

# TRANSKEI PLAN IS NOT SELF-RULE

WHEN announcing that he was now willing to give the Transkeian people self-government, the Prime Minister put forward the following argument:

1. World opinion is strongly in favour of granting colonial peoples independent status;
2. Afro-Asian and Communist states are pressing for the extension of political rights to all;
3. The Transkeian Authority has asked for self-government;
4. He would unhesitatingly choose to divide South Africa into separate racial states rather than extend the franchise within a single, multi-racial state;
5. Responsibility would be transferred gradually to the Transkei;
6. Therefore there was no reason to fear that an irresponsible government, which could lead to other dangers, would be created for the new state.

Nations. That it will do these things is however by no means certain.

## Chieftainship Entrenched

Even as a second step—the first was taken 50 years ago when the basis of the Transkeian council system was laid—the constitution can hardly be said to make a serious attempt to prepare the people for self-government. It is not that the functions to be exercised by the proposed Legislative Assembly are unimportant. There is nothing trivial in the administration of education, justice, industry, commerce, agriculture, lands, health and communications, which are to fall within the scope of the new authority. The deficiency lies in the composition of the Legislative Assembly.

## BY PROF. H. J. SIMONS

It is to consist of 131 members, of whom 95 will be chiefs (68) and the nominees of chiefs (27), and 36 elected, nine of them by Transkeian inhabitants living in the towns. (No representation is allowed to the tens of thousands living on the farms.)

Now chiefs are appointed—and deposed—by the President of the Republic. He is expected to pay due regard to 'native law and custom' when making an appointment, but chiefs are Government officials who take their instructions from the White administration and answer to it for their actions.

In view of the resistance to Bantu Authorities, it cannot be seriously argued that the chiefs represent the opinions of the educated and politically active section of the population. Yet without the support and participation of this section of the population an efficient and progressive government cannot take shape.

## Falls Short

In this respect the draft falls far short of the Basutoland constitution, on which it is said to have been based. In Basutoland it has been possible for a people's movement, the Congress Party, to win a majority of elective seats in the assembly and to play a dominant part in its proceedings.

The Transkeian constitution opens up no opportunity for the emergence of a powerful people's party in the elections or legislative assembly. The elected members will be in a hopeless minority. Moreover, as experience of the old Bunga system showed, the chiefs inevitably exercise a decisive influence in the election of district representatives.

## The President's Veto

The draft states that all laws passed by the Transkeian government shall be submitted to the President of the Republic for his assent.

It follows that he will have the power to veto any Bill passed by the Assembly.

But the President is advised by his Ministers, who are the Cabinet of the Government of the Republic, and not by the Executive Council of the Transkeian government. It stands to reason that the S.A. Government will advise the President to withhold his consent to any Bill which conflicts with that Government's policy.

Would the Transkeian Legislative Assembly be allowed, for instance, to repeal the Immorality Act, or Group Areas Act, or the Native Administration Act—all of which bear on matters that are to fall in the scope of its powers?

If the Government follows the precedent set by the British in their colonial system, we may expect to see a considerable amount of autonomy granted to the Transkeian government even in such matters. But there is a big qualitative difference between the British colonies and the Transkei. The latter is an integral part of South Africa. The repeal of racial legislation in the Territories is bound to have repercussions on the thinking and practices of people in the rest of South Africa.

I find it hard to imagine the Transkei being allowed to abolish institutions and policies—such as the Bantu Education Act—which form the basis of the South African Government's system of apartheid.

## White Bureaucracy

The third great obstacle to self-rule is the proposed retention of the White officials. In the past they have been the greatest opponents of self-rule in the reserves, or the admission of Africans into the higher ranks of the public service. Yet they are to remain.

Their eventual withdrawal and the substitution of an African civil service is contemplated. But this process, which has scarcely begun, will have to be completed before there can be genuine self-rule.

I attach much importance to the comments made by Mr. Leibbrandt, the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Umtata. Under another ten years of European supervision, he said, the Transkei's potential would be raised by 50 per cent.

The training of Africans for positions of responsibility would take a number of years, he predicted. 'I don't see anyone who would be capable of taking over my job, for example.'

He added that there were bound to be agitator groups under the new system, but 'that type of person can be dealt with.'

## Typical

This is the typical outlook of the colonial administrator, and it has done enormous harm in African territories before and after the granting of self-government. Every African state has had to free itself of White officials who cling to the autocratic habits of an outworn and discarded system.

