

AFRICA

# African Prime Minister For Tanganyika

Hail to the people of Tanganyika! Hail to the Tanganyika African National Union, and to its outstanding leader, Julius Nyerere!

THE announcement last week by the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Richard Turnbull that Tanganyika would have an African-majority, largely-elected Parliament

## WORLD STAGE

By SPECTATOR

next year, has filled all the freedom-fighters of Africa with joy and the white supremacists with alarm.

The Governor's speech was timed to coincide with the visit to East Africa of the new British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Ian Macleod, who is no doubt anxious to appear to the people of Africa as a new broom sweeping clean the dirt left behind him by his predecessor, Lennox Boyd.

Yet the main reason which prompted the British to concede what amounts to internal self-government for the people of Tanganyika, was that they really had no choice. The overwhelming bulk of the people of that territory have declared themselves fully behind TANU and their leader Nyerere—and the Colonial Office was politely told: Get out decently or else be kicked out unceremoniously.

The people of Tanganyika have had a long history of colonial oppression, and unlike most others in Africa, have had the distinction of having been ruled by two different European powers.

### GERMAN RULE

When the imperialist scramble for Africa was on during the second half of the 19th century, the German colonialists seized for

themselves a large chunk of East and Central Africa, which they ruled with a heavy hand until the outbreak of the First World War.

During the course of that war, British troops "liberated" the people of Tanganyika from German rule, and promptly proceeded to impose themselves as new masters. In terms of the Peace Treaty at the conclusion of the war, Britain, as the victor over Germany, was granted control of Tanganyika as one of her spoils, while the territory now known as Ruanda-Urundi went to Britain's ally, Belgium. Both colonies were styled "Trust Territories", and placed under the supervision of the League of Nations, but their essential nature as colonies remained unchanged.

The Tanganyikans were never content to accept this status, and under the impact of the worldwide anti-imperialist advances made after the Second World War, built up a powerful political party the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).

### JULIUS NYERERE

Spokesman for TANU was a quiet, modest man, short in stature, who was sent by TANU to plead his people's cause in UNO. His statesmanlike manner, the conviction with which he argued, and the soundness of his case stamped him as one of the outstanding political leaders in Africa, but despite his great skill, the United Nations as constituted then, did little to help his countrymen.

Largely as a result of Nyerere's efforts, a fact-finding team was sent out by the Trusteeship Committee, but all they would recommend was independence in 20 years. To the British this proposal seemed revolutionary, but not to TANU.

The leaders of TANU adopted the motto "We seek national independence," and rallying the masses behind them, began pounding ever more loudly on the door of the Colonial Office in furtherance of their struggle.

### "DEAR NEW AGE . . ."

The results of their efforts are explained in a letter received by New Age recently from the Publicity Secretary of TANU:



Tanganyika's Nyerere.

be vested in a Council of Ministers of 12—of whom only 5 were to be elected."

### ADVANCES

A Post Election committee was set up to investigate further extension of democratic rights. This committee consisted of 15 members, 8 of whom were TANU or TANU-backed M.P.s.

TANU sent a memorandum to this committee, which was adopted almost in its entirety. Now it appears that the British authorities have accepted in substance the recommendations of the committee.

The significant advances made are:

• The Legislature is to have an African majority, inasmuch as only 21 of the 71 seats would be reserved for non-Africans (11 for Asians and 10 for Europeans). The other 50 seats will be "open", and as Africans form the vast majority of the electorate, it is they who will determine who will form the Government.

• The Executive Council will have a majority of Elected Members. This opens the way for the leader of TANU, Mr. Nyerere, becoming the first Prime Minister of the country.

• The voters roll has been considerably enlarged, and will include about 1,500,000 men and women.

### WEAKNESSES

The new constitutional propo-

## Volunteers In Uniform



Long lines of volunteers in uniform march smartly into the grounds at Curry's Fountain.

sals are, of course, far from being fully democratic. The reservation of nearly a third of the seats for the 24,000 Europeans and 75,000 Asians and Arabs, the property and literacy qualifications for the franchise, the restrictions on the powers of the Tanganyika Government (it will have only the right to internal self-government), and so on, show that the present development is but a step on the long road to freedom.

BUT IT IS A BIG STEP, AND WITH A TANU-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT, THE PEOPLE OF TANGANYIKA WILL BE ABLE TO PRESS EVER MORE STRONGLY FOR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE. W H I C H THEY ARE DEMANDING BY 1964.

