

VERWOERD'S BANTUSTAN FRAUD

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banned South African "SPARK"

SOUTH Africa's strangest election will be taking place in the Transkei African Reserve on November 20, 1963, when 45 members will be elected to the Transkeian Legislative Assembly in terms of the Transkei Constitution Act passed during the 1963 session of the all-White South African Parliament.

The Transkei Constitution Act claims to "confer self-governing on the Bantu resident in or deriving from the Transkei," the largest and most developed of the African reserves. As the wording indicates, the Act not only applies to Xhosa-speaking persons in the Transkei, but to all so-called Transkei citizens, defined in the Act as including "every Xhosa speaking Bantu person in the Republic, including every Bantu person belonging to any associated linguistic group who normally uses any dialects of the language spoken by what is commonly known as the Cape Nguni, providing such person does not belong to any Bantu homeland other than the Transkei or fall under the jurisdiction of any other regional or territorial authority or council or any self-governing territory."

Transkei citizenship also covers every "Bantu person" born in the Transkei, every "Bantu person" who has been domiciled in the Transkei for at least five years, and every Sotho-speaking "Bantu person" in the Republic who derives from or is generally regarded as a member of any of the Sotho-speaking tribes resident in the Transkei.

The Transkei reserve, show-piece of the Nationalist Government's apartheid policy, destined to become the country's first Bantustan, covers a total area of 16,554 square miles in the eastern part of the Cape Province. The population consists of 1,384,673 Africans, 13,600 Coloureds (mixed blood) and 18,000 Whites, mostly traders and officials. Neither Whites nor Coloureds are affected by the Transkei Constitution Act, which concerns the rights and duties of Africans only. When the new Transkei Parliament is established, its laws will apply to Africans only.

CENSUS

The 1960 South African census established that there were 3,423,000 Xhosa-speaking Africans in the Republic. This means that the majority of the Xhosa-speaking people, approximately 2,000,000 do not even live in the Transkei, but have been forced by the poverty of their homeland, the necessity to earn money for taxation and the attraction of higher wages, to seek a livelihood in the White areas of the country. Some go to the mines, some to the farms, and some to the towns where they work for various periods ranging from a few months to a number of years before returning to their homes. An unknown proportion possible as large as a third of the total—is now permanently urbanised, that is born and bred in the urban areas.

Nevertheless, under the Transkei Constitution Act, Xhosa-speaking people who were born in the urban areas and have never set foot in the Transkei are also regarded as Transkei citizens, will have a vote in

the forthcoming elections and will be subject to the laws passed by the Transkei Legislative Assembly. It is the Government's intention to force "nationhood" upon a people whose tribal way of life was breaking down and who were slowly but steadily being absorbed in the structure of industrialised South African society.

The Transkei Legislative Assembly is to be given the power, for example, to impose direct taxation on citizens of the Transkei, whether resident in or outside the Transkei. Furthermore, laws made in the Transkei may apply to Transkei citizens whether resident in or outside the Transkei. And Transkei citizens who break the laws may be prosecuted not only in the Transkei courts but also in the courts of the Republic.

Thus the Transkei Legislative Assembly may pass a law in Umtata, the capital of the Transkei, and some Transkei citizens born and brought up and resident in an urban area may be hauled before the local magistrate's courts for having contravened it. This provision of the constitution is likely to cause intense friction and even outbreaks of violence by urban Xhosa, most of whom are hostile to Bantu Authorities and particularly to the clique headed by Chief Kaiser Matanzima, chairman of the Transkei Territorial Authority which is being superseded by the Legislative Assembly and who is one of the contenders for the position of Prime Minister when the Transkei Cabinet is set up.

COMPOSITION OF PARLIAMENT

The Legislative Assembly is to consist of the four Paramount Chiefs, the sixty chiefs holding office in the nine regional authority areas of the Transkei, and the 45 members who are to be elected by the 800,000 odd registered voters of the Transkei on November 20. (Every citizen of the Transkei over the age of 21 or a Transkei tax payer over 18 is eligible for the vote).

