

# The Transkei's answer - 1

"Self-rule" and its sequel,  
from the viewpoint of the  
All-African Convention and Unity Movement

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THE FASCIST GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA has decreed that the whole of the African population of 11 million shall be isolated, and insulated from the world stream of progress and modern civilisation. Under the aegis of apartheid a whole people must be put on the road to barbarism and degradation. In this way it is hoped to reduce the African to the position of a helot who is ever willing to serve at his White master's table. The state of laws that have been passed against the Africans by the Broederbond Government since it came into power in 1948 has had one purpose in view: to regiment and control the African population in order to satisfy the cheap labour demands of White South Africa's mines, farms, factories and kitchens.

The system of Bantustans has to be seen against this background. It is a Machiavellian plan designed by the Herrenvolk of South Africa to solve this and other ancillary problems. The fraud was intended, *inter alia*, to dupe the oppressed and restive masses of the people in South Africa and to placate the critics of apartheid abroad, especially at the United Nations. But the sinister designs of the South African ruling class are always draped in finery. Thus when the Herrenvolk Parliament passed the Transkei Constitution Act (Act No. 48 of 1963) it was in order to confer "self-rule" on the Transkei.

The organisations united under the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement have always been the arch-enemies of apartheid in all its connotations. Thus as soon as the details of the scheme were released, the A.A.C. at once exposed it as a devilish plan for the ultimate enslavement of the whole Non-White population. It was intended as a blue-print for the rest of the oppressed Non-White peoples in South Africa. (See "Transkei Self-Rule a Monstrous Fraud," published by the All-African Convention.)

The Transkei was a strategic choice. For years this part of the country had been a veritable cauldron of the liberatory ideas of the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement. It had been the centre of the political boycott movement and opposition to the rehabilitation scheme (see "Rehabilitation Scheme A Fraud" and "The Boycott as a Weapon of Struggle" (1952) by I. B. Tabata). The Rehabilitation Scheme is a device for the further impoverishment of the already poor peasants by culling their stock further, subdividing their small and inadequate land allotments, demolishing whole villages and removing the population and fencing the commonage so as to regiment and control grazing.

This peasant resistance movement has had its episodes which future historians will record in letters of fire and gold. For instance, in 1948, this movement led to the arrest and prosecution at Mount Ayliff (part of Pondoland) of Mr. I. B. Tabata, who was then engaged in the work of organising the peasantry under the banner of the All-African Convention to fight for their right to live as free men and women in their motherland. His dramatic acquittal gave a tremendous impetus to the struggle against the Rehabilitation Scheme in the Transkei and elsewhere. Peasant Committees sprang up all over the country, but especially in the Transkei and the Ciskei, and affiliated to the All-African Convention.

AS THE ARROGANCE OF THE HERRENVOLK grew apace like a weed and as the crisis of oppression deepened, so did the forces of resistance consolidate themselves into a solid bloc. Thus, by the time the rulers of South Africa foisted upon the population of the Transkei the fraud of "self-rule" there had been in some areas a sharp division of the population into two categories — those who accepted oppression and those who were opposed to it — the collaborators and the Jacobins, as the people called them. Invariably the chiefs fell under the class of collaborators and everywhere in the country opposition mounted against these puppets of the Government. This general revolt reached its climax in Pondoland where several known collaborators were liquidated in 1960. The whole countryside was seething with discontent and "boycott" and "non-collaboration" became the watchwords. The collaborator-in-chief, Kaizer Matanzima, his brother, George, the disgraced attorney, who is now the Transkei Bantustan's Minister of Justice, and others like them accused the leadership of the All-African Convention and called for its incarceration.

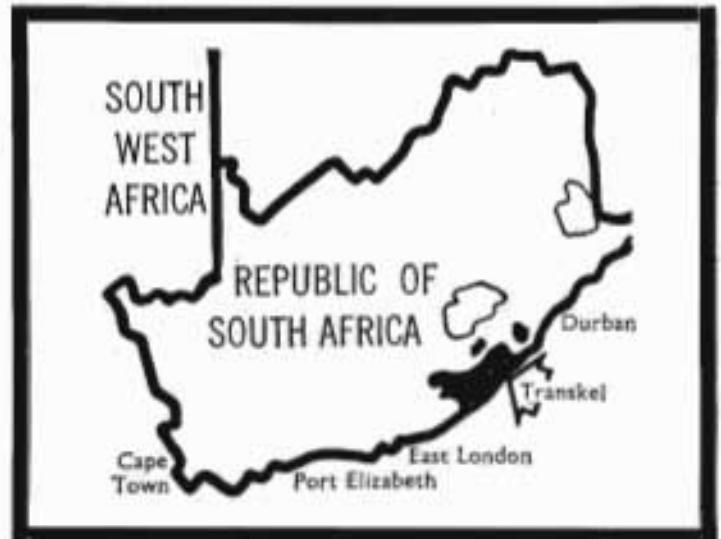
The Broederbond Government fully appreciated the situation that had arisen. With the full collaboration of their lackeys, the rulers of South Africa promptly gazetted the notorious Emergency Proclamations 400 and 413, which have been in operation ever since. Thousands of people were arrested, jailed, prosecuted and convicted. The President and the General Secretary of the All-African Convention, Messrs. N. Honono and R. S. Canca were among those detained in terms of the Proclamations. Mr. Honono remained in jail for six months without trial. War was truly declared on the Liberation Movement in the Transkei.

