

SOUTH AFRICAN IMPERIALISM

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BOTH THE SOUTH AFRICAN and the foreign press are full of reports these days about the improvement in South Africa's 'image' since Vorster came into office as Prime Minister. The picture of the stern and forbidding police chief associated with 90- and 180-day imprisonment without trial and the torture of political prisoners has been replaced by that of a pleasant, golf-playing, joke-cracking politician of the old school. Vorster is presented as a man with the common touch, a man you can talk to and who will listen to what you say, unlike Verwoerd, who heard only his own voice as if it came from God. The impression is created that there has even been a 'liberalisation' in the application of the apartheid policy.

A cursory examination of the record of the Nationalist Government under Vorster reveals that, in fact, the apartheid policy in South Africa, far from changing for the better, has if anything deteriorated. The first full session of the South African Parliament under Vorster's premiership has placed a whole batch of new repressive laws on the statute book—a law placing education under the control of the central government which will facilitate the introduction of Christian National Education; a law making it more difficult for 'borderline' Coloureds to be classified White; laws tightening up influx control and giving the Government totalitarian powers over industry to ensure greater development in the border areas; a law providing for the conscription

of Coloured youths into labour camps; a law prohibiting the publication of news about the South African Defence Force; a law barring named persons from the legal profession; a policy statement by the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. Botha, making it clear that Africans will never enjoy citizenship rights in 87 per cent of their country (the so-called 'white areas') and that 'the presence of the Bantu in White urban areas is for a limited purpose and of a casual nature . . . for work which the Whites cannot perform themselves'. Finally, a law making 'terrorism' or the harbouring of 'terrorists' punishable by death, and providing for indefinite detention without trial.

No sign of liberalisation here!

What, then, has Vorster done to win the golden opinions of the commentators? He has shaken hands and posed for photographs with Lesotho's Premier, Chief Leabua Jonathan, and three Malawi Cabinet Ministers who have been wined and dined in the best hotels in Cape Town. And he has announced a new formula for South Africa's participation in international sport which has been interpreted as a 'concession' although few people understand what it means and has made absolutely no difference to the sport position inside South Africa itself, which is still based on total apartheid.

This may appear to be little enough in itself, but it should not be dismissed without further consideration. What the world is witnessing is a wholesale reorganisation of South Africa's public relations with the outside world as a preparation for calculated political and economic aggression. After spending twenty years on the defensive inside the laager, South Africa now feels more confident about its ability to survive and is going over to the offensive.

VORSTER'S NEW LOOK

Shortly after he came to power, Vorster signalled the change in outlook which was to come. Africa and the world would hear about South Africa in a way it had never done before, he said. Ceaselessly since then, Cabinet Ministers have been plugging the same line, and in the main Western countries abroad the expensive propagandists of the South African Embassies and the South African Foundation have followed suit in the pages of their glossy magazines. In the opening days of the 1967 session of Parliament, the House of Assembly passed a private member's motion that 'this House approves the policy pursued by the government for friendly coexistence and fruitful co-operation with countries in Africa, with special emphasis on the Republic's ability to contribute to economic and technical development and the raising of the standard of living in Africa'. During

the debate, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Muller, said he believed the hostile attitude of certain African states towards South Africa would gradually disappear and more and more of them would eventually accept South Africa's hand of friendship.

Addressing a students' symposium in Stellenbosch on May 17th, Vorster himself said 'separate development was not only a policy which would ensure a place in the sun for the different nations of different colours living together in South Africa, but it would make it possible for the Republic to take the lead in Africa. . . . As the rest of Africa became disillusioned, as they would to an increasing degree, they would turn their eyes towards South Africa'. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 18th, 1967.)

The prospect of South African expansion in Africa has filled both the Nationalist Party and the United Party with enthusiasm. Writing in *Die Landstem* on April 5th, columnist Piet Beukes said that as a result of the 'new reasonableness' of Mr. Vorster's policy to the Black states and our country, a fundamental change had taken place in Southern Africa which was opening wonderful doors for all. Beukes noted that the nine countries south of the Zambesi, South Africa's 'true hinterland', had 34,133,500 inhabitants.

