

## (7) The Protectorates

by MURIEL FISHER

EVER SINCE the creation of the British Protectorates, Basutoland (1868), Bechuanaland (1895) and Swaziland (1906), it has been the dream of successive South African governments that these countries, so obviously geographically parts of South Africa, should be incorporated politically. There was, in fact, provision in the 1910 Act of Union for such incorporation, should the peoples of the Protectorates so desire. That provision lapsed when South Africa became a Republic in 1960.

The African Revolution has put an end to that dream. South Africa now sees three independent African states about to emerge, two on her borders and the third, Basutoland, completely within her own area.

### BASUTOLAND

IT IS DIFFICULT to see how Basutoland, a little mountain enclave the size of Belgium, can survive economically without massive aid from U.N. and Britain. It has neither land nor industries, and of its population of 800,000 more than half the adult males work in the Republic, so that Basutoland has justly been called a "remittance state". Its people live mainly on money sent home by their menfolk working on South African farms and in South African mines and factories, while more than a million Sotho live permanently in the Republic.

Basutoland's total annual revenue is less than R2 million, of which half comes from South African customs dues. Yet the Sotho people are more literate, more politically conscious and more independent than the people of the other Protectorates. They are well aware that South Africa can quite easily strangle them economically by closing the hitherto disregarded border to prevent Basutos seeking work in the Republic, a situation which could lead to another "Air Lift" as happened in West Berlin; but in spite of this they are fiercely determined to be independent.

### Constitutional Commission's proposals

The main proposals of the Basutoland Constitutional Commission's report, released in October 1963, were:

- (1) Internal self-government in 1964 and full independence in 1965.
- (2) A Parliament of 54 or 60 members directly elected by universal suffrage, and a Senate of the 22 principal chiefs and 11 members nominated by the Head of State.

- (3) Basutoland to be renamed **Lesotho** and the Paramount Chief, **Moshoeshoe II**, to be the Head of State as a Constitutional Monarch.
- (4) Lesotho to be given separate citizenship, its own flag and anthem and membership of the Commonwealth.
- (5) Diplomatic relations with South Africa to be established even before independence, with a Basuto diplomat accommodated in the British Embassy in Pretoria.
- (6) The Constitution to contain a **Bill of Human Rights and Freedoms**, and certain clauses dealing *inter alia* with the King's position, the franchise and the powers of Parliament to be entrenched and made alterable only by referendum.

Basutoland is impatient with British administration to the extent that its legislature recently took the unprecedented step of rejecting the Queen's Address on the ground that Britain is not effectively protecting Basuto interests in South Africa. The British Government on the other hand thinks that the constitutional proposals would give an excess of authority to the territory at the expense of Britain, which would still have the responsibility without the necessary control.

These matters will be hammered out at the Constitutional Conference in London in 1964. During the transition year the British High Commissioner in Pretoria will be replaced by a "British adviser" in Maseru.

**Mokhehle** is the leader of the strongest political party, and should he win, there might be trouble with South Africa.



(Rand Daily Mail)

## SWAZILAND

**F**ERTILE, well-watered and rich in minerals, Swaziland has attracted more Whites, mainly from South Africa, than the other Protectorates. One-third of its 300,000 people are farming citrus, sugar and timber for paper mills. **Havelock** is the world's largest asbestos mine and Japan buys large quantities of iron ore from Swaziland. A new railway line now under construction will run not through South Africa but to Lourenço Marques.

Of the three Protectorates Swaziland has the best prospects of achieving a viable independence, but only because her economy is so closely inte-

grated with that of South Africa. The Swazis themselves are mainly poor and badly educated.

## Divided politically

But in spite of its natural advantages, Swaziland is divided politically between the traditionalists, who support the leadership of the **Ngwenyama** (the Lion), their Paramount Chief, **Sobhuza II**, and the Nationalists, who are again divided into various political parties. The Whites, who are mainly responsible for Swaziland's rapid development, are yet another political factor.

Swazi politics are highly involved. Here tribalism and African nationalism are clashing even more strongly than in other African states. Nationalism is the modern trend, but tribalism, which gives security, is still of great importance to the less educated tribesman.