Under the Proclamations it is an offence:

- (a) to hold any meeting of more than ten people;
- (b) for any person to make any statement or do any act which may interfere with the authority of the Native Commissioner, the chief or headman;
- (c) for anyone to organise or take part in a boycott of any meeting called by the Native Commissioner, chief or headman;
- (d) for any African to refuse or neglect to obey "any lawful order issued by the chief or headman to whose authority he is subject";
- (e) for any African to treat "the chief or headman to whose authority he is subject with disrespect, contempt or ridicule" or to neglect "to show that respect."

As if the above provisions were not sufficiently totalitarian, the framers of these and other similar edicts went on to provide that any person suspected of committing any offence might be detained indefinitely and was not entitled to consult with a legal adviser. The authorities were not going to take chances with the Transkei. They knew then as they know now that the struggle for liberation in South Africa will come to fruition on the broad back of the peasant movement. In this regard the Transkei could take the lead.

IT WAS IN THIS ATMOSPHERE that the Transkei Bantustan was imposed upon the nearly two million people resident in that concentration camp. At once the inherent contradictions in the situation emerged. The officially recognised leaders of the people in the Transkei are either policemen-chiefs, policemen-headmen or policemen-intellectuals who manned and operated the Bantu Authorities system. Against the expressed wishes of the people they claimed to represent, they accepted the self-rule fraud in the same way as



*Kaizer Matanzima*

*Sabata Dalindyebo*

they had accepted similar dummy institutions before — the Bhungas and then the Bantu Authorities system. In this way they ensured the continued domination of the Transkei by the fascist Republic of South Africa. On the other hand, the people themselves were determined more than ever before to throw off the chains and shackles of domination. They demonstrated this in spite of the sword of Damocles that hung over their heads menacingly.

Amongst the accomplices themselves a personality battle arose. From the beginning it was as much a struggle for power as it was a struggle for the tender kiss of the master's jackboot. There was no question of political principle involved. For all accepted the basic position of servitude. Matanzima put himself at the head of one group of quislings while the other group preferred to collaborate under the leadership of Victor Poto, one of the first of the Transkei Government stooges to accept and thus expose his people to the ravages of the Rehabilitation Scheme and an ex-member together with Chief Albert Lutuli and Professor Z. K. Matthews of the infamous Natives Representative Council. The chequered history of both these collaborators was well known to the oppressed people generally although Matanzima had earned for himself the notoriety of being the most hated quisling in South Africa — the Tshombe of that country. By all considerations, Poto had the best chance in this disgraceful circus. With great expectation he looked

forward to the day when he would preside over the funeral rites of the nation. His hopes were shattered.

The Nationalist wing of the *Herrenvolk* made one mistake. They did Poto an injustice by thinking he was in opposition to them and they insisted on having their own offspring in the saddle — Kaizer Matanzima. They created a massive machinery which they promptly and vigorously set in motion to boost their quisling child. The press, the radio and every organ of propaganda was pressed in this campaign. The Native Commissioners and Hans Abraham, Commissioner-General for the Xhosa-speaking group, one of the three watch-dogs chosen by Verwoerd to keep watch over his Bantustan Kingdom, were actively engaged in the task of ensuring that Matanzima got to the top. To the last Verwoerd's and Vorster's representatives were actively manoeuvring in favour of Kaizer Matanzima.

This partiality on the part of their common father naturally puzzled and angered Poto and his disciples. The South African Liberals and members of the reactionary Progressive Party wasted no time in exploiting the situation in the interests of *Herrenvolkism* and capitalism. From now on the stage was set for the formation of political parties in the Transkei on the pattern of existing *Herrenvolk* political parties in the country. Events were taking an interesting turn.

