

It is not that the Malawians do not want white people. Dr. Banda has encouraged expatriate civil servants and technicians to stay. Young Malawians positively resent the exodus of Europeans; one young civil servant said that they ought to be ready to make a sacrifice for Malawi. But in future expatriates are going to be hired on contract rather than as career men. This will mean that Malawi will only get, on the one hand, young men with a spirit of adventure who will leave as easily as they came, and, on the other hand, expensive experts. The country is going to miss the experience of middle rank people who have spent years making the administration work.

The government has recently followed the recommendations of the Civil Service Commission of Enquiry which had T. M. Skinner as Chairman. This has prepared the way for Africanisation. It will no longer be assumed that the Administrative Grade are expatriates. Those Malawians who have, for the last year or so, benefitted from this, will now find that, due to increased superannuation, they will receive less. Rent for their housing will be economic and there will be no loans for buying refrigerators or building houses. They will no longer receive the long leave which was necessary to attract people from Britain on paid passages; it had in fact become an embarrassment since a civil servant would have to vacate his house while on leave and either travel, which is expensive, or go to his village, which could be equally expensive.

Last year the Ministers cut their own pay by 10%. As Dr. Banda says, "We must depend on our own resources to achieve our aims".

IN SUCH WAYS Dr. Banda will run the country on a practical level. He is not going to be tempted into schemes for the sake of newspaper prestige. Unfortunately, he under-rates public relations. He is gruff and rude to pressmen and they are correspondingly gruff and rude about Malawi. The incident on the Blantyre-Zomba road, when some white people were manhandled by the police when they failed to get out of the way of the Prime Minister's car, was given wide coverage. Sympathetic pressmen would have understood how the incident happened. The tarmac is twelve feet wide and has twelve feet wide shoulders. The police move the traffic off on to the shoulders for the Prime Minister; it is a reasonable precaution taken to safeguard the most important person in the country on a road which killed Dunduzu Chisiza. Obviously, both the people involved and the police contributed to the incident. The importance of the incident is that it is isolated.

THIS ROAD is perhaps the measure of the smallness of Malawian society. Just after one passes the bridge where Chisiza crashed one tired night, one sees D. S. Arden, the Bishop of Nyasaland, going in the opposite direction. He, like the Governor Sir Glyn Jones, who is on the road on another day, has gained the confidence of Malawians. Orton Chirwa, the Minister of Justice, drives past just before Peter Mackay, the man who resisted Federal conscription. They are all people who are going, in spite of the numerous problems, to make independent Malawi work in a practical and unspectacular manner. ●

Verwoerd's South African 'Commonwealth' Solution

A Moderate View

N. BARNEY BOLOANG

IT WOULD BE in everybody's interests to settle the race problem in South Africa; but a fair settlement is today more difficult than ever before. The old British policy aimed at the satisfaction of the African without injury to the future of Europeans. African contentment in those days was due not so much to what the British Government had achieved for their benefit as to the clear intention of the statesmen to give the African a square deal. Today, however, the Africans are entirely unconsidered except as the lawful prey of the pass and tax police.

Under the Government's control the Africans have no rights of citizenship, but they are conscious of their right to oppose an openly oppressive Government, although they are impotent to assert it. They are being crushed into a perpetual dull acceptance of their helplessness, and they feel the urge for a better condition only when the United Nations protests against apartheid. Even then, they find themselves confronted with the *animus* of White government officers who intensify influx control and job reservation, which, respectively, forbid free movement and entry into White crafts and professions.

In the towns the Africans are in a rather better position than those in the Bantustans, where the land is woefully arid or inadequate. The position in the towns is relieved by the regular wages they earn, whereas in the Bantustans there are virtually no industries nor any work to be had. Doubtless, the uplift of the Africans will not be an important feature of the Government in the foreseeable future, as instanced by the "one man, one business" law, which the city councils are so anxious to enforce. The Bantustan Africans will never cease to clamour for work in the towns. Their constant contact with civilized conditions in towns will make them conscious of their many disabilities, this resulting in further dissatisfaction.