The clash became most obvious at the Constitutional Conference in London in January 1963. The Swazi National Council, which supports the Paramount Chief, and the European National Council, headed by Mr. Carl Todd, were in agreement on a "50-50 scheme", which would give equal representation in the legislative assembly to the 9,000 Whites and the 250,000 Swazis, with the White members elected on a common roll and the Africans elected by tribal custom, i.e. public acclamation. A situation unusual in Africa then arose of only minor demands for "one man, one vote" from the smaller political parties, demands which would deprive the Paramount Chief of much of his power. Nationalism was thus opposing traditionalism.

Also opposed to the "50-50 scheme" were the Resident Commissioner and his officials, who put forward proposals which would eventually result in majority rule for the Africans.

(Continued overleaf)

## THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES (Continued from Page 19)

the obvious target of Mozambique, but on **Portuguese Guinea**, part of which was invaded by revolutionaries. Guerillas seized the swampy southern part and troops had to be flown out from Lisbon to defend the territory, still another strain on Portugal's resources.

### Looking southward

Naturally, Portuguese eyes are turning southward to the only other country equally determined not to yield to world opinion. At the end of 1963, after lengthy discussions, Portugal and South

Africa agreed on the construction of a dam on the Kunene River, the Angola-S.W.A. border, which, with a hydro-electric scheme, will change the face of South West Africa. Ovamboland will be freed from the threat of drought, but that is not all. The **Odendaal Commission** is expected to recommend the creation of Bantustans in parts of South West Africa and Ovamboland is likely to be the first. There are Ovambos over the border in Angola and obviously Portugal and South Africa have many joint plans for the future.

## AFRICAN REVOLUTION (Continued)

Neither these proposals nor those of the British Government were acceptable to all parties and the Conference broke up in disagreement in February.

### Interim Constitution

In May 1963 the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, produced an interim Constitution aiming at African majority rule with due protection for the traditionalists and the White minority. It provided for a Legislative Council of a Speaker, 4 officials, some nominated members, and 24 elected members: (a) 8 Swazis elected by tribal methods, (b) 8 Whites, 4 elected on a European roll and 4 on a non-racial roll, and (c) 8 men of any race elected from a national roll.

This Constitution, though unenthusiastically received both by Whites and by the small but growing African political parties, was a marked step forward towards self-government. The Swazi National Council and the Paramount Chief for some time made no comment, while they considered the matter.

### Strike at Havelock Mine

A strike in June at the Havelock Mine for £1 a day wages and the repeal of the new constitution, organized by the Ngwane (Swazi) National Liberation Congress, spread rapidly, until the British airlifted a battalion of troops in from Kenya and broke the strike. Sobhuza advised his people to return to work and the ringleaders were arrested. Quiet little Swaziland had had a memorable and, to the simple tribesman, a terrifying experience.

### Petition to the Queen

In July a deputation from the Paramount Chief and his Council held further talks in London to ask for changes in the constitution, but without success. In September the Council announced that it would petition the Queen, because Britain had no moral right to impose a constitution on a protected country. They held meetings all over the country to put before the Swazis the British proposals and those of their own King. In a highly tribal society the choice was obvious.

The petition by the King was presented in November, objecting to portions of the constitution and putting forward Sobhuza's own proposals for a simpler electoral system, less power for the Commissioner and more for the King himself and for revised land and mineral rights. While the petition was before the House of Commons Chief

Sobhuza announced that in December he would hold a referendum of all races in Swaziland on the constitutional issue.

Oddly enough, in the new Africa, this is the only constitution which is being opposed because it is too advanced and too liberal. Some observers see behind the opposition the influence of the South African Government, since it is clearly not to Dr. Verwoerd's advantage to have a multi-racial state flourishing on his doorstep.

(Since this article was written, the referendum of all races has pronounced overwhelmingly in favour of the King.)