The men and women who are fit to take over the administration are not found among the chiefs and their supporters, but in the ranks of the educated and politically conscious people who constitute the 'agitator groups.' The lawyers, doctors, teachers and others who have the training and aptitude to govern the Transkei are there, but no place has been made for them in the draft constitution.

Since internal security (ominous phrase!) as well as defence will remain under the South African Government, it is the White administration that will deal with opponents of the chiefs and dissidents.

Continued in next column



VERWOERD: What are you making a fuss about? I'm telling you, you like it.

# BANTUSTAN NOT FOR US

I HAD the impression that the constitution in the Transkei would be based on that of the Basutoland constitution. I would therefore like to point out weaknesses in the Basutoland constitution.

In a Legislature of 80 members, there are 40 elected on the common roll and adult suffrage basis. The other 40 are nominated by the British and the Chiefs.

This Constitution in Basutoland can work at the most for a couple of years because it is a deadlock sort of constitution. What is wanted is a Constitution which gives the elected section of the Legislature an overwhelming majority and only a few representatives for special interests.

But now from what I have read, the real elected representatives of

even if they were South African. But then they will have to choose between voting in S.A. or in Swaziland.

We consider dual citizenship dangerous. I would like to emphasize that in the Protectorates we are working for social, political, educational and economic integration. The pattern in the Transkei is one of separate development between the races.

You can see we are following policies therefore which are poles apart however similar they may appear to be superficially.

By Dr. A. P. ZWANE Secretary of the Swaziland Progressive Party

I have heard many comments made by the man in the street about developments in the Transkei. I think the main issue really will be how soon the Republic's Govt. will be prepared to allow this Transkeian Legislature to control its external affairs.

## Shop Window?

Someone put it to me this way. He said that the scheme looks like a shop with goods in it. Now if I take a poor man into that shop and I say to him: 'Look all that is in here is yours but don't take anything to your house,' the man still remains as poor as he was at the beginning.

On the other hand, the British have a great obligation to see that if they really mean to have the Protectorates as shop windows in Southern Africa they should put some goods into the windows. That is to say, the African must be given full political rights and there should be no humbug about it as in the Transkei.

There is a tendency for example in Swaziland to grant white settlers 50% political rights in the country although they only constitute 5% of the population. This is the type of humbug we are talking about. By all means let the white man have his share of political power but it should not be out of proportion to his numerical strength.

If you couple this 50% political power of the white man in Swaziland together with his economic power, you will find that he becomes the dominating factor politically, socially and economically in the Protectorate.

# IT'S ALL A BLUFF, SAY AFRICANS

JOHANNESBURG. NOT even as good as an Advisory Board. (At least the majority of Board members are elected!) This is the verdict of the African people here on Verwoerd's phoney 'independence' and 'self-government' for the Transkei.

Here are the views of some of those interviewed by New Age:

ADVOCATE DUMA NOKWE, former secretary-general of the now banned African National Congress: The scheme won't work. It conflicts with what the people want. But let us not forget even this proposed plan is a result of the irresistible pressure put on the Government by anti-Nat forces here and abroad. The fact is the Nationalists have been compelled to modify their previous plans, and this shows that if you build up sufficient pressure and take advantage of the weaknesses in the enemy camp, the whole structure of White domination can be brought down far sooner than we could have anticipated before.

STEPHEN SEGAL, African youth leader: This is not self-government but only the Nationalist Government trying to get stooges to run the show for them.

Is the Government serious when it says the urban Africans will be represented by the tribal ambassadors? The 'ambassadors' are not acceptable to the very tribes they are supposed to speak for!

The colour question cannot be solved by the "self-govt" of the Nats or the Federation Scheme of the UP, in the Transkei. But what will definitely solve the colour question is a democratic, non-racial government of all the races in South Africa.

A FORMER LEADING P.A.C. MAN who has just been released from a long term of imprisonment: The P.A.C. is supposed to be dead, having been banned by the Government. You will notice that no statements are made to the Press by any ex-P.A.C. men. Only Sobukwe is allowed to do this.

MR. PAUL MOSAKA, a leading African business man and one of the sentenced Continuation Committee men: This offer is a fraud. The Government could not really offer self-government or full independence of this territory without creating a major political crisis in the country.

The offer is intended to give moral justification for the policies of apartheid by offering the shadow for the substance.

The Government's proposals will make homeless not only the two million people of the Transkei but actually all eleven million Africans. They will all be regarded as foreigners under this new legislation.

The people of the Transkei have

Continued from previous column tute 5% of the population. This is the type of humbug we are talking about. By all means let the white man have his share of political power but it should not be out of proportion to his numerical strength.