Just north of the Zambesi is the second belt of countries falling within our hinterland. They are the following six countries with their populations: Congo 864,000; Congo Republic 14,150,000; Kenya 7,287,000; Tanzania 9,404,000; Uganda 6,538,000; Zanzibar, 299,000. Together they have a population of 38,542,000. This means that South Africa now has a chance to become the leader of a population group of about 72 million people living in one of the richest parts of the globe.

The possibility of milking the people of Africa of their labour and resources is making the South African imperialists' mouths water. Nor is it purely a matter only of economic profit. Referring to the visit of the Malawi Cabinet Ministers to South Africa, *Die Volksblad*, in an editorial on March 7th, 1967, said the greatest value of the visit was not in its economic aspect but in international policy.

Here is tangible evidence that some Black states are prepared to accept South Africa in its role as the strongest commercial power in Africa and as the leading provider of capital goods, technological aid and other knowledge. The visit gives the lie in clear language to the impression that South Africa's enemies try to create—that the rest of Africa totally rejects her and fences her off in isolation on this continent.

Both economic and political factors are determining South Africa's present drive to penetrate Africa.

BACKGROUND TO IMPERIALISM

The economic position of the country is perhaps the main factor, for South Africa is now in the classic imperialist position of the manufacturing country seeking outlets for its capital and goods which are not available at home. Between 1955 and 1965 the net national income at factor cost rose from 3,395 million rand to 6,492 million rand (Minister of Finance, February 3rd, 1967, *Hansard* column 595). Of this total, manufacturing industry is now responsible for approximately 27 per cent, exceeding the combined total of mining and agriculture.

Mining is still tremendously important in the sense that it is the largest single source of the country's foreign exchange, and even much of the country's manufacturing capacity is determined by its needs. But mining is a wasting asset. Mr. Harry Oppenheimer has stated that diamond mining in South Africa might come to an end in another twenty years (*Sunday Times*, April 10th, 1966), and in his latest report on the affairs of the De Beers Corporation announces measures to expand the production of synthetic diamonds (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 11th, 1967).

At the annual meeting of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange on May 18th, 1967, the president, Mr. V. H. Simmons, said South Africa's gold mines will close within thirty years because of the fixed gold price. On the very same day the president of the Chamber of Mines, Mr. R. S. Cooke, echoed the warning. Both Messrs. Simmons and Cooke made it clear that the future of the country lay with manufacturing industry, and that steps should be taken now to make the transition as painless as possible.

The growth of manufacturing industry from a gross output of 122 million rand in 1924-25 to 1,400 million rand in 1963 has, of course, been the central feature of South Africa's economic and social development in this century. And side by side with this increase in production has gone an increase in exports, which reached the record figure of 1,186.3 million rand in 1966 (compared with 1,049.9 million rand in 1965). South Africa is now thirteenth in the list of the world's trading countries. Imports in 1966 were 1,645.6 million rand, as compared with 1,753.9 million rand in 1965, the decrease being due to the credit squeeze with a resultant improvement in South Africa's balance of payments (the gap, of course, being more than closed by gold sales).

TRADE FIGURES

As South African industrial production increases, it becomes necessary to find new outlets. An analysis of the pattern of South African trade

shows that the Republic is in direct competition with the developed countries in the sphere of manufactured goods, and the bulk of South African exports to the developed countries consists of raw materials and the products of the primary industries, only about 6 per cent being manufactured goods. On the other hand, almost 75 per cent of South Africa's trade with the less developed countries consists of the products of manufacturing industry. The implications of this in relation to trade with Africa are obvious. The statue of Cecil Rhodes in the Cape Town botanical gardens points northwards and bears the inscription: 'There lies your hinterland'. The statue has stood there for decades and has been duly honoured by generations of pigeons. But the South African entrepreneurs are only now beginning to scrape off the grime and take the lesson to heart.

Even more than the ruling classes of other countries in the imperialist era, the South African ruling class finds itself unable to exploit to the full the potentialities of the internal market. Though precise statistics are unobtainable, it has been variously estimated that the share of the national income accruing to the African 70 per cent of the population is only between 20 and 23 per cent. Further, because so many Africans still live under a semi-subsistence economy in the rural and reserve areas, their share of the total purchasing power is even lower, between 17 and 18 per cent. The African share of the national income in 1936 was 19.6 per cent, according to the report of the Industrial Legislation Commission of 1951. In effect, this means that the enormous increase in the national income since 1936 has seen practically no change in the economic relations between Black and White. The stringent and rigid apartheid laws drastically limit the expansion of the internal market for the products of industry.

