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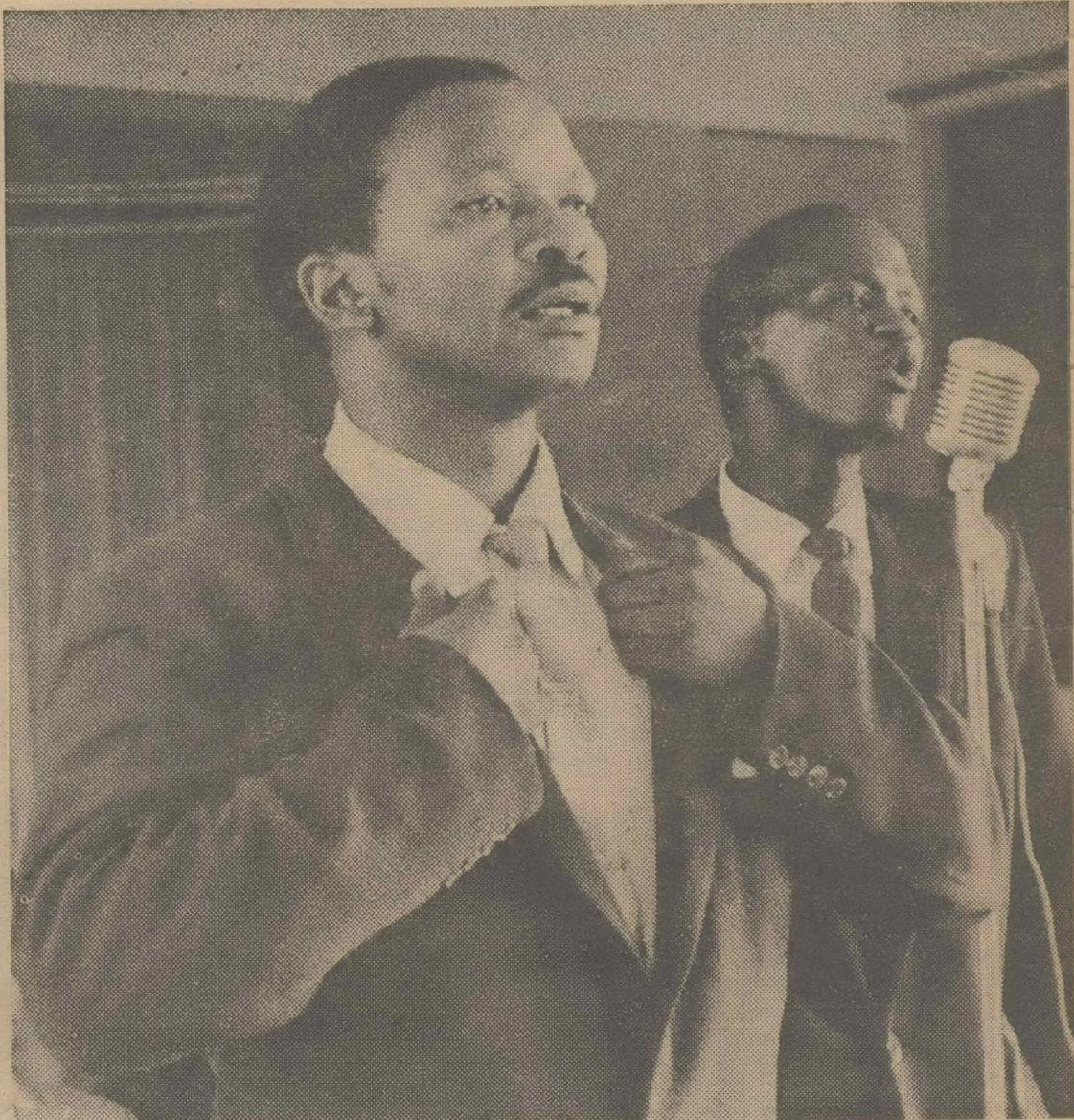
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Mr. Potlako Leballo came to Durban all the way from Joburg to give the folk some dope on the Africanists. But it didn't work out that way.