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This is not the policy we think Britain should carry out. We think it should be integration of a proper democratic nature as envisaged by the Swaziland Progressive Party.

Therefore we cannot ever be attracted by the type of so-called self-government which the S.A. Government is supposed to be implementing in the Transkei.

no choice but to demand complete independence with the prospect of seeking financial and technical aid outside—in the remote possibility of such independence being granted.

MR. ANDREW LUKELE, African attorney: The rulers of this country cannot and will not of their own accord extend full citizenship rights to the Non-White section of the population. Their policy from the time of Union is that the Non-White is not a citizen but a source of cheap labour. To retain him in that status, they keep him outside the body politic.

This so-called self-government is a fake. There is only one economy in South Africa and so there can only be one rule. The Herrenvolk retain rulership and appoint stooges—their Chiefs—to function as administrators for them. These chiefs will administer in the interests not of the people but of the ruling class.

AFRICAN MOTOR CAR PARKING ATTENDANT: You want to know if it is bad or good? Ai-Ai! It's bad. Because why?—We don't get our own freedom. They don't let the people choose there. Why must the Government favour the Transkei I want to know? They must give us our rights here in Johannesburg. They mustn't choose for us, just give us all our rights. That's all.

MR. PETER QOBOZE, leading African member of the Progressive Party: With regard to the Transkei, it is unacceptable to us at this stage because we believe in a free democratic South Africa where equal opportunities will be granted to

every South African citizen irrespective of race or colour.

The granting of so-called independence to the Transkei is one of Dr. Verwoerd's tricks in order to side-step the basic issues facing us in this country.

MR. S. J. ZWANE, Secretary of the National Union of African Laundry Workers: Independence, when you are told what to do, is not proper independence. Proper independence is when you determine yourself what you want to do.

Independence means that you have your Defence and your own Economy and you negotiate with whichever country you wish to negotiate with.

I do not even dream that this right will be given to the Transkei people.

A MAN WHO HAS JUST RETURNED FROM THE TRANSKEI, interviewed in Cape Town, said: I saw police raids, arrests and searches for firearms in the Tsolo district, and not self-government. People are living in a state of emergency in the Transkei and there is fear everywhere.

When the announcement was made by Dr. Verwoerd it came as a surprise because the people are living under police persecution. No meetings have been held to inform the people of the Government's intentions and the people have not been given a chance to express their views on the matter or to find out if this self-government is not the same thing as the Bantu Authorities which are hated so much by the Transkei peasants.

# What Happened At Umtata

From Zola Nqini PORT ELIZABETH.

THOUGH the Transkei Territorial Authority's Recess Committee met behind closed doors last week to discuss the proposed constitution for the territory, much of the belly-crawling that was enacted there is now common knowledge.

State Information experts, BAD officials and Special Branch converged on Umtata to grace the occasion.

There was sharp division among members of the Recess Committee. The broad-minded members, a group of nine with four other uncertain supporters, presented a reasonable, democratic draft constitution. This was not even discussed as Chairman Matanzima introduced his hat-trick draft, which met with the approval of the Government representatives and won the day.

To what extent it was Government sponsored even before it came to be Matanzima's draft proposal was clear enough.

This is the draft to be presented by a special delegation of the Recess Committee to Verwoerd.

The document does not touch on the question of real independence for the Transkei. Rather it entrenches chieftainship and the powers attached thereto.

It is significant that the running agent of the Government

in the Transkei, Matanzima, pressed not for the things denied in the constitution but for the speedy transfer of the administration of Justice. Controlling the police, he would do a more thorough job of oppressing the people than he has so far managed to achieve with his Home Guards.

## REFUSED

The nine members who wanted a more democratic constitution refused to take part in the deputation to Verwoerd.

Two lines of opposition to the Matanzima draft emerged. One was to attack the procedural irregularities of the programme of the Recess Committee in the next meeting of the Territorial Authority and thus nullify the draft constitution that by then shall have got Verwoerd's approval. Of course all irregularities would be ironed out and unanimity obtained because Matanzima is boss of the Territorial Authority.

The second line is to take the whole fraudulent deception to the people. This is the only honourable democratic course to take, as the people should know what is being done with their lives and future behind their backs. They should know that this so-called independence does not mean freedom for them but more powers for the chiefs, especially the hirelings and stooges.

The only leaders left to take the message to the people are not the proscribed and banished people's leaders but the very men who were in the Recess Committee and saw the fraud in the making.