The progress being made in Tanganyika illustrates with great clarity the force of the saying that the liberation struggle in Africa is indivisible. Tanganyika is bordered by Kenya to the North, and Nyasaland to the South.

### KENYA AND NYASALAND

By granting self-government to the people of Tanganyika, the British will find themselves under increasing pressure to grant the people of Kenya and Nyasaland their freedom. Similarly the winds of freedom will blow more lustily than ever before in the neighbouring territories of the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Mozambique.

Further, the advance in Tanganyika will encourage the people of South West Africa, also a former German colony turned into a Trust Territory after World War I, to step up their struggle for self-determination.

No article on Tanganyika would be complete without a mention of the remarkable unity built up there between the African people and large numbers of Europeans and Asians. TANU extends the hand of friendship to all peoples in Tanganyika and this hand has been grasped by progressives in the Asian Association as well as a number of Whites.

On the basis of this unity, which in turn is based on the solidarity of the African masses behind TANU, there will be no stopping Tanganyika on its march to complete independence. And after Tanganyika, who will be able to hold back the people of Kenya and Nyasaland? And after those two countries . . . well, even Verwoerd must be asking that question!

# THAT BIGGEST EVER CONFERENCE



About 8,000 people of all races attended the open sessions of the ANC 47th national conference.



(Right) Dr. Margaret Mncadi, seated next to Ma Ndlovu, a baton charge victim and a leading speaker at conference. On their left is Dr. Wilson Conco.



## Zulu Women In Their Head-dresses



Though weary after an all-night session, some of the Zulu women delegates listen intently to speakers at the open session.

## Special Branch In Their Shorts



Another section of the audience, Special Branch detectives, dressed for Durban's heat, can be seen taking notes.

## From Lionel Forman's History Note-book

# AFRICANS WELCOMED COLOURED'S PAPER

On Christmas day Lionel Forman, whose articles on the history of the freedom struggle in South Africa were always a popular and inspiring feature in New Age, would have been 32. In his last months he collected a considerable amount of material for a book on South African history which he planned to write, and we are pleased to print some of the notes he had collected which have been passed on to us by his wife Sadie. We hope to be able to print further notes from the same source in due course.

THIS week, on December 27, SACPO will be holding its conference.

### Blood River DECEMBER is a month of celebration and commemoration . . .

On December 16, 1838, the terrible Battle of Blood River took place, and now every year that date is celebrated as one of the landmarks, if not the landmark, in the triumph of White civilisation in South



Lionel Forman.

75 years ago, Imvo Zabantsundu, the first African newspaper, commented on action to be taken by the Coloured people to start a newspaper. It is interesting that in those days the Africans should have shown their solidarity with a progressive move by the Coloureds. (For a history of Imvo see New Age, Nov. 6, 1958.)

Read what Imvo reports in its issue of 15th December, 1884, when noting a move against the Coloured population of Port Elizabeth to commemorate the jubilee of slave emancipation. "We call for a more general and closer union among the Coloured classes who have hitherto been more or less separated by unimportant distinctions." The article goes on to consider the advisability of "starting a public paper suited specially to the Coloured classes."

"In the progress of the Coloured classes may be seen an instance of a people who have been, ever since the emancipation, endeavouring to force their way into the pale of European society, but the circumstances have rendered the attempt futile.

"We hail this harking back upon lines which alone can make them an important factor in this country, namely, to build up a society conscious of its independence and vitality."

What really happened was that in their relationship with Dingane, Retief and the Boers used every bit of trickery they could command, to get Dingane to fit in with their plans of acquiring more and more land belonging to the Zulus. It was only when Dingane discovered what they intended doing to him after he had given them a grant of land that he attacked them. "The Zulus won a series of extremely costly victories," Lionel wrote in New Age last year (Dec. 11, 1958).

After that Dingane believed he had shown his superiority to the Boer-British alliance and that he could now go back and live unmolested, in peace in his own territory. But he was wrong.

On December 16, 1838 "the Boer-British front exploited Dingane's politeness, regrouped and killed 3,000 Zulu soldiers."

### Anti-Pass Martyr

WE also commemorate on Dingane's Day, December 16, the murder of Johannes Nkosi. He was 25 when he was shot by the police in 1930 in Durban during a mass pass burning campaign.

