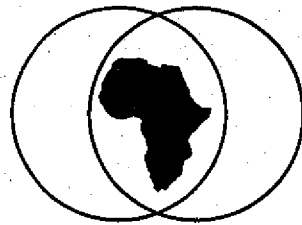


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THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VAN INTERNASIONALE AANGELEENTHEDE

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1974

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DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL AND ITS AFRICAN PROVINCES, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO MOCAMBIQUE AND RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA +

John Barratt

Introduction

President Nixon recently said that the outlook for peace in the world was better than it had been for a long time. At about the same time Dr. Diederichs commented in a speech in South Africa that seldom had he seen a darker picture for the world than he saw at present. President Nixon was, of course, looking at the world from the point of view of one of the super powers, seeing the old threat of global and nuclear war receding in the current atmosphere of détente. He was apparently not thinking of the instability and conflicts which exist in various parts of the world, where the super powers are not directly involved. In the Middle East, which is the most serious area of conflict and instability and where the super powers are involved, partial agreements are being achieved, and the threat of confrontation there between the Soviet Union and the United States has almost disappeared.

But there are other regional and local conflicts which show no signs of abating. Ireland is one such area, and there are others which could erupt at any time. The rather common South African point of view, as expressed in this instance by Dr. Diederichs, is coloured by the consciousness that we live in a region where there is considerable uncertainty about the future; a region of dynamic change which involves political conflict and areas of instability, where there are threats of violence, and violence itself in some areas, in the form of terrorist and guerrilla activity.

It is difficult, therefore, for us to share President Nixon's rose-coloured view of the world. But at the same time I do not believe that we need to fall in behind the prophets of doom who see only a very dark future in this part of the world. I say this because we in Southern Africa have great opportunities and great assets. But we must learn how to use them, and this challenge involves adaptation, accommodations, and change. As a result of recent developments, these may now have to take place more rapidly. There is now a need for a greater sense of urgency, but it must be a positive sense of urgency, which accepts the fact that change is both needed and inevitable. Uncertainty about the future can easily breed insecurity, and insecurity can lead to desperation. Such a trend could be fatal to our future in Africa - a future which, I believe has great potential, economically and politically, provided we are positive in our approach, open to accept constructive change and, above all, willing to become an integral part of Africa.

A leading Afrikaans academic, Professor B.J. Piek, was reported to have said in an article published last week that White South Africans must realise that they are part of a Black continent and that their future will depend on their ability to fit into Black Africa. I believe that it is in this context that we must look at the current developments in our neighbouring countries of Angola and Mocambique.

+ This article is based on extracts from two addresses by Mr. Barratt to Chambers of Commerce meetings during the first week of June, 1974. For further details see the Note at the end of the article.

There is no doubt that the dramatic changes in Portugal have caused greater concern and apprehension among South African Whites than probably anything that has happened since the disturbances in South Africa of the early 60s. The immediate cause of this apprehension is, of course, the effect of the changes in Angola and especially Mocambique. Certainly these changes have been more sudden, more dramatic, than almost anyone could have expected. But we should have known that changes of this sort were coming; the signs were there - in Portugal and in Mocambique itself. It is therefore worth looking now at the course of events over the past few months to see how these dramatic changes have taken place and what the possible trends are for the future.

Policy Before the Coup

In terms of Portuguese constitutional laws, which still apply, Portugal is a single, indivisible nation, composed of the metropole and eight provinces, all controlled ultimately by the central government of Portugal. These provinces are: Cape Verde, Guinea, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Mocambique, Timor, Macau and Goa. (The last one was, of course, long ago lost to India.) It was this concept of one nation that most of the world refused to accept, regarding the Portuguese Provinces instead as colonies, and it was this concept which Portugal fought so hard and for so long to defend.

In recent years, however, notable changes were taking place, and it was felt by many observers that Portugal was moving away slowly from the unqualified maintenance of this concept of one Portugal. In particular, new constitutional provisions were adopted in 1971 and 1972, which allowed greater autonomy for the overseas provinces, and it was obviously intended that this autonomy should gradually increase. Although ultimate control was firmly kept in Lisbon, local governments and their legislative assemblies were granted more powers and more people were encouraged to participate in political life. One important symbolic change, for instance, was that Angola and Mocambique became known as "States", thus giving them new recognition as the two biggest and strongest provinces.

These constitutional changes were taking place under the direction of Prime Minister Caetano, and it is interesting to note that ten years previously (in 1962), while still Rector of the University of Lisbon, Dr. Caetano proposed to Prime Minister Salazar that a federal solution should be adopted, which would have amounted almost to a commonwealth system for the Portuguese Community, with considerable self-government for Angola and Mocambique. His proposal was, of course, not accepted then. But it was widely felt that, after he came to power, Dr. Caetano still had these ideas in mind, and that the 1971/72 constitutional changes were perhaps a step in the direction of an eventual loosening of the strong ties binding the overseas provinces to Lisbon.

Among those who had to apply these new provisions was General Antonio Spínola in Portuguese Guinea, where he was both Governor General and Commander in Chief of the armed forces. He attempted to apply the new laws liberally, in order to give the people of Guinea much more say in the running of their own affairs, and he went further in this direction than was the case in any of the other provinces. There is no doubt that General Spínola was affected by his period of duty in Guinea, and that he learnt much from his experience of the people there and also regarding the possibility of negotiating a settlement which would include the retention of some ties with Portugal. It was during this period that he met President Senghor of Senegal, who has played some role in bringing about the current peace negotiations over Guinea,

and it is reported that he even met with some of the leaders of the PAIGC - all this while he was waging a vigorous and effective war against the same movement.

The influence which this period had on General Spínola's views about Africa are illustrated in his recent book, where for instance he speaks about the importance of allowing the African to play a full part in his own country and of not considering him simply as an illiterate. He recalls the case of a certain Mandinga Chief who told him of his ten years of study of the Koran, of his perfect knowledge of the Arabic script and of his Mohammedan theological training. Yet, in spite of all this, he was officially regarded as illiterate, because he could not write or speak Portuguese. Such men, he writes, are fully capable of participating in government and should not continue to be excluded.