Thus Government-appointed and paid chiefs will always constitute the ma-

majority; the elected members of the Transkei Assembly will always be in the minority. This is the "self-government in his own area" for which the African has had to sacrifice his right to representation in the central legislative of the Republic.

Executive power in the Transkei will be in the hands of the Prime Minister (who will also be Minister of Finance) and five other ministers (of justice, education, the interior, agriculture and forestry, and roads and works). These ministers will be elected by secret ballot by members of the Legislative Assembly at its first meeting, which is due to be held on December 6, 1963, at Transkeian capital of Umtata.

The Transkeian Legislative Assembly will have power to make laws in connection with direct taxation of Transkeian citizens, whether within or outside the Transkei; Bantu education; the establishment, administration and control of inferior courts; the appointment powers and duties of justices of the peace and commissioners of oaths and members of the Public Service in the Transkei; the protection of life, persons and property and the prevention of cruelty to animals in the Transkei; the control of such portion of the Police Force as may have been sanctioned by the Republican Minister of Justice; public works and irrigation; the control of municipal and local authorities; and a variety of similar matters.

DIALECT

Xhosa is recognised as an additional official language in the Transkei, which is also given its own national anthem ("Nkosi Sikelel'—Afrika) and flag to be flown side by side with the flag of the Republic.

At a time when other metropolitan powers are liquidating their colonies in Africa, the South African Government is attempting to create them. For there are important limitations on the powers of the Transkeian legislature. Not only will it fall under the dominion of the Republican Government, especially in matters pertaining to defence, internal security and foreign affairs but it will have no control over non-Africans resident in the Transkei, who will remain citizens of the republic and will not be eligible for the franchise in the Transkei.

The Transkei towns will remain outside the purview of the African government. According to a report in the "Star" on October 26, 1963, "there will be no relaxation of the Group Areas Act in Umtata (the capital) after the Transkei is granted partial self-government.

This was made clear at a meeting of the Umtata Chamber of Commerce in Umtata when the President, Mr. J. Price, read the Chamber's executive committee report to members at their quarterly meeting.

"Mr. Price told members that representatives of the chamber recently interviewed the Transkei's chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Mr. Vic Leibbrandt, with a view to clarifying the position of prominent African customers who wished to be served in exclusively European establishments after partial self-government is granted to the territories."

"They were told Umtata would be no different from any other town in South Africa where the provisions of the Group Areas Act applied. It would, therefore, be illegal for the proprietor of any hotel or tea-room catering solely for Europeans to serve Africans unless he had special permission for them."

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In the capital of the "self-governing" Transkei, the African would still be subjected to discrimination and even the Black Prime Minister could be ejected from any tea-room or hotel. Not surprisingly the International Commission of Jurists last September came to the conclusion: "It appears that claims that this is anything remotely approaching self-government are illusory."

If this falls short of real self-government, the Nationalist Government justifies it on the grounds that it is, at least, a step in that direction. But how far is Verwoerd prepared to go? Does the Bantustan policy really envisage the establishment of genuinely independent African states in the reserves? Can it be accepted that this is the aim of the Nationalist Government?

The answer is a categorical "No". In his policy speech on April 10, 1961, in which he indicated that the Bantustans could develop into "separate Black states", Dr. Verwoerd clearly indicated at the same time: "This is not what we would have preferred to see. This is a form of fragmentation which we would rather not have had if it was within our control to avoid it." The Prime Minister blamed the pressure of forces outside South Africa for the decision of the Government to embark on the Bantustan experiment at all. "In the light of the forces to which South Africa is being subjected; there is, however, no doubt as to what must be done in the course of time."

In other words, the Government will delay as long as possible the grant of independence — Minister of Bantu Administration, de Wet Nel has gone on record as saying he hopes it will never happen—but if the worst come to the worst it is prepared to accept the inevitable if it should be left with no alternative.

