

by spiral staircases with narrow slit windows in frontier style. A second door in the garden below leads to a small museum. This is interesting enough with tableaux vivants behind glass, and an assortment of clothes, Bibles, diaries and other personal belongings of the Trekkers. One small case containing rough clay pots and a few glass beads is labelled "Bantu Objects."

But everywhere about this place is an aura of oppressive symbolism and misplaced emotion. One cannot but feel it; and the whole hilltop conveys the

impression of a site selected for a dramatic last stand, its doom inherent in its whole conception. Against this background of heavy Afrikanerdom the double gates through which all visitors must enter and leave are curious—a breach in the laager in more than just the literal sense. They are designed, inexplicably, as a fence of assegais surmounted by traditional warrior shields. Could this be an unconscious acknowledgement that the laager has been penetrated after all? One hopes so. ●

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## Northern Rhodesian Elections

# The Widening Breach

TITUS MUKUPO

THE GENERAL ELECTION that took place in Northern Rhodesia in October brought to light two main facts above all others. The first is that no single party can claim to have won it. The second is that the result itself had the effect of pushing races wider apart than before. Nevertheless, the constitution has left one man in a stronger position than he was before. This man is Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP).

In the elections, the struggle was mainly between Sir Roy Welensky's pro-Federation United Federal Party and Kaunda's UNIP which is uncompromisingly against Federation. While the UFP is predominantly white, UNIP is predominantly black. Hence the struggle was not only a battle between pro-Federationists and anti-Federationists but also a clash between white nationalism from the south and black nationalism sweeping through Africa from the north.

Results in the election showed that the UFP had won 15 seats, UNIP 14 and the African National Congress led by Harry Nkumbula, five. Thus no party emerged strong enough to form a government. Another attempt is to be made to fill the 11 remaining seats at the December 10 by-election. But it is thought that only the one upper roll seat (in which no election took place because of the death of a candidate) will be filled by the UFP. The ten national seats are likely to remain unfilled as no candidate is likely to win the right percentages of votes.)

The Liberal Party steering a middle course between its larger rivals was completely eliminated and has since died. Its leader, Sir John Moffat, a great grandson of explorer David Livingstone, was lucky to keep his deposit. Nearly all his 27 candidates lost their deposits. Another African nationalist party—the Barotse National Party suffered the same fate despite some support in one constituency from the UFP. None of the independents were elected either.

The constitution provided for a House of up to 53 members of whom 45 would be elected by popular vote. Of the rest, six would be top civil servants nominated to sit in the House by the Governor and the other one or two would be nominated unofficials.

While the British Government was willing to extend the franchise to more Africans than ever before through this constitution, it was unwilling to see the European voter swamped by the African. So in an effort to balance the voting strengths of the groups, this ingenious arrangement was resorted to.

Fifteen of the elected members (intended to be white) were to be elected by upper income group people, that is, those earning £700 a year and over. Fifteen others (intended to be black) were to be elected by the lower roll or lower income group people earning £120 a year and literate. To tip the scale one way or the other, 15 national seats were included. One of these was set aside as a reserved seat for Asians. The remaining 14 were paired up and for each candidate to succeed he was required to win at least one-tenth support of Europeans and one-tenth of Africans voting in his constituency. In addition he was required to win not less than one-fifth support from either of the racial groups.

IT WAS THOUGHT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT that this device would encourage politics to develop on non-racial lines. It was intended that candidates would find it imperative to appeal to voters of both major races in order to be returned.

But unfortunately, the anticipated result was still-born. What in fact happened was that instead of the United Federal Party making their policies liberal enough in order to attract African support, they entered into an electoral pact with anti-Federation but much-weaker African National Congress. The two parties had nothing in common except a common determination to prevent a UNIP government. UFP wanted this because it saw in that action, its only chance to return to power. Nkumbula, whose ANC has been depleted by Kaunda's abler leadership followed the line that since he could not win he might

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as well prevent Kaunda doing so despite their common aspirations.