In Mocambique, too, changes were taking place. 1973 saw the election of a Black majority to the Assembly and some loosening of both the political and economic links with Lisbon. Increasing resources were being put into the education and economic development of the Black people, and special emphasis was placed on the idea of non-racialism. (This applied throughout the Portuguese provinces.) In the army more effort was being put into the winning of the hearts and minds of the people, and it was fully realised that, without the support of the local people, the military campaign against the guerrilla and terrorist forces could never be effectively pursued.

Furthermore, the Portuguese government was very conscious of the growing international pressure, and its gradual reforms in the overseas provinces were intended as part of the means to counter this pressure, particularly in the Western world, but also in Africa where it was continuously seeking contacts and improved relations. There were, for instance, special efforts to improve relations with Zambia, and relations with Rhodesia were becoming cooler. The requirements of this diplomatic campaign and the emphasis on non-racialism meant that Portugal was always very careful to dissociate itself from South African internal policies, and there is no doubt that this tendency would have become stronger, even under the previous Portuguese government.

In spite of all these gradual measures for reform and to counter criticism, the pressures, internal and external, continued to build up. Internationally Portugal's position grew weaker, and the liberation movements - especially in Guinea and Mocambique - were becoming better trained and armed. But it was probably the internal pressures within Portugal itself that were finally the most crucial. In addition to the actual budgetary cost of the African wars and the neglect of the economic development of metropolitan Portugal itself, was the related fact that thousands of young Portuguese were emigrating to other parts of Europe. Portugal was being drained of its best people who were becoming alienated, physically and spiritually, from their own country. Then, most important, opinions in the army were changing. This was not simply a question of morale, after thirteen years of fighting in Africa, but a growing realisation that these were wars which could never be won in a military sense. This factor is of special importance, because the army had become the main support of the Portuguese system and government.

There is no doubt that Prime Minister Caetano was well aware of all these developments, and of the changes taking place which had to be accommodated. But he also knew that in his position as leader he was dependent on a hard-line faction in the government set-up and in Portuguese society generally, which was suspicious of any loosening of the ties between Portugal and its overseas provinces. Perhaps, however, he did not appreciate the

growing strength in government and outside of those who supported his own views and who wished to see a faster evolution of Portuguese policy.

The extent to which the approach of the Prime Minister coincided with that of General Spínola is shown in the treatment of the General after his return from Guinea. He was awarded the country's highest military decoration by Dr. Caetano (an award not given, by the way to General Kaulza d'Arriaga who returned from Mocambique at about the same time), and the special post of Deputy Chief of Staff was created for him at the end of 1973.

The feeling at the beginning of 1974, therefore, was that significant changes in Portuguese policy were in the making, and that General Spínola would play an important role. But there could not have been many people who anticipated the chain of events which would be set off by the publication of General Spínola's book on 22 February, 1974.

General Spínola's Approach to Portugal's Problems

It was certainly not General Spínola's views alone, which led to the change of government on 25 April, but the open expression of these views in his book, "Portugal and the Future", served to encourage many others who were thinking along the same lines, and also some who were thinking of much more radical solutions. It also made possible more open discussion of these questions than had been possible before in the rather closed and strictly controlled Portuguese society. The fact that the book was allowed to be published indicates that Prime Minister Caetano knew of its contents and he was prepared to permit General Spínola's ideas to be debated. General Spínola made it clear that it was in order to start a debate about the future of Portugal that he had produced the book. But there was a stronger reaction from the right than Dr. Caetano had apparently expected, and he was forced, under pressure from President Thomaz and others, to dismiss General Spínola from his post, together with the Chief of Staff (General Gomes) who shared responsibility for the book's publication.

This dismissal of the two Generals, and the indication it gave of the inflexible nature of the government, was the final determining factor which led directly to the army's action against the government on 25 April. Although it seems clear now that General Spínola was not directly involved in the planning for this coup, his ideas, together with his popularity as a hero in the army, served to spark it off. The coup was engineered by middle ranking officers who had no obvious leader. It was natural that they should turn to General Spínola, once their coup was so easily and so quickly accomplished. But it was in fact from Prime Minister Caetano that the call to General Spínola came, because it was only to him that Dr. Caetano was willing to hand over power.

Because of the central position of General Spínola in the events leading to the coup of 25 April and because of the fact that he is now President of Portugal, it is worth looking at his general approach, as reflected in his book, before turning to consider the policies at present being pursued by the new government, which in some respects go much further than anything proposed previously by General Spínola.

It is not possible to do justice here to General Spínola's thinking about the future of his country and its relations with Africa. We can only highlight a few points of importance and relevance to subsequent developments. In his book he attempted to examine Portugal's position realistically, and to propose changes which would take into account the facts of the situation.

One must appreciate that he was writing this book as a servant of the previous government at a time when there was no thought of a radical change of government. He was proposing policies, therefore, which he hoped could be put into effect by a gradual adaptation of the old system.

In the first place, General Spínola recognised that Portugal could not continue to bear the cost of the unending wars in Africa, a factor which I have already referred to. In any case, he recognised the fact that an exclusively military victory was not possible. He said, for instance, "To want to win a war of subversion by means of a military solution is to accept defeat in advance, unless one possesses unlimited capacity to prolong the war indefinitely ... Is that our case? Obviously not." This realisation was not an original discovery of General Spínola. General Sir Gerald Templar had commented, when he arrived in Malaya in 1952: "The solution lies not in pouring more troops into the jungle, but in the hearts and minds of the people." The previous Portuguese government, knew this too, as did Frelimo and the other liberation movements.

Secondly, he maintained that Portugal could not continue in an isolated position, and that there was a need for Portugal's policies to be accepted in the world - particularly the Western world. In this connection, he touched a responsive cord in many Portuguese businessmen who were trying to establish closer economic links with the rest of Europe, but who were inhibited by the political barriers of Portugal's unpopularity as a result of its African policies.

Thirdly, General Spínola recognised that the African peoples of the Portuguese provinces had legitimate demands for freedom of expression and self-determination. He said, for instance: "Any overseas policy which is not governed by the honest and declared respect for the right of the people to regulate their own lives, and by the recognition of the capacity of the overseas populations to take on the role which is theirs in the guiding of their destiny, will be condemned, sooner or later, as being incompatible with the morality prevalent in the world today and with the sentiment of our own people."