The ever stiffer competition for markets abroad would be intensified for South Africa if Britain were to enter the Common Market. In February 1967 the *Standard Bank Review* estimated that South Africa would have to find new markets for up to 9 per cent of its total exports if Britain abolished the Commonwealth preference tariffs which South Africa still enjoys although no longer a Commonwealth member.

Britain remains South Africa's main trading partner. In 1966 Britain took 383 million rand or 23 per cent of South Africa's exports and was by far the most important customer. South Africa imported R484 million of British goods which, at 5 per cent of the total export, made the Republic Britain's fourth largest customer. In addition, South Africa has 331 million rand invested in Britain, which is 24 per cent of the Republic's total foreign assets. But the arms boycott and the threat of sanctions has made South Africa wary of her dependence on her traditional trading partners. The Director of Export Promo-

tions of the Department of Commerce and Industries, Dr. Z. J. Rabie, said in Pretoria in May that for the past five years the Government has campaigned to diversify markets abroad. 'We have found that too large a percentage of the Republic's exporters have depended in the past on the traditional market in Britain'. South Africa has tried to find new markets in Europe, the United States, the Far East and South America. And, of course, in Africa.

TRADE WITH AFRICA

For all these reasons, increased trade with Africa is a 'must' for South Africa, and in fact the Republic's trade figures with Africa have been steadily increasing over recent years. In 1966 South African exports to African territories were 193.9 million rand, compared with 147.1 million rand in 1965 and 130 million rand in 1964. Imports from Africa were 129 million rand compared with 108.8 million rand in 1965 and 90 million rand in 1964.

The bulk of this trade is with Rhodesia and Zambia, and it is one of the ironical outcomes of U.D.I. and sanctions that South Africa's trade with both countries has greatly increased since November 11th, 1965. The volume of South Africa's trade with what is called 'Black Africa' is only 10 per cent of her total African trade.

Dr. Diederichs, when he was still Minister of Economic Affairs, ruled out a Southern African common market on the grounds that the inequality of economic development of the various countries made it impracticable. What South Africa is after is not equality of economic relations, but domination.

Recent discussion on the topic in South Africa has grouped together the following countries as a natural field for South African exploitation—South-West Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Statistics compiled by an African Institute economist, Mr. E. van der Merwe, and published in a recent bulletin of the Institute, show that the external trade for the region totalled 4,755 million rand in 1964. South Africa's share of this trade is the largest—2,804 million rand or almost two-thirds of the total.

The bulk of the trade of the region, however, is not with its constituent parts but with the traditional metropolitan and other overseas countries. The various countries of the region traded with one another only to the extent of 1,102 million rand, while exports to the rest of the world totalled 1,697 million rand and imports 1,956 million rand. South African goods worth 275 million rand went to other members of the region and 863 million rand to the rest of the world. South

African imports respectively totalled 146 million and 1,519 million rand.

The withdrawal of Britain from the former High Commission territories, the economic breach between Britain and Rhodesia, the troubles of Portugal with her African colonies—all these factors present South Africa with what the Vorster Government regards as a golden opportunity to jump in and take over where the former imperialist powers are being forced to leave off. If the countries of Southern Africa could be persuaded to weaken their trade ties with Europe and strengthen them with one another, South Africa, as the most powerful economic unit, and physically ideally situated as the heartland of such a regional development, would stand to gain enormously.

CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN AFRICA

South Africa is not only interested in trade with the other countries of Southern Africa. Even more important from the long-term point of view is capital investment, which has the effect not only of bringing trade in its wake but also of exerting a strong political influence over the countries which take the investment. Tony Davenport, an economist attached to the South African Foundation, estimated that South African investment in the already mentioned nine countries of the Southern African region is approximately 650 million rand (*Sunday Express*, April 16th, 1967). Statistics are meagre, but it is known that South African capital investment in Rhodesia, for example, already exceeds that of Britain. Nor does South African investment stop at the Zambesi. The Anglo-American Corporation, the most powerful mining, industrial and financial group on the whole continent, controls investments valued at over £600 million, with tentacles embracing not only every country of the Southern African bloc, but also Tanzania, Congo (Kinshasa), other East and West African territories, as well as the United States, Britain, Malaysia, Australia and Canada. A more recent arrival on the African investment scene is Mr. Anton Rupert, boss of the Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation and a leading supporter of the Nationalist Government, who claims to make one out of every five cigarettes smoked in the capitalist world. Rembrandt, with assets totalling £197 million, now has investments in Rhodesia, Zambia and Kenya and is negotiating to establish itself in Tanzania.

Davenport, in another article in the *Sunday Express* on December 11th, 1966, looks forward to a steady growth of South African capital investment in Africa. 'Gross domestic investment in the South African economy since the beginning of 1960 has totalled 8,780 million rand.

However, this figure was exceeded by gross domestic saving of 9,133 million rand.'

If the recent net inflow of foreign capital to South Africa continues over the next several years, he says, and provided the balance of payments is kept in order, 'South Africa could find herself with such large and growing foreign exchange reserves that she would become increasingly able to place capital funds elsewhere. . . . Common sense would dictate that long-term money should go to the capital-hungry countries in southern and central Africa'.

The main force behind capital investment in Southern Africa in the future is likely to be the South African Government itself, just as it is inside the borders of South Africa. Both inside and outside the Republic, the Government, because of the size of the funds at its disposal, because of its growing totalitarian powers to direct the economy, and because it is willing to act where private capital often hesitates, is playing a more and more decisive role in economic developments in Southern Africa. The present scope of her efforts in this field may be limited, but they are bound to grow as time goes on.

'AID' TO MALAWI

South African aid to Malawi is an illustration of the economic forces at work which are bringing about significant changes in some African attitudes to South Africa. The Republic has already granted a 2 million rand loan to Malawi for the purpose of constructing a sugar mill. A South-African-based firm of consultants is planning the new Malawi capital at Zomba, and Malawi is looking to South Africa to provide much of the 22 million rand which will be needed for the move. Dr. Banda is also hoping South Africa will help with the raising of 6 million rand he needs for railway development and 120 million rand for the exploitation of bauxite deposits which would transform the economy of what is now one of the poorest countries in Africa.

It is worth noting in passing that since 1964, when Malawi became independent, her imports from South Africa have doubled. Since the trade pact with South Africa was signed in February 1967, a South African, Mr. Garth van Rooyen, former manager of South-West African Airways, has been appointed head of Malawi Airways. The South African Broadcasting Corporation is to supply personnel and also help train Malawians for the Malawi broadcasting service. Malawians may also go to South Africa to help with the S.A.B.C. broadcasts in the Malawi dialect of Chinyanja. Most significant of all, in May 1967 a team of South African Government officials headed by Dr. P. S. F. van Rensburg, Under-Secretary for Bantu Labour, visited Malawi to discuss plans for an increase in the number of

Malawians working in South Africa. The majority of African workers on the South African mines already come from outside the borders of the Republic. The total of so-called 'foreign natives' in South Africa is in the region of one million, drawn from Malawi, Zambia, Rhodesia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola.

While expelling 'foreign natives' who had been permanently settled in South Africa, the South African Government is anxious to increase the number of migrant workers from neighbouring territories who would be prepared to do the work on the mines and farms which local Africans are less and less willing to do, preferring the better-paid jobs in industry. *The Johannesburg Star* report on the visit of the South African mission to Malawi said: 'They will also seek ways of improving the regulation of labour from Malawi and to eliminate the traffic of illegal immigrants'. (*Star*, May 9th, 1967.) Migrant labour will obviously be another link binding the economies of the Southern African region together. South African politicians and economists constantly stress that the wages earned by 'foreign natives' in South Africa is an important source of revenue for their home countries.

The *Star* report added that the labour agreement with Malawi 'will also enable South African spokesmen to point out that conditions under apartheid cannot be as onerous as some critics claim if Africans from independent states are willing to come here voluntarily to seek employment'.