The race policy cannot be made to fit fairly into the country's economic organisation unless it is released from colour and party considerations. Moreover, it is essential

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to a satisfactory and permanent solution that the European should show himself to be prepared for a compromise and sacrifice.

The 1913 Land Act gave only 13 per cent of the country's land to Africans. It is always difficult to yield and to hold, but the Government is perennially hopeful that a solution will be found by incorporating the British Protectorates, that is, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, leaving the 87 per cent of land occupied by Whites intact.

It simply is not feasible for 80 per cent of the population to be settled on 13 per cent of the land. If Africans are given land it must be fairly divided. It is doubtless possible to devise a plan for the equitable distribution of the land at a round-table conference of Black and White. The present apportioning of land is neither feasible nor fair, because it does not give the African an equal opportunity with the European. The land cannot be divided on any formula that admits the disadvantage of colour; nor can a period be put to the present African unrest and discontent until the White man convinces himself of the reasonableness of African demands and reconciles himself to the inevitability of ultimate concession.

It would have been easier to settle the land question in 1913 or even 1936 than it is today. It is a much more simple matter to give justice now than it will be in 10 years' time. This is the unassailable fact that Parliament should concentrate upon, together with the certainty that the Bantustan Act is not even the beginning of a fair deal.

Fortunately there are many thoughtful Europeans who regard the Bantustans as impracticable. Any non-partisan

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examination of the Bantustan concept would not fail to detect the hand of tradition and the strong intention "to keep the native in his place".

Dr. Verwoerd is trying to give away something without losing anything. He is plainly essaying the impossible by sprinkling Bantustan enclaves everywhere in the Republic, and the result will be chaos—or would be if his present plans would mature. The Europeans hold much that the Africans should have: until they are prepared to give to a reasonable extent, there can be no end to the race conflict. The Bantustan Act is obviously hopeless as a means to render the land difficulty less acute and peace will not be assured so long as an issue of such economic importance is approached from a purely political and selfish angle.

THERE IS, ALSO, the question of the African vote. The Prime Minister desires Africans to vote in the far away and overcrowded Bantustans, like the Transkei, with which the majority of the urban population has long lost contact, if they ever had one. Obviously there is no desire for the general uplift of the Black masses, nor is there any opportunity offered to the more advanced Africans for their continued progress towards civilization and full citizenship. If, therefore, it is the duty of those who run the country's affairs to stimulate the people's progress and enable them to attain to a higher and better life, then the influx control and the Bantustan Act are clearly dishonest, because the one endorses the urban Africans out, while allowing Bantustan Africans into towns with special permits (C/E — Conditional Employment), the other retrogressive and unworkable. It must be noted that the urban Africans have spent years in being trained, whereas the Bantustan Africans have not.

Dr. Verwoerd asks for the support of all Whites for his apartheid policy and appeals to the Africans that ultimately, at a "Commonwealth Conference" of Black and White, South Africa will solve its problems. This is precisely what the country, Black and White, has been demanding for a very long time. The country would gladly welcome such a non-party, multi-racial conference to deliberate on the best and surest manner in which to approach an issue so momentous and so fraught with possibly disastrous consequences. But there is an uneasy feeling abroad, with many people detained and others muzzled, that the Government's call to a "Commonwealth Conference" does not imply that the Government would value such a "conference" if there was no agreement to base it on apartheid.

A multi-racial conference would be wasted if one section insisted that the structure aimed at should be built on a foundation planned and set to their own formula. To be of real service a round-table conference must imply open-mindedness and the will to consider the other's opinion. There is more than one reason to believe that Dr. Verwoerd and those on his side are anxious only for the general approval of their own design, faulty as it may be, but the Africans will respond to the appeal only on condition that the Government will agree to renounce their assumed right to determine what is good for the African, and to submit to the demolition of their apartheid skeleton edifice, if it should be proved to be unsuitable and unsafe.