirations of every Non-White in this country — as formulated and expressed by our national liberation organisations — are to attain full political freedom and complete equality of opportunities.

We demand the right to take full and equal part in the highest law-making and governing institutions of the country on the basis of "one man, one vote."

The Government has banned our most powerful and effective organisations. But our aspiration and political objectives remain to be attained and fulfilled. In line with events and happenings in other parts of the continent, this task must be achieved in our life time. It can and must be done!

Through unity, courage and determination, through organisation, discipline, bold and imaginative leadership we shall win! And together — the Afrikaner, the English, the Coloured, the Indian and the African — we shall take part in the shaping of our common destiny and the future of our beloved fatherland, South Africa!

## NONGOMA AND EMPANGENI (Continued from page 7)

Sekhukuneland and Pondoland to unwelcome Government decree and law: an initial refusal to co-operate followed by hostile action towards those members of the tribe who have supported the Government. On no occasion has there been any violence towards the police or the Mobile Watch except for a few isolated incidents of stone-throwing or the placing of road-blocks.

In each case the people who have suffered from the anger of the tribesmen are their own men and women who have rejected unity and gone over to the other side. And as the situation has become more developed in each area violence has also been used against police informers and pro-government Chiefs.

The Chief and the headmen of individual areas have found it impossible in such a situation to sit on the fence — ultimately the choice of supporting either the Government which pays them or the people whom they are supposed to represent has been forced on them. If they choose the former course then their rule becomes the rule of frightened and vicious force, coupled with the imposition of heavy fines in money and kind, and they lose all standing in the community. In fact in both Nongoma and Empangeni the great majority of headmen and indunas have been leading figures in the peoples' struggle, and in Nongoma ten out of twelve rejected the

Betterment Scheme. As a result numbers of them have been deported and banished to remote areas of South Africa, leaving their families to fend for themselves as best they can.

An interesting feature of tribal activity against pro-Government demands has been its complete openness. In no case has there been the slightest attempt to hide the identity of the participants, and preliminary decisions have frequently been taken at large gatherings.

The Nongoma tribesmen who took part in the hut-burnings last November expressed a desire to give themselves up to the police immediately, and asked only for adequate legal representation so that their grievances would be properly publicised.

No one ran away after taking part in such action, no one estreated bail money, and for many months the peoples' belief that justice must ultimately be done even under the policies of the present Government, led them to call for legal defence wherever possible.

It is not yet generally known that in Empangeni the people were ultimately successful in their opposition to Bantu Authorities. On the 11th November, 1960, after a series of meetings in the district, all of which showed their opposition, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner formally withdrew the new form of 'government'. But reprisals were involved,

and of all the farmers who had been encouraged to grow sugar-cane (they numbered more than 60) only the 10 who had given the proposed measures their support have been given the necessary quotas which will enable them to market the nearly ripe cane.

In Zululand on the other hand Government tactics have been very different. The opposition by the 800 families of the Thokazi area has been met in the last three years with heavy fines or imprisonment (£20 or two months for ploughing the old plots) and the threat that if removal to the new residential sites is not carried out by a certain date 'this lawful order (from the office of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Nongoma) will render you liable for prosecution apart from any other action which may be taken against you.'

Those who today stand in opposition to the Bantu Authorities and Betterment Schemes in Natal alone can be numbered by the tens of thousands. A new understanding is slowly being forged that open opposition will not usually bring any results except vindictive reprisals, and that new methods of struggle will have to be evolved for ultimate success.

Despite Government measures the turncoats have remained few, and the peoples' morale and determination are high.