## BECHUANALAND

**I**N CONTRAST to the political turbulence agitating Swaziland, the third Protectorate, Bechuanaland, is progressing smoothly towards independence. A huge sprawling country, larger than France, yet with only 350,000 people, it has deserts, swamps and plains, wealth and poverty, and only one real industry — beef. The people lead a tribal life and only in the few small towns along the railway line does one find emerging political parties and, of course, the South African political refugees. Like Basutoland its revenue is dependent upon South Africa from customs dues, employment and cattle and meat exports. Its 4,000 Whites enjoy equal representation on the legislature with the 350,000 Africans, though this unequal arrangement is unlikely to continue in the new constitution now being worked out.

As in Swaziland, the traditionalists are dominant, but the young men returning from working in the Republic are imbued with nationalism. Seretse Khama's Democratic Party still seems to lead, and his qualities of moderation and statesmanship, plus the support of his powerful Bamangwato tribe, may make him Bechuanaland's first Prime Minister. Naturally, as a prohibited immigrant to South Africa, he is hostile towards its Government, but is opposed to Bechuanaland's being used in any way which might damage its future.

### A modern multi-racial state

Constitutional talks recently held in Lobatsi, between the three political parties, Government officials, business men and farmers, amazingly quickly reached unanimous agreement on the principles of a new constitution for a modern multi-racial state. There is provision for universal adult suffrage, a Prime Minister and Cabinet, and a House of Chiefs to examine draft legislation on tribal matters.

The Queen's Commissioner, Mr. Peter Fawcus, who is answerable to the Secretary for State for Colonies, will retain responsibility for defence, external affairs, finance and other important matters. It is said to be largely due to his foresight and diplomacy that self-government is having so smooth a beginning.

Simultaneously, with independence at hand — and this applies to all the Protectorates — huge

development plans are afoot in every sphere of Bechuanaland's life to ensure that independence is coupled with prosperity. Money is flowing in from Britain and from international organizations, and naturally enough the material and the skills are provided by the great industrial neighbour, South Africa.

Bechuanaland plans to hold a general election late in 1964 or early in 1965 and independence should follow shortly.

## SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

### (8) South West Africa

by MURIEL FISHER

**S**OUTH WEST AFRICA is one of the many problems which the African Revolution has brought to Dr. Verwoerd's Government. A German colony since the 1880's, it was mandated to South Africa by the League of Nations after 1918. Of the population of 600,000 there are 66,000 Whites — half Afrikaners, one-third Germans — while the African tribes consist of the Ovambo, the Herero, the Namaqua Hottentots and the Berg Damara. Karakul sheep, diamonds and some base minerals provide the country's very substantial income. Economically, South West Africa could afford to be independent.

Under the old League of Nations a mandatory country could administer, but not incorporate, the mandated territory, and had to report on its administration. The United Nations believe that the mandate should pass into the U.N. trusteeship, but this South Africa has refused to allow and no longer even reports on its administration of South West Africa.

Liberia and Ethiopia, former League members,

invoked the jurisdiction of the International Court. Firstly, the Court decided by a narrow majority that it had jurisdiction over the dispute. It then went on to consider whether U.N. was the heir to the League of Nations and this decision is still being awaited. Should it go against South Africa, the United Nations will probably demand a cancellation of the mandate and the independence of South West Africa. What will happen then is anybody's guess.

## WRONG CHOICE

**T**HE END OF 1963 sees the Republic of South Africa facing a hostile continent and an impatient world. For the first time the African Revolution has been brought to her very borders by events in Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, the Protectorates and South West Africa. The transformation of the Transkei into a Bantustan with very limited powers will not reconcile her with a world to which racial discrimination is anathema, as long as racial discrimination, enforced by harsh laws, is her official policy.

The many countries of Africa have achieved, or are about to achieve, independence. There are many people in South Africa who regret this fact, who strive to prevent the old order of racial domination from giving place to the new freedom, many who would halt history in its stride. But what is happening in Africa, the African Revolution itself, is only the logical outcome of events arising from the defeat of Fascist tyranny by the forces of freedom in the Second World War.

The pity of it is that South Africa, with her wealth and initiative, her mineral, industrial and human potential, has made the wrong choice. Instead of being a leader of and a model for the new African states, she has chosen to become the target of their hostility and the despair of the Western world. It is difficult to see how one country, however buoyant its economy, can long withstand the mounting pressures of a continent and a world. **The tree that will not bend before the storm must sooner or later break.**