**Anderson Ganyile writes to New Age: "Let me express the magnitude of my gratitude to all friends and comrades who, when they heard of our kidnapping, did all in their power to expose Verwoerd's reactionary manoeuvres."**

**"There is little doubt that the reactionaries are on the retreat. Who dares stand in the way of the mighty army of liberation? We are nearer to our goal than ever before. Let all freedom fighters not rest on their oars till freedom is won."**

# HOW I WAS KIDNAPPED

By  
**Anderson  
Khumani  
Ganyile**

**T**HE story of our kidnapping is now well known and I shall not dwell much on the details.

The incident took place at Qacha's Nek in Basutoland. We had just gone to bed. Ingleton woke us up saying: "They are at the door and say they have just arrived."

Two thoughts came into my mind: was it ritual murder, or was it kidnapping? A voice which I couldn't mistake for any other in the whole world growled: "Open the door or we will set the hut on fire." This was Constable du Toit of the notorious Special Branch.

Yes, fascism was at the door. The long and short of it is that they started throwing stones at the door and windows. Bottles and an axe were the only weapons we had to defend ourselves, and we used them to the best of our ability. Had it not been for this, we could not have left any evidence in the hut.

## Overpowered

We were overpowered and taken to Mount Fletcher Jail where we were put in a cell with no lights. The jailer was hostile, more especially towards me, as my pyjamas bore large patches of blood. This was no blood of mine.

We were not given any time for exercise and lodged a complaint. This resulted in my being taken to

Kokstad. From there I was taken to Umtata Jail.

Here I was put in a single cell, given one old torn mat and two blankets. I was not given a spoon and I had to use my hand for about a week. My first night was a sleepless one. Never in my life have I seen so many lice or such filthy blankets. I shudder at the recollection.

## Complaints

I was not given time to clean the cell and, what was worse, the bucket was not emptied for about three days. I called the warden to complain but he was not interested. What was the next step? I called him again and reminded him that "I am here for political reasons and it must be understood that I am not going to submit just because you have placed me in this nasty sty. I now ask you to let me write a letter to the Director of Prisons in Pretoria . . . I want to lodge a complaint against you."

Still he showed no response and left me not knowing what to do. The following morning I was surprised when I was given a spoon, new blankets, time to clean my cell, soap and exercise.

This was not the end. European warders continued to use vulgar language against me. They called me "gat." I decided to put a full stop to this.

This time I did not appeal to the warden. I challenged him and told him he dared not touch me.

He promised to report me to the jailer. I did not care for the jailer. I was warned and told to "respect authority."

This resulted in my being sent to Ngqeleni Jail. The same treatment was meted out to me and I did not rest on my laurels. I stayed there for three weeks, after which I was taken back to Umtata Jail.

## Questions

On September 6 I was asked the following questions in Mount Fletcher Jail:

"Have you ever associated with named Communists?"—"I don't know."

"Have you ever sympathised with any Communist front?"—"I don't know."

"During your stay in Basutoland, did you plan any campaign undermining the authority of the government of the Republic of South Africa?"—"What do you mean by a government?"

When I asked this question the Special Branch man turned red.

"Look here, you mustn't play the fool," he warned. "What is your answer to the question?"

I asked him what his answer was to my question.

"So you are not prepared to answer this question. During your stay in Basutoland, who are the people who paid you visits?"—"You are the only people who paid me visits during awkward hours."

## Warning

The Special Branch man decided to discontinue his questions and warned me that I would be detained until I had answered satisfactorily and truthfully.

On my arrival in Umtata I was taken to the offices of the Special Branch and the same questions were put to me. This time I refused to answer any questions. Again I was warned.

At Ngqeleni Jail they put the same questions. I became very furious, so much so that I asked them not to come and ask me stupid questions.

I always asked myself as to why

does man struggle and this kept me spirited. I was alive to the fact that I was dealing with fascists and that their unbridled madness could lead them to unimaginable behaviour towards me. I noticed that I was losing weight terribly, but I at no time thought of surrendering to the enemy. I never took the pessimistic view. I was full of hope.

Now I am out of jail. I have not changed. Not a bit. I am like a man who has been to university. Yes, the university of man. My stay in this university has not turned me towards the camp of the black chauvinists. You may ban a man, you may confine a man and you may deport a man, but you cannot extinguish the spark of freedom which is burning in him.

**I SHALL CONTINUE TO FIGHT UNTIL FREEDOM IS WON.**

## UP MY ALLEY

**O**F course you must have heard of people being struck unconscious by lightning. But there are also people who are struck senseless by a brainstorm. For instance, take Broer Saleh Dollie, chief autograph-hunter of the UCCA. Not satisfied with Verwoerd's Bantustans, Brother Saleh wants to out-Verwoerd Verwoerd. How?