Fourthly, while General Spínola recognised this right to self-determination, he did not propose a breaking up of the Portuguese community, or an abandonment of the Portuguese people overseas. In fact, he proposed very strongly the formation of a Portuguese world-wide community, but a community which would be based on the free acceptance of it by all the peoples concerned. In this regard, he argued that, if the people had a free choice, made in full understanding of the consequences, they would choose this form of association with Portugal, because of its advantages to them.

Finally, we come to the crux of the question, namely the application of his general principles. Here he proposed a federal or confederal solution - allowing for as full a measure of autonomy as possible in each province. Although this was the solution which General Spínola desired, which would mean the maintenance of a Portuguese community throughout the world, with freely accepted links between the various states, the implication was clear that, if one or more of the states chose full independence separate from Portugal, it would be free to go its own way. He recognised that there were risks involved in this policy, but he argued that the risks would be greater if the old policy of one indivisible Portuguese nation were to be maintained.

General Spínola could hardly have expected that so soon after the publication of his book, he would be in power, faced with the very real problems

of putting new policies into practice. However, he is not in sole power, and in the formation of an effective interim government, various factions have had to be accommodated. So it is not simply General Spínola's ideas which are now being implemented, but one can still assume that his personal views have not changed radically and that he will attempt to use his great influence, particularly in the army, to work towards constructive change which will include continuing links with Portugal. Brazil, regarded with pride by General Spínola as a Portuguese creation, is perhaps a model which he hopes Portuguese provinces will follow, if they should choose complete independence.

Present Trends of Portuguese Policy

It will be some time before it becomes clear what political direction Portugal and each of its overseas provinces will take under the new dispensation. The situation is still rather confused and unsettled, not only because the new government is still formulating policies, but also because of the sudden exposure of the people to many freedoms which they had never before had the opportunity to exercise. It is not surprising, therefore, that there have been outbreaks of strikes, demonstrations, extreme demands, the formation of many political groupings (some of an extreme and radical nature), and so on. What is surprising, in fact, is that all this has been taking place with so little serious disorder and almost no violence.

All one can do at this stage is to identify a few areas where significant changes are taking place, particularly those changes with relevance to Mocambique.

1. Liberalisation of Society

The first statement of the military Junta, when it came to power, promised reform and the restoration of civil liberties, and the Junta moved fast to give effect to this promise. Actions in this area have been taken in all Portuguese territories, including Mocambique, and they have included the release of all political prisoners (but not those imprisoned in Mocambique for "violent subversive activity"); the abolition of censorship; permission for free labour unions and political parties; the abolition of special courts for political offences; and an amnesty to army deserters who had fled from Portugal, provided they reported back to their military units within a certain period.

All this sudden opening up of society naturally created considerable confusion, and many feared that anarchy would result. There have been strong warnings from the government, including General Spínola himself, against irresponsible actions and the dangers of anarchy. In particular there have been efforts to end the rash of strikes which occurred, including a number in Mocambique, and indications are that more ordered conditions are returning. Concessions are having to be made to workers in respect of increased wages, and it is probably fair to say that in many cases improvements were long overdue. It is of interest to note in this regard that Black workers in Mocambique have been saying that they are more concerned about improved working conditions than about their political future.

The withdrawal of restrictions has meant that Frelimo sympathisers and supporters are now openly appearing and demonstrating in Lourenco Marques. They appear to be attracting considerable support, but it is much too early to say how extensive this support is throughout the country.

The existence of a free press will probably have a profound effect on developments in all the Portuguese territories. At least now it will be possible for the people to know what is going on, and also for outsiders to judge more effectively what is happening. Previously one had to rely mainly on official statements, and it is clear now that these were misleading as regards the real views of the people.

2. *Policy Towards the African Territories*

There is still a certain amount of confusion regarding the intentions of the Portuguese government regarding the three main African provinces, and it seems that there may be some differences within the government. Initially General Spínola offered self-determination, but insisted that this did not mean necessarily independence. He referred to his federal proposals which, if accepted, he said, would be a "triumph for Portugal". He also said that time would be needed to prepare the three territories for self-determination. Without such preparation, self-determination would have no real meaning. (Furthermore, General Spínola at first indicated that he was opposed to negotiations with the liberation movements.)

However, once the civilian government was formed (about three weeks after the coup), there was a shift towards a clearer recognition of the possibility of full independence. This shift reflects a compromise with certain elements in the civilian government, and possibly also with the views of some of the young officers who were involved in the coup. The communist and socialist members of the government had indicated previously that they wanted a speedy end to the wars in Africa and the recognition of the rights of these countries to independence. The socialist leader, Dr. Mario Soares, who became Foreign Minister in the new government, is now the most important figure in this regard.

Before the formation of the civilian government, General Costa Gomes (who is a leading member of the Junta) said in Lourenco Marques that there would be no independence for Mocambique now, but that autonomy would be granted with all groups participating in political life so that they could decide their own future. After the formation of the government, Dr. Almeida Santos, the new Minister responsible for the overseas territories (who is a well known lawyer from Lourenco Marques), said that the right of self-determination, which General Spínola had repeatedly said would be recognised, must include the possible choice of complete independence, and he indicated that a referendum or elections would be held within a year, possibly on this issue of independence.

One must conclude that this issue has not yet been completely settled within the Portuguese government. Apart from the differences which there may be, it is likely that the vagueness on this point is at present intentional, because it is a point at issue in the negotiations with the liberation movements and discussions with other political groups.

3. *Negotiations with "Liberation Movements"*

The previous Portuguese government set its face firmly against negotiations with the various "terrorist" or "liberation" movements active in Guinea, Angola and Mocambique. It denied that these movements were at all representative of the views of Black people in these territories, and it considered that to negotiate with them would be to give them legitimacy which they did not deserve. This policy has been completely changed,

and the Portuguese government is now actively seeking talks with these movements. It has already had one round of negotiations with the PAIGC of Guinea, and it is about to begin talks with Frelimo. However, here again there is still uncertainty about the Portuguese intentions, and it would probably be unrealistic to expect any clarity at this stage, because the government is still feeling its way.

It is clear at least that these movements have now been recognised as factors which must be dealt with, if a peaceful solution is to be found. Whatever we may think of a policy of negotiating with those regarded in South Africa simply as "terrorists", one has to concede frankly that this is a realistic approach, if one accepts that a purely military solution is not possible in this kind of situation.