The Africanists go to Durban, and

WHAT A ROW!

Written and Photographed by G. R. Naidoo



An A.N.C. man wanted to get rough, so friends held him off.



Josias Madzunya, from Joburg, stormed his way...



Mr. Leballo hadn't got warmed up, steamed up, nothing, when part of the crowd decided they preferred their own voices to his. "We want to ask questions," they roared. This wasn't allowed, so they broke out into a sing-song.

IT was a political meeting, but some folk were behaving just like they were at a party. It was the first public meeting in Durban of the Africanists and the newly-formed African National Congress (Independents). But there it was: people laughing when speakers were talking about the future, and singing and dancing while somebody was declaiming with grim-faced vehemence.

The local Africanists, led by Howard Ngcobo, had invited top men from the Transvaal to tell the populace what their movement was all about. Josias Madzunya, fiery, bearded and great-coated in the steaming hall. Potlako Leballo, suave and turbulent. Durban Africanist Abednigo Ngcobo, opened the programme.

Then came Madzunya's turn. He uttered his first words in Zulu. The interpreter echoed them in English. No. Madzunya was not 100

per cent happy. He switched to English, and the interpreter to Zulu. He warmed up quickly, Madzunya, and was soon telling about his vision of the Africa of tomorrow. God had created Europe for the Europeans and Asia for the Asians, he said. That did not mean that Africanists wanted to drive the white man into the sea, as many people liked to allege. He had a stern warning for the Coloureds — learn at least one African language "before it is too late." For 35 minutes he was at it, getting applause, ribald laughter.

Not so Mr. Leballo, however, who was next on the list, with several speakers due to follow. The audience was clamouring to be allowed to ask questions. Mr. Leballo got as far as "Sons and daughters of Africa . . ." when the interruptions got way out of hand.

PLEASE TURN OVER



"You fellows think you know all the answers, but what about . . .?" Speaker hadn't a chance.



Confusion is almost complete. Africanists have a pow-pow about how to stop rot. At microphone is M. Mabhida, non-Africanist who tried to keep order.

He frowned at bottle



"Hey, what's going on here?" Special Branch man asks Africanist as A.N.C. mob makes merry in hall.

What to do now? wondered chairman Howard Ngcobo. Why not ask the crowd to sing "Sikelel i Africa?" The moment the singing began Congress supporters stood up instinctively, until some of their spokesmen frantically told them to sit down again. Anybody's round, that one.

Soon afterwards came an outburst of jeering, plus more demands to be allowed to ask questions. The audience was assured that there would be time for questions when the speakers had finished, but this did not satisfy some, and the next thing a group had started singing Congress songs and dancing.

Maybe only high-spirited — until some folk stormed the platform, and were brought to a semblance of order only by the intervention of Moses Maphida, an official of the Congress of Democrats. The Special Branch men at the meeting also got excitedly on to the platform when the trouble started.

During the uproar, one fellow, with no further use for a bottle, threw it on to the platform, where it got a disdainful look from Mr. Madzunya as it landed at his feet.

Eventually Mr. Leballo was allowed to continue, but only amidst jeering. He managed to get through to the other side of his speech just before further uproar broke out.

A young A.N.C. follower, who could contain himself no longer, then got on to the platform. Asked to leave, he said his piece from just below.

By that time there were two vans, loaded with police, outside the hall — just in case. Inside, there was more shouting, until a body of A.N.C. supporters danced their way out, and continued their political frolics in the open.

But it needed more than an uproar or two, or three, to dampen the Africanists. They went on with their meeting before an audience of about 30 — including a few Special Branch men.



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DRUM puts the 64-dollar question to Africa's new

'SHOULD WE GET RID OF

Words are a key to actions. So DRUM set out to discover what words Africa's new leaders have to say on this urgent question: "Do We Really Want to Get Rid of the White Man?" Here are their replies, frank statements which will have an important bearing on the new shape of things now coming into being in Africa.



'We should get whites to repent,' urges South Africa's Chief Luthuli

MY reply to the question is obviously "No. We do not want to get rid of the white man." I believe that the tendency in the world from way back has been for people to come together, and not to be separated. That is how civilisation has spread.