Although the ANC has presumably suffered from this association with a 'strange bed-fellow', the pact worked out well in areas where the ANC was strong enough to represent the required minimum one-tenth of the African vote and both parties benefited by two members each.

On the other hand, for nine months prior to the elections, the UNIP leader, Kaunda, made constant pleas for a fresh start and a realistic approach to the country's future. He addressed countless European meetings; some consisting of miners of the Copperbelt, others of European professionals and businessmen.

His general theme at the meetings was that Europeans should be accepted as citizens of the country who should not fear the advent of an African government. His party's view was that it would be wrong to ask Europeans to stay solely because of their technical skill or because of their capital. They should stay because they were fellow human beings.

"If we ask them to stay because of their capital or technical know-how, their stay can only be temporary. Because it would mean that as soon as Africans can find new sources of capital and have gained technical skill, they can send the Europeans packing. This would be inhuman, unjust, unChristian and unAfrican," he said.

That Europeans did not believe Kaunda became evident in the results of the election—particularly in the figures for the national seats—where it was necessary to break the votes into colour groups and express them as percentages before the results were declared. Figures show that where an election pact did not exist, European support for an African candidate averaged less than five per cent. The highest percentage scored by a UNIP candidate from Europeans was scored by a white candidate who polled 3.2% of the European vote in his constituency. The highest scored by an African UNIP candidate was 2.3 which is 23 in a thousand.

Kaunda interprets this to mean that Europeans have rejected his hand of friendship. He claims that during the campaign large numbers of Europeans he addressed assured him of their support in the elections. But he was shocked to find that the reverse was in fact the case. He claims that many of them told him they did not like Federation and that if they were voting for principles, they should have voted for his party.

On the other hand, Sir Roy Welensky has said that the fact that Kaunda's party did not win, is an indication that the electorate has rejected the extremism of African nationalist leaders. Kaunda argues that far from being rejected, he in fact got a mandate from the electorate to demand a new constitution and to dismantle Federation. Kaunda's party polled 78 per cent of the lower roll vote and captured nearly three times as many votes as did the UFP which because of the exotic constitution won one more seat than UNIP.

THE REJECTION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY by Africans at the polls Kaunda interprets as meaning that Africans no longer want to be ruled by predominantly white governments. The Liberal Party, while agreeing with UNIP that Federation should be scrapped now, maintained that the African needed a period of tutelage of

about five years during which he would be prepared for eventual take-over.

One other point that the election has cleared is the claim often heard that the more educated and sophisticated African is moderate. That he does not subscribe to what is often called "the rantings of African nationalists". This is also applied to chiefs. Results and events shortly following the elections show that this is not so. They show that voting amongst this type of African—represented by the upper roll African—was solidly for the more militant UNIP. This vote was solely responsible for winning UNIP the northern rural seat where it outnumbered the white vote.

A revelation which has annoyed the African is that contrary to common belief that the Asian was more sympathetic to African nationalist aspirations, the bulk of the Asian vote went to the UFP. Shortly after elections, a strong anti-Asian feeling started breeding on the Copperbelt and it soon led to small sporadic unofficial boycotts of Asian-owned shops which also affected some European businessmen and hurried appeals from Asians were made to UNIP headquarters to intervene.

The results of the general election make it imperative for the British Government to step in and decide the issue. At the moment, Kaunda—whether he wins Nkumbula over to join him in an anti-Federation coalition government or not—is determined that he shall now take over because his party had more votes than all the other parties put together and had three times as many votes as the UFP, although it won one more seat.

Ten years ago, Welensky said: "As far as I am concerned I want the African to be a friend. At the same time, I want to make it clear to him that I, as a white man, have no intention of abdicating the position; no intention whatsoever. I am prepared to share it with him to the extent that he is able to add to the development of the State. There is to be no abdication. I want to make it crystal clear."