These negotiations will, however, not be easy, because the Portuguese are under considerable pressure to bring an end to the fighting, with the expectations of peace having been aroused and the will to continue the wars consequently reduced.

The official position of the Military Junta is that the liberation movements can freely enter the political arena in the respective territories, if they stop the fighting. They have in effect been challenged to continue their fight by democratic means and to test their support among the people in free elections. Originally General Spínola did not intend going beyond this offer and actually entering into negotiations. The willingness to negotiate came about with the formation of the civilian government, and it is now the socialist leader and Foreign Minister, Dr. Soares, who is conducting these negotiations.

The confusion now arises as to what these negotiations are actually about. The Portuguese want a ceasefire - after which the liberation movements would be able to participate freely in the process of self-determination, including the proposed referenda and elections. But Frelimo, for instance, wants much more - independence under their control, without any prior referendum - and does not trust referenda organised by the Portuguese. This, of course, would not be true self-determination, because the people would then have no choice, either on the question of independence, or on the government to rule them.

Frelimo might be willing to give way on the first aspect (i.e. their full control from the beginning), but would probably insist on a clear recognition of independence for Mocambique, before agreeing to a ceasefire. If acceptance of this demand should be the outcome of the negotiations, it would in effect deny to the people of Mocambique the choice of remaining in a Portuguese community which appears still to be President Spínola's aim, even if they would still have the right to choose their own government.

In brief, the big question in regard to Mocambique, therefore, is whether Frelimo will agree to compromise at all on these basic issues, and whether the Portuguese Government will feel strong enough to hold out for a free exercise of self-determination - which may involve a continuation of the war for some time, under increasingly difficult conditions.

Under the circumstances, it is still much too early to speculate further about the possible outcome of these negotiations. The outcome may well be very different in the case of Guinea from that of Mocambique, and the case of Angola - where the Portuguese are in a relatively strong position - may well be different from both the other two. One can only hope that the negotiations will lead to ceasefire agreements in all cases, that the principle of true self-determination will be maintained, and that effective,

representative governments will eventually emerge.

The question is often raised as to the Chinese and Russian influence on Frelimo, and the effect this may have on the future political direction of Mocambique. Frankly, this is a question which cannot be answered satisfactorily, because we do not have adequate information. (Many statements are made in South Africa about the intentions and influence of the Communist Powers in Africa, but these are based very largely on guess-work.) But there is at least clear evidence that Frelimo is a nationalist organisation and not a communist one, and that communist ideological influence is not strong, even though most military support comes from the Communist Powers. Negotiations with the Portuguese and the promise of independence may in fact serve to loosen the Chinese and Russian links, because the need for their support begins to fall away under these circumstances.

4. *Relations with South Africa and Rhodesia*

Officially there has been no change in relations with South Africa, and the Portuguese government has behaved very correctly in this regard. There is obviously a recognition of the need to maintain cordial relations with the South African government, because of the Republic's close links with Angola and especially Mocambique. Dr. Almeida Santos has in fact said that the economic ties between Mocambique and South Africa are too strong for any possible future government to consider cutting the links. He has also said that Mocambique will not harbour anti-South African movements which choose violence to achieve their aims.

One will have to expect that, in its attempts to win international support, the Portuguese government will be more critical of South Africa. This will probably become especially evident in the United Nations. This tendency will not be made any easier by the fact that the Foreign Minister is a socialist, although even Dr. Soares has recognised the importance of the links with South Africa and has so far not said anything to disturb relations.

Relations with Rhodesia may be somewhat more difficult, and there have already been reports that the new Portuguese government has ended the arrangement whereby Rhodesian forces could pursue terrorists into Mocambique. If true, this could be very significant for the conduct of the security operations in north-east Rhodesia. An aspect to watch will be whether the Portuguese government takes any steps to assist the British government in enforcing sanctions against Rhodesia. While there have been hints that this is being considered, nothing concrete has yet emerged.

South African Reactions

I do not believe that our reaction to the possibility of a Black government should be a negative one. It is rather the threat of long-term instability or anarchy which could give us concern. This could, of course, upset the constructive development of the whole region. But, as Mr. Vorster implied, when he said recently that South Africa had no intention of interfering in any way, and also that the Republic was ready to co-operate with a Black government, instability and anarchy are not the necessary consequences of a Black government. We should at all costs avoid the tendency - which is not uncommon in South Africa - to equate Black rule with instability. There are many more examples of stable governments in Africa than of unstable ones, and in any case one need only look at the situation

in Northern Ireland to realise that instability and violent conflict are not confined to areas which we so easily regard as simply "uncivilised". The Government's homelands policy, after all, and its policy towards our neighbour states, is based on the premise that we can live at peace with Black governments, and that political differences need not prevent practical co-operation.

In principle, therefore, I believe we have no reason to react negatively to present Portuguese policy, and potentially, if it succeeds, there could be great benefit for us in the long run. We may have the opportunity of co-operating in practical ways with a relatively strong Black state on our borders, even if for a time there are political differences, and such mutually beneficial co-operation could greatly improve South Africa's position in Africa generally. This is not simply a naive pipe-dream, because there are good material reasons why Mocambique in the future should continue to maintain co-operative relations with South Africa. There is, for instance, the great importance to both countries of continued traffic through the port of Lourenco Marques. There is the considerable income derived from the export of labour to South Africa. There is the vital new factor of Cabora Bassa, which no future government of Mocambique can neglect if it is at all interested in the development of its peoples. The economic viability of the Cabora Bassa project depends for the foreseeable future on the purchase of power by the Republic, and this project will play a fundamental role in the development of the Zambezi Valley - development which is intended to benefit mainly the Black people of Mocambique - and in the exploitation of Mocambique's considerable mineral resources. In this regard one can say that there is much more advantage to Mocambique than to South Africa in the continuation of the Cabora Bassa agreement, because, while South Africa has invested a lot in this project, we are not dependent on the power to be received from it.

There are doubtless many other factors, too, which militate in favour of co-operation, such as further assistance from government and private sectors, which South Africa could give in the development of Mocambique's resources. I am not simply closing my eyes to the possible difficulties or even dangers in the political field, especially if a government comes to power which is so hostile to white rule in South Africa and Rhodesia that it places political considerations above any thought of practical economic development, and seeks merely confrontation with the South African government. But we have no clear evidence at present that any meaningful political group in Mocambique is adopting this extreme line - not even Frelimo itself at this stage.