It is true, unfortunately, that when the white men migrated to new lands, their motive was the selfish one of enriching themselves. Hence they colonised, and colonisation was accompanied by oppression. They did not make an effort to uplift the people.

But I say, for all that, the white man is in the land where he is, and the aim should be to get him to repent of his wrongdoings rather than to work for his forceful removal out of the country.

The white man must accept the demands of the people for unqualified freedom for all on the basis of adult suffrage, regardless of race or colour, and shed himself of all the weaknesses of domination. If he satisfies these conditions, there is no reason why he should go. If he does not satisfy these conditions, then one of two things could happen. He could either become a subjected person or return to his original home.

The white man has a contribution to make, and the country would become poorer by unnecessarily ridding itself of people who can play a part in its progress. ●

'African nationalism is not anti-white man, but simply anti-colonialism,' says Tanganyika's Julius Nyerere

THE best way to answer this question, in my opinion, is to ask another question. Why does this question arise at all? The question arises not merely from the simple fact of the existence of white men on the African continent, but from what the white man has allowed to be associated with his existence on the African continent. I believe that the continued (not existence, but) citizenship of the European on the African continent would be taken for granted — had the white man not created a Kenya, a Central Africa, a South Africa and, one could add, a Portuguese East Africa, an Angola and other similar places and situations.

African nationalism is not anti-white man, but simply anti-colonialism. Only the historically naïve or the conscience-guilty could believe the contrary. George Washington was not black; he did not even believe in non-violence. When he fought the imperialists he was fighting their divine right to govern the Americans; he was not fighting their colour. In our own time Gandhi has fought both imperialism and racialism with the same vigour.

The white man wants to live on the African continent on his own terms. He must dominate. He must be recognised by the rest of the inhabitants of this continent as their natural master and superior. That condition, of course, we cannot accept. We are not fighting the white man; we are not refusing to accept the white man as a fellow citizen. Indeed, fellow citizenship is what we are after — and that is exactly what is frightening the white man.

Whites are offered equal terms

The question, then, is not whether we must get rid of the white man; but whether the white man must get rid of himself from this continent. The answer will be given by the white man, or, should I say, the white African, and not by the black African. The white man can no longer dominate Africa. That dream has gone for ever. Africa must in future be governed by Africans. Whether the immigrant African will have an equal part to play in this free Africa depends upon him and him alone.

At present he is being offered, and is rejecting that equal participation in free Africa.

When I mentioned the countries where the white man has created the situations which make this question arise, I omitted



Tanganyika. This was intentional. I believe that Tanganyika is the one country on this continent which can answer that question with a clear and unequivocal negative.

In Tanganyika we are determined to demonstrate to the whole of Africa with considerable immigrant minorities that democracy is not only possible, but the only answer. We are ready to put that demonstration on the stage at this hour.

We are being held back, not by local Europeans, but by the Colonial Office, and, I believe, by Europeans in neighbouring countries, who are frightened of the possibility of success in Tanganyika.

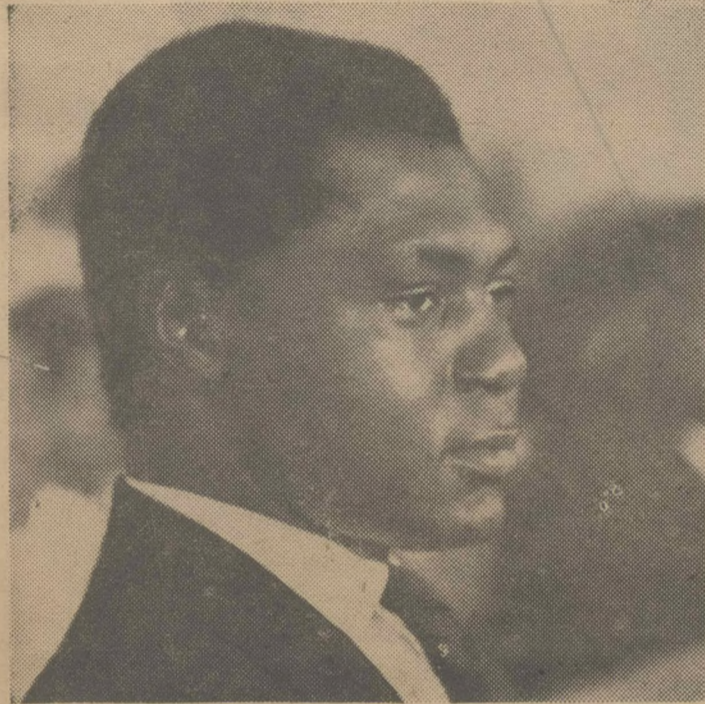
That is the irony of the situation. We are not being allowed to prove that racial antagonism is an unnecessary evil because our neighbours might faint if we proved it! Fear is their Chief Advocate in London and elsewhere.

