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An unfulfilled life

WHEN HE was killed last week, the victim of a passing train, Albert Luthuli already seemed distant from contemporary South Africa. For outsiders he was a figure to be visited and praised, for South Africans someone whom events had somehow passed by. In truth, his most staying, and possibly endearing characteristic, was that of being old-fashioned, a man in whom a certain distinctive and old-world rightness was to be seen. It was both his strength and his weakness, this rectitude. He quickly became a symbol in the post-war upsurge of black nationalism in South Africa; a symbol he was destined to remain to both friend and enemy. He was, the government considered, too dangerous to be allowed freedom; but his ideas about political action were too old-fashioned to hold the unswerving loyalty of his followers.

Reluctant leader. Albert Luthuli was one of a dying generation, those early Christian elite figures among tribal society who first led the stirring resentments of black nationalism. Born in 1898 of a missionary father, he rose to become a prominent teacher, and a chief by request of elders. In 1952, having taken part in politics for several years, he was elected President of the African National Congress. For all the battering the organisation and its allies received from the Nationalist government, it was a heady time. The Congress Alliance scented power, there was a feeling that nothing could hold out in the long run against the "masses". In 1959 and 1960 Congress power was tested, it was shown to be in fact an almost feeble thing. The ANC, along with the Pan African Congress, was banned. In the next few years militant ANC followers indulged in pathetic violence, Communist participation became ever more obvious, and an unhappy Luthuli was left sitting at his home in Groutville, Natal, to where he had been restricted by the South African government. He had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961, and Gandhian non-violence had been a life-long principle. His role in the subsequent violence of 1962/1964 was never fixed. He never condemned that violence outright,



ALBERT LUTHULI
Past zenith

though he was reported to have considered dissociating himself from the ANC.

Other figures. Luthuli's importance as image and symbol of urban black South Africa was underlined by the dearth of other leaders. Only over the last few years has a new pattern of leadership and power been emerging, and new leaders such as Matanzima, Jonathan and Khama came forward to be the spokesmen of hitherto unrepresented people. These leaders, implicitly, are part of a new order, one in which the idea of separate development, not a multi-racial unified state, is dominant. It is much less than Luthuli fought for, and it leaves the problem of the urban Africans unresolved, but such men as Matanzima are nonetheless leaders, wielding power that seemed inconceivable ten years ago.

Possibly, had Luthuli ever been near power, he would have been shouldered aside by more ambitious and cleverer young men. Neither he nor the Congress ever threw up much in the way of ideas. Their programme was a sort of diluted socialism, and their steam came from the grievances and volatility of the township inhabitants. Even their multi-racialism was weakening, and was never able to contain the thrust that Robert Sobukwe and his PAC followers provided. Luthuli never had the opportunity to prove himself a great man; instead events made him into a lonely figure revered as a political martyr outside the country, in the end a forgotten voice.

WAGE CLAIMS

The long queue

At this time of the year, the voice of the trade unions is traditionally heard in the land, asking for more. This year has been no exception. To date, claims for more pay have been put forward by unions representing some 500,000 white workers: if the men's families are counted, almost half the country's entire white population will be better off than it was before. If all the claims are met, that is.

Gold and coal miners started their rush last year, and are already receiving 11% more than they were paid formerly. Others to whom increases have already been given are workers in the clothing and chemical industries, the Railways, commercial banks and Iscor. In the queue at present are civil servants, municipal employees, teachers, journalists, printers, shop assistants, office workers, and 250,000 workers in the giant iron, steel and metallurgical industries. In all, private industry alone is faced with a wage bill increase amounting to close on R200m a year.

Spoiler of the fun. Not everybody is happy about the increases. Dr Albert Jacobs, Deputy Economic Adviser to the PM, warns that wage claims based on the cost of living and not on productivity can only serve to prolong inflation. Most negotiations have in fact been based on productivity bargaining; employees of the Durban Corporation, for instance, agreed to work 3½ hours longer each week for their 16% increase. But some discussions have reached a deadlock over this issue, noticeably that between the South African Engineering Industries Federation and the engineering unions. "The offers of the employees simply do not measure up to our demands," reported one negotiator somewhat grumpily.

There is little doubt that South Africa's skilled labour force is explaining the country's chronic shortage of labour; unemployment among whites is down to a record 0.4%. The corollary of this, however, is that management will be put in an increasingly stronger position regarding the use of non-white labour. A straw in the wind is a recent call by Railways General Manager Johannes Hugo to "recognise and accommodate the non-white as a permanent part of the economic structure in the white areas". Trade unionists jumping the queue for more pay will find themselves headed off by black Roland for their Oliver.