Johannes Nkosi, a farm labourer and domestic servant, had become secretary of the Durban Communist Party. He organised the pass burning demonstration in Durban to start at 11 a.m. on Cartwright's Flats. At 4 o'clock thousands of passes were piled into bags and the huge crowd was just preparing to march in procession into the city when the police, armed with batons, assegais and revolvers attacked the people. While Nkosi was speaking to the crowd, calling on them to remain calm and not to retaliate, he was shot, pulled down from the platform, and carried away on a lorry.

Eye witnesses said that when he was arrested Nkosi had only a bullet wound. But some time after his skull was fractured and he was stabbed all over his head and body.

No one was ever charged with Nkosi's murder.

# BIG BUSINESS PLANS TO FIGHT THE BOYCOTT

By Brian Bunting

**THE 25 "leaders in the field of finance, industry, commerce and culture in South Africa" who decided to establish the South African Foundation last week in order "to promote international understanding of the South African way of life, achievements and aspirations" are, politically, a pretty mixed bunch.**

They include, on the one hand, supporters of the Government's apartheid policy like Mr. Anton Rupert, chairman of the Rembrandt Tobacco Company; Dr. A. L. Geyer, former South African High Commissioner in London and former editor of "Die Burger"; and Dr. William Nicol, former Administrator of the Transvaal; and, on the other hand, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, a member of the newly-formed Progressive Party.

The remaining members fall somewhere in between these two "extremes", and include representatives of the morning and evening press, powerful mining, industrial and financial groups, the Central News Agency, and prominent figures in the wholesale and retail trade, some with and some without political affiliations.

What is it that has brought

these different elements together on a common platform?

The 25 claim they want "to secure for South Africa and its peoples from the world community of nations, of which they are members, recognition for the contributions they have made and support for the service they will continue to render towards the progress, on the continent of Africa, of a civilisation founded and built on the Western European way of life and ideals, and of a sovereign democratic state essential to the assurance of Western influence and security on this continent."

This declaration is highly misleading. There is no agreement between the various foundation members of the foundation as to the meaning of "a civilisation founded and built on the Western European way of life and ideals". Some of them think this means apartheid; some of them talk of the need for a multi-racial state and a common roll franchise. It is probable that if the foundation got down to the details of what really constituted "a civilisation founded and built on the Western European way of life and ideals", it would split in 25 different directions from the word go.

And what, pray, do the 25 understand by the word "democracy"?

From its declaration of aims

and the nature of its sponsors, it is clear the Foundation has one main aim: to make South Africa safe for capitalism and to ensure bigger and better profits for all capitalists.

The strongest link binding the 25 together is the profit motive.

- It is significant that the 25 are
  - all leading spokesmen for big business;
  - all white.

If they were solely concerned with saving the name of South Africa abroad, why have they kept themselves so exclusive? Despite their claim, there is not a single "cultural leader" amongst them. And where are the representatives of the workers? the Trade Unions? The Non-White leaders?

It is true the Foundation says it will "establish contacts with Non-White leaders in the field of commerce, industry and culture" and "compile a survey of Non-White economic and cultural activity as a guide for whatever form of Non-White co-operation the foundation may later decide to enlist."

But the operative word is "may." The Foundation may, or it may not, decide to enlist Non-White co-operation. Meanwhile Non-Whites are deliberately excluded.

### SAFE FOR CAPITALISM

The purpose of the Foundation is not merely to defend South Africa's name abroad, to paint a prettier picture than Mr. Eric Louw can hope to do through his State Information Office. The Foundation explicitly says it will neither encroach on nor take over the tasks for which other bodies have been specifically established.

### THE MAIN AIM IS TO CONVINCING INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS SAFE FOR CAPITAL.

South Africa, said Sir Francis de Guingand at the inaugural meeting, was being "undermined by an organised campaign of misrepresentation abroad and it was high time that all public spirited South Africans, regardless of their political leanings, all friends of South Africa and all those with a stake in the country should mobilise their forces in a non-political front to present the real South Africa to the world."

By "all those with a stake in the country" Sir Francis does not mean you and me and everybody else

who lives here, but those who have investments at stake in the country.

### ECONOMIC CRISIS

The fact is that economic conditions in South Africa are so serious that big business is gravely worried about the future.

Taking the figure for 1951-2 as 100, the total net profit index of South African companies declined from 114.2 points in 1956-57 to 106.5 points in 1957-58, according to a survey conducted by the Bureau of Census and Statistics. In the same period the net trading profit of unincorporated businesses decreased from 88.7 to 81.8 points. The decline in 1958-59 was probably even greater, but figures are not yet available.