Transkei

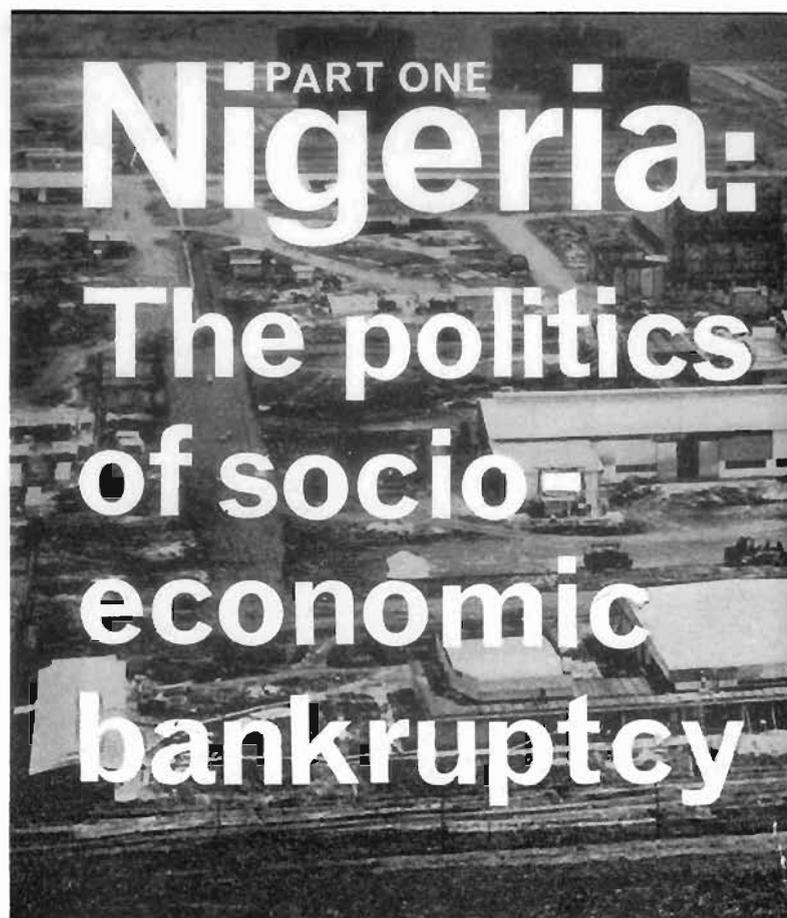
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES had not been contemplated by the authors of the Bantustans. But their brain-child had a will of its own. Thus two major parties were formed in the Transkei. Since Matanzima supported and was supported by Verwoerd's Party, Poto would oppose both Matanzima and Verwoerd's Party. Since the major opposition party in South Africa, the United Party, had become indistinguishable from the Nationalist Party, Poto would support the Liberals and the Progressive Party who supported him in furtherance of their own political ends. Poto called his party the Democratic Party of South Africa while the tribal, parochial Matanzima called his the Transkei National Independence Party. Both these parties reflected the two wings of the ruling-class — the Liberals and the Apartheidists. Thus did we have the drama of politics played on the South African stage re-enacted in miniature form.

The masses of the African people were not deceived. They insisted on their demand for one-man, one-vote participation in the making of the laws of the country, their own country. This set the pace for all concerned. The United Party proclaimed its alliance with Verwoerd when its leader, De Villiers Graaff made his now notorious "one man, one vote, over my dead body" speech. The reply to this speech by Poto's Party showed how far this group had been alienated. It came from Sabata Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of the Tembu, who condemned both Verwoerd's Party and the United Party and rejected dummy political institutions. He said: "One man, one vote makes the most appeal to me and to many other Africans." He went on: "There is very little difference, if any, between the policy of the party of which he (De Villiers Graaff) is the leader and that of the Nationalists."

I HAVE SAID THAT THE PEOPLE themselves were not taken in by the Bantustan fraud. Where they were consulted they expressed their rejection of this system in no uncertain terms. Both the rulers and the collaborators knew this. The fraud, however, had to be foisted upon the population and on the surface it seemed that the mischief was working, that the people were being effectively involved in the operation of this machinery of their own enslavement. One may well ask, therefore: How did this come about? This was only possible because of the general atmosphere of terror that prevailed, not only in the Transkei but throughout the country. There was the shock of the general state of emergency created by the Sabotage Act; there were the bannings, the house-arrests; the prosecutions, savage sentences and the hangings of freedom fighters; there were the various techniques employed in order to bludgeon everyone into conformity — threats, intimidation and outright persecution by Verwoerd's and Vorster's agents of terror, who were let loose on the population to wreak vengeance upon the opponents of the Verwoerdian regime with the full backing and protection of the law of the land. In the Transkei itself there was in addition, the Emergency Proclamation 400 of 1960 which placed that part of South Africa under martial law. As a result of its application, hundreds were apprehended to languish and rot in the jails of the Transkei as many are doing today. ●

[To be continued



# ■ PART ONE ■ Nigeria: The politics of socio- economic bankruptcy

"Behind the febrile boom town fever of downtown Lagos and Port Harcourt . . . stand the brutal realities of up to 45% of the labour force unemployed in Lagos, Ibadan and Onitsha." ABOVE is the £10m. refinery being built at Port Harcourt. It will refine some of the oil from the Niger delta. BELOW is the twenty-five storey Federal Government building built for prestige in the Federal capital, Lagos.