S.A. PENETRATION

South African penetration of other African territories has already taken place in similar fashion or is projected for the near future. The Lesotho Government, for example, has appointed three South Africans as 'advisers'—Professor Denis Cowen as political adviser, Professor O. Horwood, of Natal, as economic adviser, and Anton Rupert as adviser on industrial development. The Lesotho Premier, Chief Leabua Jonathan, disappointed with the scale of British assistance, now looks to South Africa to help with development projects like the Oxbow Dam, and has modified the Lesotho land policy to facilitate economic development and attract foreign investment. On his recent 'goodwill' visit to Malawi, Chief Jonathan suggested that White and Black states in Southern Africa should form an economic community within the context of their political differences. . . . Chief Jonathan condemned 'the disgruntled Pan Africanists' of the O.A.U. for the attacks on Southern African Black states who practised and advocated peaceful coexistence with South Africa. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 16th, 1967.)

In return for favours already given and to come, Jonathan has already gone far on the road of collaboration with South Africa. He has slowed down and in some cases reversed Africanisation in the civil service; he has crushed the opposition by force and muzzled the King; he has proposed a visit to South-West Africa to provide him with ammunition to support South Africa's case at the United Nations; he has cracked down on South African refugees, deporting some into the hands of the South African police and compelling the remainder to choose between exile further north or facing repatriation to South Africa; he has launched mass raids on the South African-Lesotho border and arrested hundreds of his own citizens on charges of cattle rustling from the Republic—a step hailed by the South African Deputy Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, as a great contribution 'to improve relations between the people of the two countries'. (*Star*, May 10th, 1967.)

More sinister is the fact that South African pressure, exerted either overtly at top political level, or behind the scenes by means of secret police infiltration, bribery and intimidation, has assisted in bringing into power the most conservative elements in all three of the former British Protectorates. Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland now all have right-wing governments, orientated towards South Africa, while the forces of the African nationalist opposition, more strongly opposed to collaboration with apartheid South Africa and seeking stronger ties with the O.A.U., have been isolated and crushed, even if only temporarily. The most bitter blow to the South African liberation movement has been the crackdown and persecution of refugees in Botswana, hitherto South Africa's only escape route to the north.

It is certainly unnecessary to labour here the vital role South Africa has played in shoring up Rhodesia since U.D.I.; nor the part played by South-African-recruited mercenaries in putting down the forces of independent Africa in the Congo. Evidence has also not been lacking of the existence of a network of agents of the South African special branch of the police operating in every independent African country. With each passing day, it becomes clearer that the main base of imperialism and White supremacy in Africa is the Vorster Republic, no longer sheltering from the gale of world hostility inside the laager, but poised aggressively for further conquests in Africa.

VORSTER FAVOURS INDEPENDENCE

South Africa has travelled far from the days when Verwoerd demanded the incorporation of the Protectorates. The Republic's own experience with the Transkei has made the Nationalist Government realise that there exist right-wing elements in most national movements in Africa

who can, with skill, be brought or bought to co-operate with South Africa's White supremacists. In an interview with the U.S. journal *U.S. News and World Report*, Vorster stated there was no substance at all in talk of a 'White man's alliance' between Rhodesia, the Portuguese territories and South Africa. Nor was there any mutual-defence arrangement or alliance. South Africa wanted good relations with all the states of Southern Africa, he said, White as well as Black.

We do not at all fear these developments—the establishment of African governments in those states. It is a natural development as far as we are concerned. . . . We want to work with them as independent black states, to their advantage and to our advantage. . . . We wish to avoid the dangers of neo-colonialism in any pattern of assistance which may be agreed upon. . . . In many respects we have, with respect to much of Africa south of the Sahara, a responsibility for assisting in development—comparable to the responsibility which the United States had undertaken on a much larger scale with respect to the underdeveloped areas of the world as a whole. Although we do not publicise it, we are already doing quite a lot in this field. (*U.S. News and World Report*, November 14th, 1966.)

This line is now being plugged incessantly:

Mr. Blaar Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration:

With this innate propensity of the Bantu to do repetitive work and with the knowledge, understanding and appreciation by the South African industrialist of the Bantu culture, I make bold to say that no country in the world can graft Western industrial development on to the developing areas within our borders and in Africa as a whole as well as we can. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 14th, 1966.)