In the six-year period 1951-52 to 1957-58, the total outstanding debt of companies increased from 100 to 167.5, most of which was represented by hire-purchase debt, while the outstanding debt of unincorporated businesses increased by 129.6 points. In other words, if not for extended credits, the position would be even worse.

The Financial Editor of the *Cape Times* commented on November 30, 1959:

"An unusual amount of complaint and criticism has been voiced by industrialists at their meetings in the last week or two. At the same time, more disappointing reports have been issued than South Africa has seen in the three decades since the Great Depression."

### FALLING PROFITS

Falling profits in industry are reflected in the falling prices of industrial shares. Based on 1948 as 100, the average prices of industrial shares in South Africa are now about 60 i.e., a decrease of 40 per cent. in 10 years.

### SOUTH AFRICA IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD TO SHOW THIS CATASTROPHIC DECLINE IN INDUSTRY.

In Britain the figure is 190, in the United States 390 i.e. increases of 90 and 290 per cent. respectively.

Surveying the figures for Western Germany, France, Italy, Australia and New Zealand, the financial editor concludes: "All but South Africa reflect boom conditions."

### PROPAGANDA

The members of the South African Foundation believe that the main reason for South Africa's inability to attract industrial, as distinct from mining, capital is the bad press she gets abroad. They picture

the overseas investors reading reports about Mrs. Mafekeng and the Beechers and deciding on ideological grounds not to invest their money in South African industry.

But investors are usually not interested in ideologies, they are interested in profits. It is not through lack of politics but through lack of profits that overseas capital is kept away from this country.

A bad press, for example, has not prevented the mining industry from getting all the capital it needs.

It is, however, mainly due to politics that South African industry cannot show a steady level of development and a steady increase in politics. Apartheid, based on migratory labour,

- prevents the development of a free and more productive labour force;

- by forcing the mass of the population to live below the bread-line, prevents the development of an effective internal market.

Until these two basic requirements can be fulfilled, South African industry can never get out of the doldrums under capitalism. Sir Francis de Guingand and his cronies can talk their heads off, but they cannot make profits out of paper. Not until South African industry can show attractive returns on investment capital will the economic tide begin to turn.

### POLITICAL PROBLEM

Thus this "non-political" Foundation cannot succeed in its aims unless it solves the political problem; yet it is precisely the political problem that the Foundation cannot begin to look in the face.

Nevertheless, the Foundation cannot be dismissed as a futility. This is the voice of South African Big Business. It has tremendous resources to back it, and strong connections with international capital. It has the South African Press in its pocket. It can win friends and influence people of the calibre of Lord Montgomery and Mr. Macmillan, not to mention the captains of United States industry. It will undoubtedly try to break the boycott and soften international attitudes towards South Africa.

But it has not got magical properties. It does not possess the Philosopher's Stone and cannot turn other metals into gold or silver. It may temporarily divert, but cannot fundamentally change the course of history. Might is not right, even when backed with millions.

## "HISTORIC" CONFERENCE TURNED OUT A FARCE

### Africanist Leaders Under Fire

IMPATIENCE and dissatisfaction with their leadership were features of the Pan-Africanist national conference held in Orlando last week-end. Billed as the "most historic conference ever held in South Africa," where "a programme of positive action" was to be announced, it turned out to be a farce and a mere publicity stunt.

Africanist President Sobukwe in his address to the open session referred to a decision taken at the April conference that the Africanists were not interested in "alleviating the suffering of our people". Replying to criticism from certain people and organisations that they were shirking responsibilities by not launching a campaign against the pass laws, he said the executive had not received a mandate from conference so had taken no action against the pass laws.

### JOY

Sobukwe expressed "joy" at the formation of the apartheid Federation of Free African Trade Unions by saying "We are happy because this trade union is in line with the continental trade union federation discussed at Accra."

### NO PLAN

Sharp divisions among delegates became evident during the discussion of the Presidential address. The executive was severely criticised for not presenting a plan to conference. "We want a clear programme of how we will achieve our freedom in 1963", said one delegate. "Methods must not be devised by us."

"The time has come when people must fight courageously against the pass laws," said another.

Other delegates insisted on fighting against the status quo and not the pass laws, "then why don't you show us how to fight status quo?" was the reply. "This is the first time at a conference that leaders have asked delegates for the green light, give us a plan!"

Time and again Sobukwe rose and attempted to answer question and criticism, to retreat hastily from the stubborn and naive decision not to fight "isolated cases". But nevertheless the final resolutions still be-

trayed the reluctance to tackle the pass laws.