As I have suggested, a greater potential danger for us, and for all in this region of Africa, is probably the threat of anarchy, in which extreme and irresponsible small groups could operate without control. So, in this regard, our best interests will be served if an effective, representative government is formed, which has wide support throughout Mocambique, and which will have sufficient authority to implement its policies. We in South Africa should do all we can to encourage and support such a development and avoid doing anything which might make the situation any more difficult for the present Portuguese authorities than it already is. Certainly it will not serve our own long-term interests if we give the impression that we were so committed to support of previous Portuguese policies that we are unwilling to accept change. For instance, there can be no constructive purpose in criticising the present Portuguese government and condemning the concept of Black majority government which may be the product of their policies. Wisely the government has not even suggested such criticism.

Nor even has Mr. Ian Smith who probably has reason to feel more under pressure on this score than anyone else. But there are a few unfortunate cases in South Africa of things being written and said which could cause animosity and even hostility, where at present this does not exist. This completely pessimistic approach emerges only where there is a natural tendency to look always for the negative factors and the extreme cases to prove that the future is full of doom, rather than looking also for the positive factors and the challenge in any new and changing situation.

If we believe in the policy of non-interference, then the last thing we in South Africa should do is to give the impression that we wish to bolster up, or even come to the aid of, any White group in Mocambique which does not want to come to terms with the current changes. Apart from the fact that this would amount to interference, it would raise false hopes, because South Africa is not in a position in any case to defend the special interests of other groups in Southern Africa. The Prime Minister has in fact described as "absolute nonsense" the suggestion that South Africa would consider sending troops to help Whites in Mocambique, and furthermore he said that he could not foresee any situation where South Africa would send troops there. All South Africa was interested in, he said, was maintaining its own territorial integrity.

Under these present delicate circumstances, therefore, South Africans should be very wary of adopting a critical and negative attitude, and of sowing suspicion about developments in Mocambique and about the ability of Black people to govern themselves. We should perhaps take note of the statement on Republic Day by the South African Consul General in Lourenco Marques (as broadcast by the S.A.B.C.) who commented that there was no feeling of acute crisis among South Africans in Lourenco Marques, who were closer to the situation than people in the Republic. He said that the present situation involved "unavoidable changes" which in the last analysis could only be to the advantage of Southern Africa and all its peoples. This positive attitude is, I believe, a legitimate one at the present time, while we wait to see what course these changes will take, and how they will affect us here in South Africa.

Implications for South Africa

While I have suggested that our approach to the changes in Portuguese policy should be a positive one, I do not mean to imply that there are no consequences for us, and that we can simply sit back and hope for the best. I believe that the changes coming in Mocambique and Angola will have profound effects, not least on our Black population, and that of Rhodesia. A new sense of urgency is therefore required in adjusting our attitudes to the realities of our place in Africa. This should not be seen as a threat, but as an opportunity to be taken while there is still time.

One adjustment to be made, involves the acceptance of the fact (proved in the Portuguese territories and in all other similar cases, including Vietnam) that we cannot rely only on military strength to maintain our special position in Africa. In the type of conflict with which we are concerned and which many White South Africans seem to feel threatens us, now that the so-called "Buffers" on our flanks are being removed, there are in fact no borders. This type of conflict takes place within the country, and the whole population is involved. If there is infiltration of subversive elements (and that can hardly be prevented, with our long frontiers), they can only survive - let alone thrive - if they have the support of the local people. Guerrillas cannot succeed without that support.

We should not, therefore, always be looking outside for the causes of our problems or of potential threats in the future. Our concern should be rather to ensure that our own people do not support subversive movements. What this comes down to, is that we have the answers to all these external pressures and threats here in our own country - if we are prepared, in our own long-term interests, to find them, and to make the necessary accommodations.

Some of the answers are to be found in providing better economic opportunities, training and prospects for all our people, and a better life generally, with less restrictions. But these basic requirements are not enough, because, while I do not claim to be able to speak for Black people, I am sure that they do not want always to be simply at the receiving end, accepting those improvements the Whites are willing to grant them - no matter how beneficial these may be in themselves. The Blacks would be very exceptional people indeed, if they did not, like everyone else, wish to determine their own future and have a fair say in the future of their country. In other words, they must have meaningful political rights.

The Whites at present still have all effective political power, and our main political parties have different answers to this question (which they recognise) of sharing power. But the sense of urgency is lacking, and they act as though the timing and degree of change can be controlled indefinitely. Furthermore, we would be very naive if we were to expect the Blacks simply to accept "handouts" even in the political field. They must be parties to decisions regarding future political development, if such decisions are to have a reasonable chance of wide acceptance.

This direction towards meaningful sharing in both the economic and political spheres is the only realistic way in which the serious and growing pressures from outside can be countered. But, much more important, it is the only way in which we can ensure the future security and prosperity of our country. I repeat, this should not be seen as a threat, but rather as a challenge we can face with confidence and strength, because we have a combination of natural assets and advantages in this region of Africa which probably could not be found anywhere else in the world.

Mr. John Barnett is Director of the S.A. Institute of International Affairs, a post he has held since 1967. He was previously a member of the Department of Foreign Affairs and served for seven years at the United Nations in New York.

The above article is based on extracts from (i) a paper, with the same title as above, delivered at a symposium on the changes in Portugal, with special reference to the implications for Mocambique and South Africa, during the Regional Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Eastern and South Eastern Transvaal, held at Nelspruit on 4 June, 1974, and

(ii) an address to the Durban Chamber of Commerce on 6 June, 1974, entitled "Some Implications of External Pressures on South Africa".

OVERSEAS ATTITUDES TOWARDS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

IN SOUTH AFRICA

On 13 May 1974, *Mr. C.B. Pearce* (President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce) and *Mr. S. Motsuenyane* (President of the National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce) spoke to a meeting of the Witwatersrand Branch of the Institute on their impressions of overseas attitudes towards South Africa, gained during a recent joint mission to the United Kingdom and other European countries, under the auspices of the U.K.-S.A. Trade Association and the South Africa Foundation.

The texts of *Mr. Motsuenyane's* and *Mr. Pearce's* introductory talks are given below, and they are followed by an edited transcript of the discussion period, during which comments were made and questions put to the two speakers.