If Tanganyika proved, not in words but through democracy in action, that their fears were unfounded, Mr. Fear, their insurance agent in imperialist capitals, would be expelled in ignominy.

I want to see Tanganyika become the first and most truly multi-racial democratic country in Africa. The light of the democracy will be put high up on the top of the highest mountain in Kilimanjaro for everybody to see, particularly South Africa and America.

political leaders:

WHITES?'



'I want white domination, privilege to go,' says Kenya leader Tom Mboya

THERE is no doubt in my mind that all African nationalists are uncompromising in their determination to rid their countries and people of European domination of the colonial or *settler* type. In this I am firmly resolved to make a full contribution. This need not, however, be interpreted as synonymous with a desire to remove all Europeans from Africa and to create a mono-racial society.

All it means is that European domination and privilege will go. It means that the African will cease to be the downtrodden, sub-human being that many Europeans, especially the settlers, have assumed him to be.

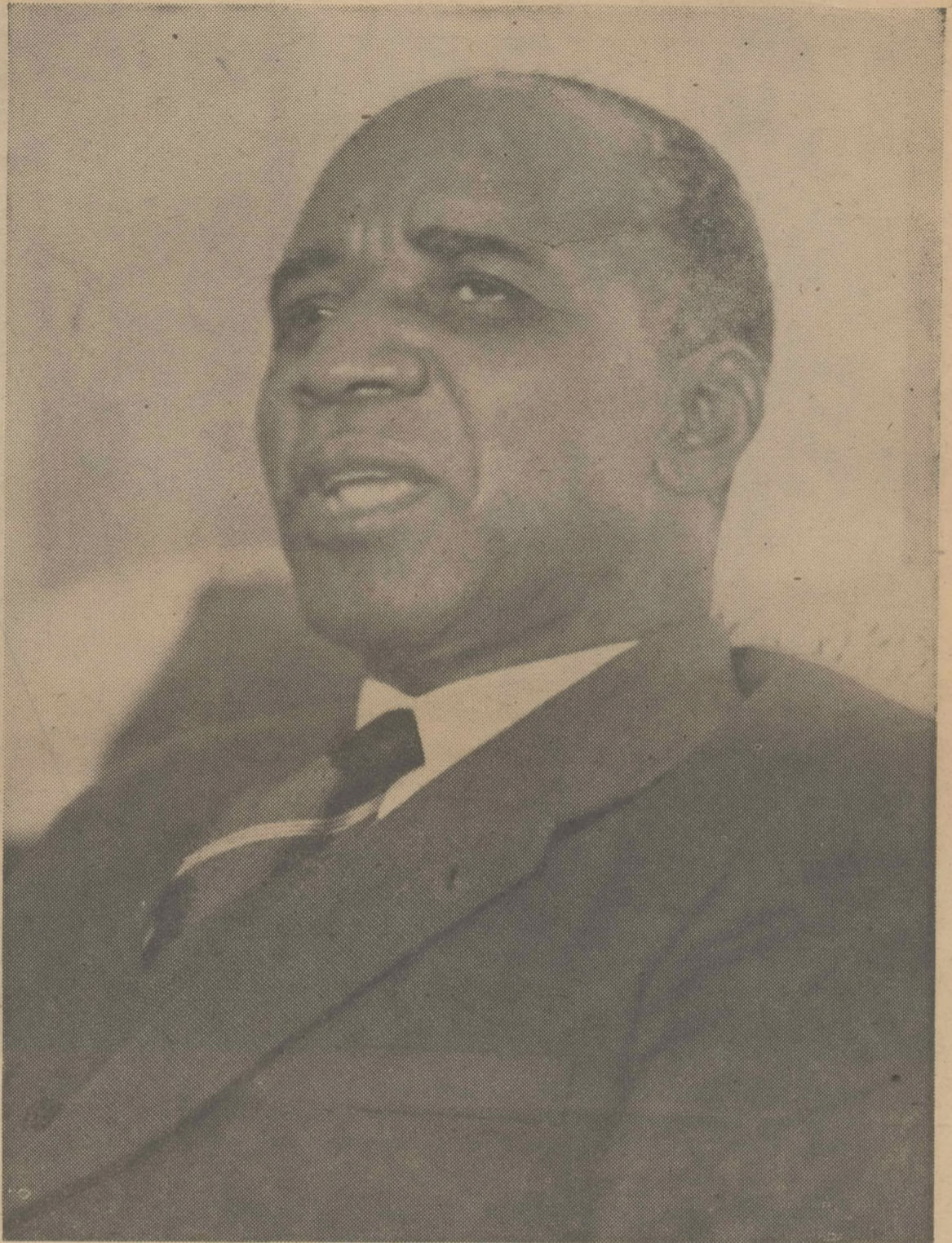
Africa, historically and geographically, is an African country. This, no amount of argument can change. Even in the areas dominated by the European settler, the population figures speak for themselves.