Dr. G. S. J. Kuschke, managing director of the South African Industrial Development Corporation, addressing the South African-German Chamber of Trade and Industry:

Without South Africa's willingness to collaborate, no foundations whatsoever for economic development can be laid by certain countries in southern Africa. Our willingness to collaborate to the full must be gauged from what we are already doing towards the development of the Bantu states within our borders. (*Star*, May 4th, 1967.)

Dr. H. J. van Eck, chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation:

Trade, financial and technical bonds connect many of the countries in southern Africa. The initiative and the construction of this wide combination came from South Africa, and it is there largely because of the Republic's technical progress and its willingness to make available its specialised knowledge to its neighbours, to the mutual benefit of everybody. (*Star*, May 20th, 1967.)

Three water development and hydro-electric schemes mentioned by Dr. van Eck were:

1. Hydro-electric power stations on the Kunene River on the border between South-West Africa and Angola. (The first agreement towards this was announced by the two countries on May 15th, a few days before Dr. van Eck spoke.)

2. The development of Kariba to its full potential and further schemes on the Zambesi between Rhodesia and Zambia.

3. A scheme on the Zambesi at Cabora-Bassa in Mozambique, with a potential of 2,000 megawatts. 'The Republic's own electricity development programme has reached a stage where even an ambitious scheme like Cabora-Bassa, which will cost about 260 million rand, is financially and technically possible.'

Mr. N. Cambitzis, chairman of the Rhodesian Industrial Development Corporation, advocated an industry-by-industry approach towards closer economic integration between Rhodesia and South Africa. He foresaw Rhodesia as in the main a supplier of raw materials to South Africa, which in return would supply 'more sophisticated manufactures' to Rhodesia. (*Star*, May 3rd, 1967.)

Dr. S. Meiring Naude, President of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, advocated the establishment of a scientific council to promote personal contact and the exchange of scientific information in Southern Africa. Opening the first Rhodesian scientific conference in Bulawayo, he said, 'South Africa had a special position by virtue of her geographical position. This virtually amounted to a moral obligation to arrange her participation at a level in keeping with the status of South African science'. (*Star*, May 17th, 1967.)

Mr. Colin Jacobson, President of Junior Chamber South Africa, said his chamber was about to embark on a full-scale effort to make contact and establish friendly relations with the independent Black countries in Africa to help them with their economic development. . . . His chapter was taking the lead by establishing Junior Chambers in four neighbouring states. 'I believe that the Junior Chamber in this country, through its 1,200 members, can play a significant part in influencing events in Africa. . . . I believe that a new wind of change is moving through Africa—that most doors are open to the breeze of genuine friendship and physical and economic assistance.' (*Star*, May 16th, 1967.)

Even liberal-minded South Africans have been infected by this 'new wind' imperialism, and the leader of the Progressive Party, Dr. Jan Steytler, has advocated the formation of a South African Peace Corps to crusade in neighbouring Black Africa. Speaking at a meeting in Durban, Dr. Steytler said, 'South Africa was only a

midget at the moment but had to become a colossus'. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 6th, 1967.) Student volunteers are already being sent on work projects in Lesotho and Botswana.

SOUTH AFRICA'S FRIENDS

'The new wind of change' proclaimed by British Premier Macmillan in Cape Town in 1960 blew South Africa into a state of almost total isolation in the following years. Now the wind has changed, and a counter-revolutionary hurricane is raging, not only on the African continent but throughout the world. South Africa is finding that she can win friends and influence people, not only White but Black as well.

Dr. Robert Gardiner, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, on his return to his headquarters in Addis Ababa from a visit to the Republic last March called for an 'agonising reappraisal' of how Black Africa should approach the problem of South Africa. Unless the rest of Africa approached the problems of Southern Africa with some knowledge and understanding the issues would be confused, he said. While not condoning apartheid, he questioned the description of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland as 'South Africa's hostages' and said Banda might have his reasons for dealing with South Africa 'which other African states should try to analyse'.

Dr. Gardiner's statement was reported to have 'wrought havoc' in the O.A.U. secretariat. (*Star*, March 27th, 1967.)