Mr. C.B. Pearce

South Africa, as a supplier of minerals, with particular emphasis on coal and uranium has become of world importance. The fact that she is dependant for only 20% of her industrial power on oil and that the world price for gold has reached \$180 per ounce places her in the most privileged position of any country in the world and heralds an era of great expansion, which is way beyond any forecast thus far presented.

South Africa's position in Africa too is significant. Although the Republic comprises only 5% of the total land area of Africa and has but 6% of its population, she accounts for 22% of the entire Continent's gross domestic product and 40% of its industrial production. These facts were the economic background from which we made our presentation in the United Kingdom and Western Europe.

We addressed our audiences jointly throughout this tour. In the many addresses we delivered and on every occasion the two of us presented the facts from both the Black and White viewpoints with no attempt to justify or explain them, and I, as a White industrialist, accepted full responsibility for the policies of my country, particularly those policies which had a bearing on wages and employment conditions. This presentation without exception produced an atmosphere of deep interest followed by questions which were always relevant to the discussion and enabled us in answering to expand on the many positive aspects of South Africa's planning and hopes for the future, sound inclusion of the black man in the massive forward development of the country's resources.

The United Kingdom-South Africa Trade Association whose guests we were in the United Kingdom, organised a splendid programme, if somewhat exhausting. This was followed by an excellent itinerary in the countries of Europe for which the South Africa Foundation was responsible.

We addressed Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom, Holland, France, Germany and Austria, the Council of UKSATA⁺, followed by a well attended meeting of Senior Executives of British Companies having subsidiaries in South Africa and who are members of UKSATA, The British Council of Churches and Leaders of the Church of Scotland, a representative group of Senior Dutch Churchmen, members of the British and Dutch Parliaments, students of Oxford and York Universities, members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, at Chatham House, London and at Edinburgh University, The South African Association. We were on Scottish and Viennese Television and did several radio broadcasts including a 25 minute recording on the BBC's Africa Service. We also had an interview with Alan Hargreaves, the T.U.C.'s Secretary for Foreign Affairs who was responsible for the report of the delegation which visited South Africa recently. There were also a number of press interviews in all countries visited.

In addressing UKSATA and the London Chamber of Commerce and on a number of other occasions, both in the United Kingdom and Western Europe, we presented this picture of massive economic strength, together with not only the need for change, in policies affecting the full productive use of total manpower, but an evidence of this change beginning to take place.

The White worker in the protection of his job - no less than the employer in the desire for the best return on investment - has endeavoured to hold steady the privileged position of the White worker. This policy has added much to the Black man being regarded as just a Black pair of hands and has been responsible for South Africa's relatively low productivity and the correspondingly low wages of some 80% of the labour force with a consequent negative effect on the size of the internal market. This attitude has placed a considerable handicap on the growth rate in a country which should achieve a 7% to 8% increase in the G.N.P. if we are to effectively develop its total resources of manpower and materials.

During the last 2-3 years there has been a clear change brought about by the rapidly expanding economy. There has been some evidence of increased productivity by the Blacks who have, without harm to the position of Whites, commenced to steadily contribute in more skilled work, with beneficial results to the domestic

+ United Kingdom - South Africa Trade Association

market and to export possibilities. With this buoyant and expanding economy, the demand is for more and more semi- and skilled labour, which the White labour force is totally unable to supply. There have recently been significant agreements between White Unions and employers affecting both wages and conditions and opening up work categories for Blacks in the engineering, mining and distributive industries.

Evidence of change is also to be found in Government Departments, such as the Railways, the Post Office and Telephone Departments where in order to maintain efficient service, many operations previously performed by Whites are now being effectively handled by Coloureds, Indians and Blacks. This change has been accomplished by negotiation and agreement with White Unions to the great advantage of the fast growing economy and without loss of either prestige or position by the Whites.

It is of significance that the Government has decided in co-operation with the private sector to provide technical training for Blacks in urban areas, both in Black townships and within urban industrial areas. This is an important policy decision as training of this type has, up to the present, been confined to homeland areas only. Early evidence is that the matter of this urban training is being treated as urgent priority and that training will be rapidly increased both in scope and facility.

Reference was made to the programme of the joint JCC/Assocom Non-European Affairs Committee which is being consistently pushed and implemented, i.e. basic education, training, widening opportunity, adequate reward and communication. We stated that these 5 points in general reflected the accepted blue-print of employer groups throughout the Republic and that active measures to implement increased Black participation in the development of total resources of the country were being vigorously undertaken.

The matter of direct Black participation in wage negotiation was often raised and the 1960 Assocom declaration on this contentious issue was stated, namely that "Trade Unions should, with the effluxion of time and with suitable safeguards, become representative of workers of all races".

Establishment of Works and Liaison Committees under the amended Bantu Labour Relations Act was presented and the fact that over 750 companies had decided to establish such committees was emphasised.

We found stimulating interest in T.U.C.S.A.'s policy regarding the development of the Black man in the economy, being careful to emphasise that T.U.C.S.A. represented between 50% and 60% of the Unions only. In this connection we made the following comment:

It is significant that a Report, prepared by the Trade Union Council of South Africa for the Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister at the end of 1973 on medium term proposals concerning action to tackle the root causes of inflation, ended with the following conclusions:

1. "The economic imperatives demand that the White labour force can no longer provide the skilled hands to run the economy in the future.
2. Non-Whites, including Bantu workers, will have to be trained in skilled jobs and allowed to enter as rapidly as possible in skilled jobs.
3. The climate of White worker opinions is responsive to programmatic and even rapid changes in labour policy, for the White workers see the need for greater participation of the non-White worker in skilled jobs, and this flexibility in thinking is manifest on the shop floor.
4. The fact that there is no longer a 'poor White problem' in South Africa means that the old policies of job protection for the White work force can now be replaced by more modern and meaningful programmes for job and income security for all workers and the more rapid entry of non-Whites into White jobs."

In the same T.U.C.S.A. report the following comment is made: "The White worker is already working shoulder to shoulder with non-Whites and is showing respect for, and even giving encouragement and support to, these work colleagues".