The fear in the minds of Europeans emanates not so much from what African nationalists do or say, but from the record of the activities, attitudes and relationships created by the settler-dominated governments. They fear that we may, on gaining our independence, practise race discrimination in the reverse. But our nature, as shown elsewhere, is not vindictive.

All that the Europeans have to ask themselves is: What future have they in Africa if they refuse to work with us? It is inevitable that sooner or later we shall attain the complete freedom of our continent.

Human dignity, political freedom and economic opportunity are universal ideas, demanded by all people no matter what their colour. Through the United Nations and its agencies, colour, racial and reasonable national barriers are being challenged, and in many cases broken down. Isolationism or chauvinism are not only unrealistic, but impracticable in these circumstances. This is generally accepted by just, if not all, responsible leaders in every country seeking its independence.

The African nationalist leader, fighting for the independence of his country and people against colonialism and local European settler domination, aspires for the day when his people will take their place as a nation in the international family. ●



'We mean to be our own lords in our own country' says Nyasaland A.N.C. leader, Hastings K. Banda

THERE are European people in Nyasaland who think they must be lords and masters, and there are Indians who think they are better than we Africans are. Well, that type of European and that type of Indian might as well pack up and go home now. We mean to be our own lords in our own country.

We don't want to dominate, or to be dominated. But the majority must rule. When we have our self-government, the Europeans will be allowed to stay. They will trade and have businesses as at present. They will also be represented in the government according to their numbers. They will be more than welcome as civil servants and in administrative offices. But we want no land barons or country squires.

In the Nyasaland of the future, black and white must work together, and if the European does not like it, he will have to go. I know of many who will stay when this country gains its freedom.

I am an extremist in my views, but I

am not in favour of violence, and the Europeans are certainly not my enemies. Many of them are close personal friends.

I concede entirely that there are a number of very fine Europeans in this country, and that they have done a great deal for the African people. But that does not entitle them to say for ever: "We have lifted you out of backwardness and we, and only we, will decide when you go forward."

I have not come back to Nyasaland to practise segregation. Anybody who needs medical treatment from me is welcome, be it African, Asian or European. I cannot be anti-white, for I have lived the greater part of my life among them.

My job now is to break up this hellish Rhodesian Federation. I don't mind if they send me to prison. There is no use Welensky (Premier of the Federation) or Verwoerd whining about the rising tide of African nationalism. It is simply a reaction to European domination. In Nyasaland we mean to be masters. ●

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