However, this is a very long term prospect, and white South Africa as a whole does not seem to be unduly disturbed by it. So far the Transkei is the only Reserve which has developed to the point where "self-government" can be imposed on it. The Government also had plans for a Zulu Bantustan, but they have been put into cold storage for the time being because many chiefs are still refusing to accept the Bantu Authorities system. A meeting of chiefs earlier this year decided that the whole issue should be submitted to a national convention of the Zulus so that the opinion of the whole Zulu people could be obtained.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

There has been no move either by the Government or by the Zulu Paramount Chief to summon such a convention. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Natal said last September there were no further developments in the plan to establish a Zulu territorial authority. "The Zulus are not quite ready for it," he said. As for the other ethnic groups in South Africa, "self-government" for them is not even on the agenda for the foreseeable future. Thus even if the Transkei gets its "self-government" after the November 20 elections, that still leaves two-thirds of the African people of South Africa unaccounted for.

Even if all the land promised to be set aside for the African reserves under the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936 (in return for the removal of the Africans from the common voters' roll) were acquired, only 13 per cent of the total area of South Africa would be available for African occupation. But in fact only 70 per cent of that total had been acquired by the end of 1962. It will probably take many years before the balance is acquired. Meanwhile, the communal roll franchise which was given to the Africans in 1936 was taken away in 1959. Today

the African has neither franchise in an integrated multi-racial South Africa nor freedom in his own independent state, and he is not likely to obtain either so long as the Verwoerd regime is in power.

CHEAP LABOUR

For the real aim of the Bantustan policy is not to lead the African people towards freedom and independence as Verwoerd so glibly claimed when staking his claim recently for the British Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. The real aim is to create depressed areas in which the African people will be confined as a perennial source of cheap labour for the White man's farms, mines and industries. This was made clear by the complement to the Transkei Constitution Act introduced

only to supply the labour needs of the White economy, preferably on the basis of migrant labour.

It is contrary to government policy that African family groups should be permitted to establish themselves in the urban areas. Under the Bill, no African would have an automatic right of residence anywhere in an urban area and could be "shunted" around at the pleasure of any minor government official. Part of this Bill was enacted in 1963; the remainder will probably become law during 1964.

This is the reverse side of the Bantustan medal—that in return for fake self-government in the Reserves, the African people are to lose their right to citizenship in the White man's areas of the country. Even if the Transkei were to be granted genuine and complete independence under the pressure of world opinion, it would constitute no sort of threat to White South Africa. Already overcrowded and overstocked, the country is badly eroded, the people poverty-stricken. Where would the capital come from for economic development? An "independent" Transkei under present conditions would continue to be completely dependent on White South Africa, economically and in every other way. Attempts from outside by the Verwoerd Government, which has made it clear that it will never tolerate a "Cuba" on its doorstep.



WALTER SISULU
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during the 1963 session of Parliament — the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. This Bill, described by the Minister of Information, English-speaking Frank Waring, at a press conference in February 1963 as designed to remove points of friction between the authorities and the African people, in fact proposed to turn the whole African people into homeless wanderers in the land of their birth, the last few remaining rights of the Africans in the urban areas were to be stripped from them. Mercilessly, the Government maintains that the Africans must look to their "homelands" for their political and economic development; in the White areas they will be admitted

ONE MAN ONE VOTE

Meanwhile, 180 candidates were nominated on October 2, for the 45 seats at stake in the November 20 elections. Verwoerd claims this will be a free election based on the principle of one man one vote. It will be nothing of the sort. The elections are taking place under emergency rule established by the notorious proclamations 400 and 413 of 1960 in terms of which no meetings can be held without permission, no-

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Verwoerd's Fraud

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body may make a statement subversive of the authority of the government or any chief or headman, and anybody can be arrested and detained without charge or trial indefinitely. Some hundreds of Government opponents are known to be in jail at this moment, and will so be debarred from taking part in this "free" election, even though they have committed no crime for which they can be brought before a court.

But this is not all. A new political party was formed to fight in the Transkei election on a programme which would press for full independence, votes for all races and a campaign to bring about a one-man, one-vote system throughout South Africa. The party, which was called the People's Party of Eastern Pondoland (one of the Transkeian areas), hoped to stimulate the formation of similar parties in the other areas of the Transkei. But the Government reaction was typical. The leader of the party, Mr. Leonard Mdingi, was simply arrested and detained without trial. Other followers of the party, and even opposition candidates who did not belong to the party, were refused permission to hold meetings in most areas of the Transkei. A prominent member of the Liberal Party who had announced his intention of standing as a candidate, Mr. Hammington Majija, was banned from attending gatherings and forced to go into hiding to avoid being placed under arrest.