In all countries visited inflation, and its grave disrupting effects was constantly before us. The situation we found in Europe was that labour was demanding more and more pay for less work and that there was a growing demand for raw materials of every type which was becoming ever more difficult to meet. We referred to the relatively strong position in which South Africa finds herself having an abundance of what Europe needed most, namely:

1. Ample and adequate supplies of most raw materials, both mineral and agricultural, to sustain and develop a sound economy and
2. A relatively huge supply of trainable manpower eager for the facilities of training and opportunity.

In this regard the Private Sector in South Africa had a clear responsibility to plan for and use to full productive capacity these great basic resources. South Africa more than most countries in the world was in a position to slow down the serious erosive effects of inflation and whilst it was subject to a measure of imported inflation, the remedy in overall policy was largely in her own hands.

The recently published Parliamentary Report from the Expenditure on Wages and Conditions of African Workers Employed by British Firms in South Africa contains a significant recommendation made by the Confederation of British Industries. It suggested that there was an ethical and moral responsibility for industry to accept the betterment of the great mass of under-privileged and developing peoples as a matter for concern and emphasis.

Many times in our presentation reference was made to the part that had been played in the development of the African Continent by the countries we were visiting, i.e. United Kingdom, Holland, France and Germany. The good work in contributing to the development of Africa by the missionary, the educationalist, the medical man and the scientist remained evident. When independence was granted, however, there was in most African countries a serious dislocation and in some cases an economic collapse because the Black man had not been trained and given the opportunity to manage the economy prior to independence. On our visit to Oxford we found Africans from various parts of the Continent who were resentful because of this failure by the Whites to trust and train the indigenous peoples to take this responsibility. Our plea was for the mature prosperous countries who had for so many years "taken" from Africa, to review their future overseas investment planning, not only in terms of immediate profitability, but to have as a major objective the feeding, housing, clothing and education of the millions on the Continent. In such an objective they would commence to plough back something which was due to Africa and which would not only produce profits but would have as a result the raising of living standards of the millions, the training and creation of opportunities for indigenous Black industrial leadership, and would also create a new sense of responsibility and aspiration. As a long term investment, such a planning could bring a much needed sense of direction and purpose to those great countries of Europe who had played an important role in awakening Africa to the enormous benefits of a modern industrialised economy.

We were encouraged by the positive response to this thinking from every group we addressed. In meeting with the three large Dutch Chambers of Commerce there was an immediate proposal to organise a mission, not to South Africa's established urban industrial areas, but to the Homelands where new industries relating to the needs of the people could be properly investigated and established.

Our emphasis for investment was directed mainly to the need for Homeland development and for this to become a long-term objective both in the use of good trainable labour and in raising the standards of living of the masses of Blacks, as well as in the sound investment of capital and know-how.

The matter of migratory labour was inevitably raised: We emphasised that the most positive answer to this practice was for the establishment of an industrialised economy in the Homelands which would result in the preservation and maintenance of family life as well as providing work, food, clothing, housing and education. I stated that Commerce fully supported the principle of Homeland economic development and further believed that South Africa should be developed as a single economic entity.

It was also emphasised that this demanding challenge requires a combination not only of Government action but the co-operation of, and full consultation with, Black Homeland leaders, as well as with local and overseas capital, know-how and expertise. Only thus can this great challenge be successfully met.

We found that the most profound interest was aroused in any positive indication of change in the attitudes of the races across the colour line and the extent to which dialogue and consultation was taking place. In addition to the

formation of now over 1 000 works and liaison committees within factories and business organisations, the significant meetings between Deputy Minister Punt Janson and hundreds of Urban Black leaders, the summit meeting of the 8 Homeland leaders with Mr. Vorster both giving indications of a new pattern of contact and dialogue across the colour line, were of significant interest. The fact that there was not only recognition of the full authoritative leadership of the Homeland Chiefs but that matters of great importance such as colour discrimination, the position of the urban Black man and the vexing problem of influx control were freely ventilated and would be subjects for further discussion, gave practical evidence of change.

It is within the economic life of the country where the races are inextricably locked together, and it is here that commerce, mining and industry have the major role to play in the task of giving leadership in attitudinal changes which must result not only in improvement in working conditions, pay and productivity, but in the happiness and security of all our people.

Both in the United Kingdom and Holland, sections of the Church have been outspoken in condemnation and in advocating action against South Africa. These clamours have received very wide international publicity. Sam Motsuenyane whilst being outspoken against all aspects of policy, which based upon colour, resulted in discrimination and hardship of his people, was equally outspoken in condemning action by the Church, emphasising that a substantial capital withdrawal would deeply harm the Black man; the aid of terrorists should rather be directed towards the development of the Homelands, and in reply to questions regarding immigration, we both responded by stating that for some years ahead, South Africa would require skilled immigrants, until such time as our own non-White peoples could be suitably trained to meet the heavy increasing demand. Mr. Motsuenyane also pointed out that overmuch attention was being paid to the voice of people who, over the years, have been forced to leave South Africa and, in consequence, spoke with bitterness and hostility of the country - instead of to the voice of Black men of authority and standing in South Africa - who today were pleading for co-operation and economic partnership between Black and White and who were opposed to disinvestment and violence.

In this connection, I quote from a letter received recently from one of the most powerful voices in the British Council of Churches and a member of the World Council:

"I am sure your visit was helpful and your honesty and openness helped make the occasions of value. The more communication we get from everyone the more likely we are to make wise judgments."

He continued:

"..... It was very good to hear Mr. Motsuenyane speak from his point of view."

We had a similar reaction to our story from one of the most powerful figures of the Church in Holland and a violent critic of South Africa, with whom we spent time.

In many discussions, after our presentation to senior men in commerce and industry, we found groups, both in the United Kingdom and Europe who are deeply concerned because news of the changing climate we presented in the economy of South Africa had never been given place in the mass media of their countries. Our reply was to stress the responsibility of the private sector to demand and insist that such positive and constructive information be given the prominence it deserves. There seemed to be a fear to push for such change in the policies of Press, Radio and T.V., because of possible adverse reaction. This we suggested was a reflection on the strength of the free enterprise system and on the leaders of that system. Concern without action and accepting that personal and company interests might be damaged seemed a dangerous line to take and could lead to a steady decline in the hard-won and responsible position held by the free enterprise system and all it represented in Europe, unless the forces behind such restrictive and destructive policies were challenged and changed.