There is no indication so far that Sir Roy has changed his mind since. When this constitution was being devised, it was his successful interference in London that made the British Government water down their proposals causing a strong reaction in the territory resulting in the notorious anti-government disturbances of last year.

Kaunda has packed his bag ready to jump on a plane to London if he does not form the government. On the other hand, "Royboy" is determined that nothing should be done that would threaten the existence of the Federation. An African government in Northern Rhodesia would be a serious threat. Can he be expected to take it lying down?

Finally, the election results and events shortly afterwards can be briefly interpreted to mean—

1. That Europeans overwhelmingly favour the continuance of (a) Federation and (b) white rule;
2. That revelations have profoundly shaken the African who thought that a substantial number of European civil servants were neutral and uncommitted in the tug-of-war between African and European nationalism;

3. That most Africans—including their chiefs—want the immediate break-up of Federation and the introduction of African or majority rule without further delay;
4. That contrary to popular belief Indians here, are more sympathetic to European than to African nationalist aspirations. ●

## Words

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THE GLITTERING CENTREPIECE in the government's Bantustan window display is the Jongilizwe School for the Sons of Chiefs at Tsolo in the Transkei. Photographed, eulogised and much visited, the School lends a most satisfying argument to those who say "at least the Nats are sincere". What better witness than these pleasant buildings, the boiler suits and black berets of the boys, the up-to-date educational methods, the daring news that overseas periodicals are circulated there (though I know only of *The Reader's Digest* being available), above all the sensible idea of training in the "Eton of the Transkei" the young chiefs-to-be for their future duties.

The boys (seventy-two of them of whom only three are chiefs' heirs) learn some interesting subjects—"Diplomacy" for instance, and "Bantu Law", which is the province of the Principal, Mr. H. Jansen van Rensburg. The contents of the "Bantu Law", however, are the base metal behind the glitter of Captain College (as many of the boys call it, *kaptein* being the Afrikaans word for chief). This can be seen from Mr. van Rensburg's lecture notes which are duplicated for the students. They have some strange titles, and there are some strange questions in the test papers that accompany them. On the Lecture "The Republic's Attitude to Emergent Africa" for instance, there are these questions: "3. Describe the Cold War in Africa, with particular reference to the Congo Republic, under the following headings: (a) How the Communists fight the Cold War; (b) The role played by Rajeshwar Dayal and Antoine Gizenga; (c) The position of the United Nations force OR 4. 'Countries are not real in Africa, tribes are real.' Why do we make this statement? Describe." (Why indeed? Perhaps only a psychiatrist's casebook could tell.)

Most revealing of all are the contents of the lectures themselves. "Community Development in the Transkei.

*Notes on the written word.*

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Its Nature, Means and Possibilities" is one such. In its 23 pages Mr. van Rensburg's hilarious misuse of English is memorable on its own, though the reader is irritated as often as amused by the incomprehensibility of some passages. Thus, "2. *What is the aim of a community?* As will be noted from the above, the primary aim of a community as such. A community does not do anything for the aged, the infirm, the sick, the orphan, the low standard of living. The community as a whole serves itself, by providing for its own."

ITS CHIEF SOURCE OF INTEREST, however, lies in the picture of the future Transkei which is implanted in the minds of the Form IV (pre-matriculation) students hearing the lecture, and which is in the mind of Mr. Jansen van Rensburg himself. (It should be added that Mr. van Rensburg is believed to be in a special position of trust: he does not, rumour has it, have to bow to irksome Departmental control.)

So perhaps he is at one with Dr. Verwoerd himself in believing that "the members of the Bantu Community of the Transkei have exactly the same culture" and "all fall under the same authority and acknowledge (it) as binding." Therefore, in starting community projects, the lecture says, it is "custom for the Bantu to be led by their traditional authority and it is therefore them, and them alone, who can and *must* take the lead in community projects." White society gets specialists to undertake such projects and taxes itself heavily to pay for them but the "Bantu member of a Community has no money to give, he or she can only give himself or

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