Divide the whole African continent into two, says he in Die Banier. Southern Africa shall consist of the Republic, the protectorates, Basutoland, Swaziland, and "if possible" Angola and Mozambique. Then, continues this recipe, let the North have a Black Government and the South have a White. Those people who want to live under a Black government can move north and those who want a white can move South.

What's more, says Saleh, "It will be interesting to note the reaction of the Coloured and Asian communities."

That's not all. This, says Brother Saleh with gusto, will solve the problem.

**Ya-Allah-ha-il-Allah!**

But going from one oh-dear to another, people down here are still chuckling over Cape Town Councillor Jerry Ferry's master plan (how many more are still forthcoming?) for turning at least some of the Coloured people white.

Let all of them who have a high standard of living and conform to the standards of Wes-

## Funeral of Lawrence Nkosi

JOHANNESBURG.

Over 700 people attended the funeral of courageous freedom-fighter Lawrence Nkosi at Doornkop Cemetery here last Sunday. An ex-treason trialist, Mr. Nkosi had been in hospital near Durban for over five years after an urgent application had been made for him to receive medical attention instead of attending daily sessions in the treason dock.

The funeral service of hymns and prayers was interspersed by glowing tributes to the man who carried on the struggle for Africa even from his sick-bed. Messrs J. Molefe, R. Matseoane, H. Hashe and A. Gasago were the main speakers, and Mrs. Viola Hashe of the Women's Federation spoke on behalf of those dressed in the black and green of the Federation's uniform. Mr. William Letlalo led the funeral procession to the church.

Mr. Nkosi, who was 42 years old when he died, leaves two sons, Sylvester and Petrus, who attend school in Orlando West.

**FOOTNOTE: During the funeral service the car-loads of Special Branchers present came and stood close to the graveside, but only the Africans among them removed their hats.**

## DEATH OF MR. S. M. SEITSANG

VRYBURG.

The death occurred on January 10 in Kudungwane of Mr. Stanright Mooke Seitsang, former chairman of the Kudungwane Livestock Owners' Association.

Mr. Seitsang was the descendant of a Paramount Chief of the Barolong tribe, and a younger brother of Chief Seitsang in Kudungwane. He served as chairman of the Livestock Owners' Association since its formation in 1959.

In 1960 Mr. Seitsang, then aged 69, was detained during the state of emergency. After his release he started complaining of failing health.

Known throughout the Northern Cape, Mr. Seitsang will be sadly missed and remembered by all in that district.

## TRANSKEI "CONSTITUTION" UNACCEPTABLE

— Ganyile

**V**ERWOERD'S lackeys are busy drawing up a "constitution." This is not the people's constitution, it is Verwoerd's. To us, this is unacceptable.

We want nothing but a free, non-racial South Africa. This Transkei constitution is a fraud which we shall fight tooth and nail. The Maritzburg conference called the Government to summon a national convention to draw up a democratic constitution.

The Transkei is a part of South Africa and to us anybody who advocates the slicing up of South Africa is not one of us. We are not impressed by

Verwoerd's move.

Many freedom fighters are languishing in jail and some are in exile because of their opposition to Bantu Authorities. If Verwoerd is abandoning the Bantu Authorities, why are these people still in these despicable conditions?

The state of emergency was declared in order to curb this opposition. If Verwoerd is sincere, why has the state of emergency not been lifted?

The true leaders of the people are either in jail or deported. Who is left to draw up this constitution? If there is to be any peace in the Transkei, let the true leaders of the people speak.

## ZWANE SUES FOR R10,000

JOHANNESBURG.

Dr. A. P. Zwane, general secretary of the Swaziland Progressive Party, is suing the South African Government for R10,000 for unlawful arrest. This follows the detention of Dr. Zwane by Zeerust police for not being in possession of a pass. Dr. Zwane was travelling through Zeerust on his way to Bechuanaland.

BY ALEX  
LA GUMA



out of bed early enough last Sunday morning and staggered over to the radio, twiddled the knobs and listened, you would have heard Radio Colouredstan—Die Protea-Program, according to Meneer Hertzog—on the air for the first time.

Complete with negro spirituals, too, so it looks as if the white man's music will be confined to its own group area. And not even a corny crack, a la Eric Egan.

The next thing we'll have will be of course a programme for the Indian community, one for the Chinese, one for Miscellaneous—and no doubt, one in Japanese, called Radio Jokyo.



**Collection Number: AG2887**

**Collection Name: Publications, New Age, 1954-1962**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

*Location:* Johannesburg

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