Understandably, overseas businessmen with extensive interests in South Africa and the neighbouring territories are filled with enthusiasm by these new developments. Lord Fraser of Lonsdale, for example, who owns the largest chain of stores in Lesotho and has other sizable stakes in Southern Africa, said in Johannesburg recently that 'South Africa's policy of good-neighbourliness towards Black states might take a long time to mature, but it was important for the future of Southern Africa and perhaps Africa as a whole. Recognition of and talks with African leaders was a very welcome sign'. (*Star*, March 15th, 1967.)

Likewise, the President of the South African Foundation, Major General Sir Francis de Guingand, who also has extensive economic interests in South Africa, in an address at the University of Natal last April said: 'I welcome the new outward looking policy of this Government. Recent contacts are most encouraging and could lead to better things.' (*Sunday Times*, April 2nd, 1967.)

Most significant portent of all has been perhaps the reaction of the United States. Whereas the US Ambassador at the United Nations, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, in a public display aimed at the Afro-Asian

bloc last March denounced South Africa's apartheid policy as 'one of the greatest offences against human rights still existing in the world' (*Star*, March 22nd), the US Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Joseph Palmer, in April came out with what was probably nearer to the true U.S. attitude when he said the United States was paying very close attention to South Africa's apparent effort to project a new image to the world. To the extent that South Africa's actions 'may prove conducive to improved international and human relations', he said, 'we certainly will welcome them—welcome them very much indeed'. (*Sunday Express*, April 9th, 1967.)

What these gentlemen are really saying is that the more Africa can be persuaded to accept South Africa, the less trouble they will have in continuing to trade with the apartheid state themselves. Both Britain and the United States were forced by the pressure of world opinion to impose an arms boycott against South Africa, and are still subject to pressure to extend the boycott to all trade, sport, culture and other forms of contact. If, however, African states can be found to traffic with South Africa, then it will become impossible for the world to point an accusing finger at the imperialist powers, who will be able to continue drawing their 15 to 27 per cent profits annually without further pangs of conscience.

Jonathan, Banda and their friends, therefore, are not merely being 'realistic', as they claim. By their actions they are breaching the international boycott, and paving the way for the collapse of sanctions as an aid to bringing about change in South Africa.

CHALLENGE TO AFRICA

Many leaders of independent African states have been outspoken in their condemnation of Jonathan and Banda. President Kaunda warned those who traded with South Africa that they stood in danger of being 'swallowed up by the Boers'. President Nyerere also spoke out. Press comment in many African capitals has been even sharper. Guinea radio declared that Chief Jonathan and Dr. Banda formed 'the first nucleus of African traitors advocating *entente*, coexistence and co-operation with racialist South Africa and colonialist Portugal'. A Brazzaville broadcast called them lapdogs of imperialism, meeting to form a new conspiracy against progressive Africa.

But there has been a heavy silence on the part of some African leaders, and clearly the weight of South African influence is already being felt in a continent torn by strife and conflict as the struggle for national liberation and independence nears its climax. With South Africa already reported to be capable of making an atomic bomb, the following comment in the Kampala newspaper, *The People*,

pinpoints clearly the threat to Africa posed by the 'Vorster line':

No doubt the time will soon come when South African paratroopers will restore shaky African Governments as the French restored President M'Ba of Gabon.

The paper adds that African states can have no reason to hope that the machinery of apartheid will be dismantled in the process of making friends and influencing people in Africa.

While Dr. Hastings Banda signs trade agreements with South Africa and Mr. Vorster shakes hands with Chief Jonathan, Mandela stays on Robben Island.

Being himself a realist, says *The People*, Vorster might increase the number of skilled Africans in the South African economy and try to persuade Black States that they can benefit from contact with the Republic. 'This way, he would hope to make African rulers guarantee the system of apartheid by withdrawing active opposition.

'Given enough capital investments, technical assistance and trade pacts, the South African Government will be in a position to affect African policies as effectively as the French have done in French West Africa. (Quoted in *The Star*, May 27th, 1967.)

It is a frightening thought—Africa under the shadow of the kruithoring. Africa is facing its Munich. The South African liberation movement, and the peoples of free Africa and indeed the whole world, must meet this new threat and give the appropriate answer before South Africa has time to complete its intended conquest.