Conference adopted a resolution instructing the National Executive "to call on the nation to take a decisive final undertaking on pass laws." It was decided to embark immediately on a campaign of intensive organisation "in order to get the nation ready for action at an immediate time" and to direct the nation "to await a call for this action from now on."

### TAXED

Due to lack of funds, Pan Africanist members are to be immediately "taxed" £1 2s. 6d. yearly to finance the campaign. Whatever form of action the Executive may adopt, the slogan "no bail, no defence, no fines" must be adhered to according to a conference resolution.

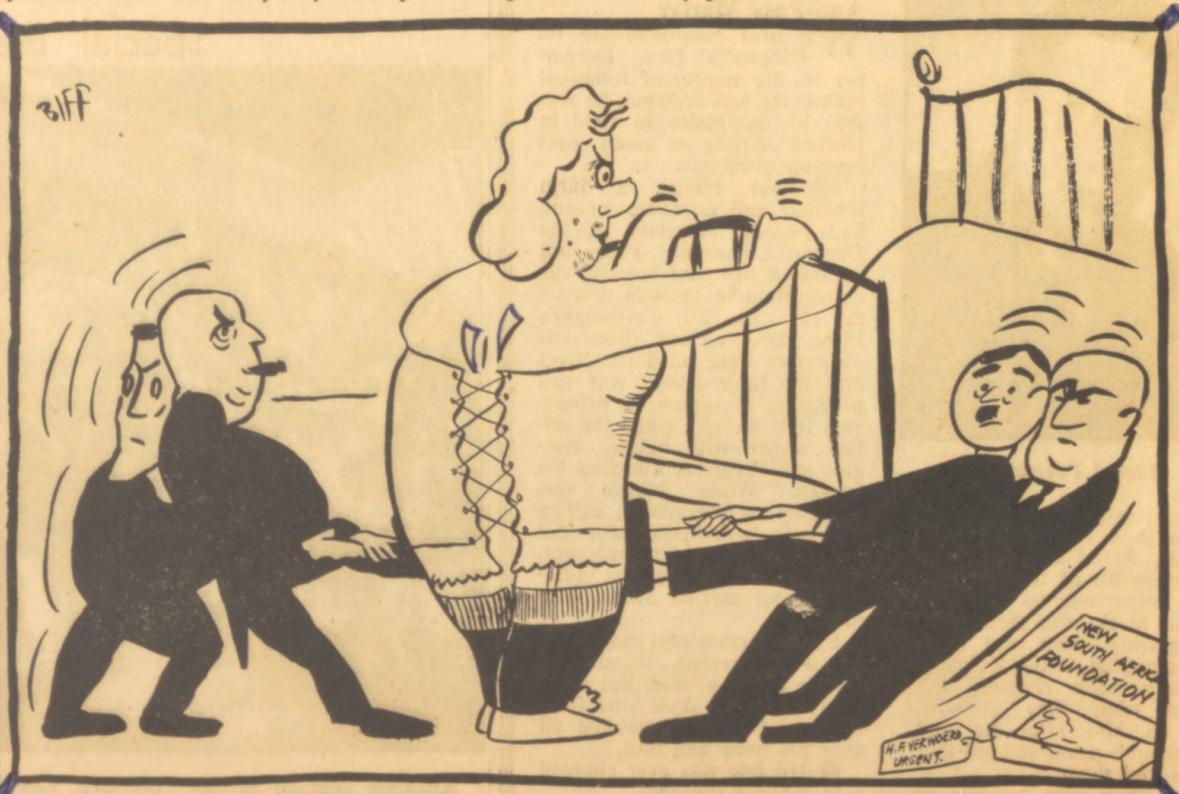
The "status campaign" officially launched by Pan Africanists shortly after their April conference, to win courteous treatment for Africans, came up for discussion. Nothing had been heard of it since it was launched, complained delegates.

The executive was called upon to implement it "as part of the programme," but action against passes must be given first priority, said a resolution.

"The continental salute of African organisations"—the raised open hand with palm facing forwards was adopted as the official salute of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

There were 400 people at the opening session, of whom 270 were said to be delegates representing an alleged membership of 30,000.

The conference continued right through Saturday night until Sunday afternoon and the mass rally planned for afterwards had to be cancelled.



"PULL BOYS! WE'VE GOT TO MAKE HER LOOK GOOD."

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