ELECTIONS

Nevertheless, it can be assumed that some sort of elections will in fact take place and the Government stooges in the Transkei will not have things all their own way. The main contenders for power are chief Kaiser Matanzima, chairman of the Transkeian Territorial Authority and head of the district known as Emigrant Tembuland, and Paramount Chief Victor Poto of Eastern Pondoland.

Matanzima, a known Government supporter, stands for apartheid, Black rule in the Transkei and an all-Black civil service, a "Bantu Battalion" in the South African Defence Force, the eventual elimination of White traders and officials from the Transkei and the addition to the area of the Transkei of certain White areas formerly occupied by the Africans.

He hopes to win acceptance for the apartheid policy by playing upon the national sentiments of the African people and it should not be automatically assumed that there are no sections of the people responsive to his deceptive brand of nationalism within the framework of apartheid. Matanzima is a young, university-trained, ambitious man determined to carve out a career for himself within the limits permitted by the Verwoerd Government, possible with the hope that when he has finally established himself

at the head of affairs in the Transkei he will be able to start a movement for independence which even Verwoerd cannot stop.

Opposed to Matanzima and considered the more likely to become chief Minister at this stage is Paramount Chief Victor Poto of Eastern Pondoland who has stated that he is strongly opposed to any suggestion that chiefs should automatically be members of the Transkei Legislative Assembly. "The general public have been debarred from having a say in their own affairs, the chiefs have lost the dignity of chieftainship and they have been branded as Government servants", he said on September 30, 1963. The disturbances in the Transkei would only cease, he said, when the people were satisfied with their general conditions—"and they can only be satisfied if they have a say in their government."

THE TWO HOUSES

He proposed that there should be two Houses in the Transkei Parliament, the Lower one completely elected on the basis of one man one vote, while the chiefs would sit in the Upper House. This proposal drew the angry rejoinder from Matanzima; "Only Communistically inclined people would rejoice in Chief Poto's fight against his own birthright. It depicts cowardice on his part, and a shameless attempt to sell his colleagues on the altar of bloodthirsty Communism, whose objective is to destroy all democratic forms of government." Which shows that Matanzima has nothing to learn from Verwoerd when it comes to the tactics of anti-Communism.

Supporting Poto is Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, a relative of Nelson Mandela and head of the Tembu nation, the largest group in the Transkei. Sabata is a firm opponent of Bantustan and the whole

scheme for Transkei independence. At a meeting in Cape Town on August 11, 1963, he said the "freedom" which was being granted was like that in a fowl run, where there was no outlet. Once one entered it, one was in it for good. "A cattle kraal with a gate will be better," he said. "For we wonder why the Government is giving only the Transkei freedom. We want freedom for all South Africa." The seven candidates nominated by the Tembu at a meeting at Sabata's Great Palace all pledged themselves to multi-racialism as a policy and said they would definitely support Paramount Chief Victor Poto in his campaign for election as the Transkei's first chief Minister.

Polling in the elections will take place not only in the Transkei but throughout the Republic wherever the concentration of "Transkei citizens" warrants it. Each voter will be required to vote for as many candidates as there are seats for his region. It is expected that because of the number of candidates (180) the ballot papers in some of the electoral divisions will be almost two feet square. Illiterate voters will inform the electoral officer, in the presence of two witnesses, of the candidates for whom they wish to vote, and the officer must record their votes as they request. It will be seen that opportunities for rigging the elections will not be entirely absent.

The Transkei elections will be presented by the Verwoerd Government to the world as the opening of a new era in the life of the African people, the inauguration of internal self-government, the first step on the road to independence. It is important that Verwoerd's bluff should be called, and the elections and the whole Bantustan jiggery-pokery exposed for the fraud they undoubtedly are.

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