In conclusion reports coming in from both UKSATA and the South Africa Foundation indicate a successful mission. I consider this was because the presentation was made by Black and White always speaking together not in defence or attempting to explain, but presented with a completely independent approach, yet full teamwork and co-operation and with the common objective of finding a solution to South Africa's fears and hopes, giving a clear indication of change and presenting our unique potential both in manpower and materials.

This picture helped to create confidence and a belief that an answer was being found within our own country, and that outside pressures, no matter how well intended, produce resistance and made the task of working out our own solutions yet more difficult.

Finally: South Africa has become a vital pulsating part of the world economy and as the most industrially advanced country on the African Continent, has a responsibility for the developing countries of Africa which is inescapable. As the peoples of South Africa become fully involved in building a sound and great economy, in which all racial groups have a part and where a man's individual contribution and not his colour will become the yardstick of judgment, so will the countries of Africa open to us and accept our offers of assistance in their overall development.

In this endeavour South Africa will find the great economic maturity, industrial development, and financial resources of the United Kingdom and Western Europe not wanting.

Mr. S.M. Motsuenyane +

In my presentation I propose to share some of my impressions of our recent overseas tour with my colleague, Mr. Cyril Pearce, the President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce. When Mr. Pearce invited me to join him on an extended tour of Europe and Britain, I had very mixed feelings. I was apprehensive and sceptical about the outcome of a mixed mission, because it had never been undertaken before. I feared that my friend and I would not always agree on what has to be told to the outside world about the afflictions and hopes of the Black people in South Africa. My stand as a Black man would always be to support what we, as underprivileged people, have always clamoured for, such as fair remuneration of Black people here, equal opportunities, elimination of traditional colour bars, as well as all discriminatory laws and practices of our country. It was only my intimate knowledge of Mr. Pearce as a man, and what he has stood for, that gave me the courage to travel with him abroad. Our mission was strengthened tremendously by warm personal ties and excellent team work. Somebody was rather startled one day when I said we often prayed together in the morning, to ask the Lord to inspire us with thoughts that would enable us to communicate our message.

What was the strategy we adopted? Before we left this country, we agreed on a strategy of not trying to justify, nor to whitewash, the policies of South Africa. Believe me, it is very difficult to do that! We agreed that we would rather speak on the positive and more hopeful changes that are beginning to take place within the country, and especially in the country's economy. Without fear we pointed out the needs and problems of our country. Amongst other things we stressed the following factors:

Firstly, the Black people of South Africa should be seen as more than Black labourers; they should be given a sense of belonging and should ultimately have a say in what goes on in their country. The fact that at present the Africans owned very little of the material wealth of South Africa, we did not hide.

Secondly, the future of the White people would certainly be in jeopardy if they would not share the power of their country, their wealth, their know-how, on more equitable terms with the rest of the people of South Africa. Discrimination on the basis of colour must eventually be done away with, as it militates against the creation of harmony. You will know what Dr. Agrie, that great African scholar, said of harmony: "It is obtained by playing the black and white notes of a piano together." You cannot hope to get harmony by playing only on the black notes or on the white notes of a piano, and this harmony is what our country actually requires. The White race stands in a very privileged position at the present time, to lead and guide the Black people of Africa in their upward and forward march to progress. But, if self-preservation and survival of the White race is going to be their sole preoccupation and objective, then they will fail to carry out their mission in Africa.

Thirdly, we explained that Africans are becoming proud that they are Black, and Blackness can no longer be accepted as a tag of inferiority.

+ The following text has been transcribed from the tape recording with a minimum of editing.

The slogan of our day, not only in South Africa, but all over the African continent and in America, is "Black is beautiful". White rejection of the Black man and the resulting humiliation in so many ways has led the Black man to self-discovery. We are as a result witnessing what Dr. Nkrumah referred to as the 'flowering of a new African personality'. The Black man is proud to be black and that is what we are witnessing. South Africa ought to welcome and accommodate to the new day of Black consciousness in Africa.

The African must be given every encouragement and assistance to become a man, a resourceful contributor to the overall development of our country. He must be aware of the fact that Black and White must always be on each other's side in this country. The main emphasis in South Africa should be on building a spirit of togetherness that far transcends colour or ethnic identities. Divided loyalties to many divergent states and policies must in the end create a spirit of rivalry and antagonism among the people of South Africa.

We were quite open and fearless about what we said was needed in our country. What was the overall response to this kind of message? Europe is very much concerned about the plight of the Black people in South Africa. Those who have been to Europe will know how concerned and critical the Europeans are of our country. Europeans feel embarrassed to be identified with South Africa, because it is generally maintained that the apartheid philosophy which forms the basis of policy in this country is basically immoral and is thus incompatible with the Christian and democratic principles and traditions of the western world. That was the first reaction we saw. The second reaction was that the influences of the Third World, together with the U.N., pressure groups, churches and a hostile press, have all tended to create hard feelings against South Africa overseas. The press and T.V. media in Europe give much greater prominence to negative events, such as the banning of priests and trade union leaders in South Africa. Much less is said of the emergence of dialogue, like the meeting of Black Homeland leaders with Mr. Vorster. These events are very much underemphasised. The increase in wage levels in South Africa has not really made a significant impression on overseas people.

Very many times we were asked: "But why don't we hear these things over here?" The London Chamber of Commerce was particularly worried about the fact that matters that we discussed (like the change in the wage levels in South Africa, change in the attitude of the Whites on petty apartheid, and so on) were not being reported. This question was one we could not answer for them.

Pressure groups in Europe are aiming at three things. Firstly, there is pressure for disinvestment of foreign capital from South Africa. This is one of the most important things that was being emphasised everywhere we went. People say that capital that comes into South Africa only contributes to the perpetuation of a system that is immoral and that does not regard the rights and the hopes of the Black man in this country, as being valuable and important. Secondly, there are attempts to discourage emigration to South Africa. We found that in Holland and Britain, young men in the universities are opposed to this and are campaigning to discourage any intending White person from coming to this country. Thirdly, there is the aim of closing the wage gap. People are very worried about that.

Everything is being done to pressurise firms that operate in South Africa to pay reasonable wages. Responsible men in commerce we met were extremely heartened by the report we gave of some positive change in the economy. But they did not know why their press did not welcome such news.

The possibility of investing in the Homelands was very seriously considered, especially in Holland and Austria where the Chamber suggested sending trade missions to South Africa.

Almost all the groups we met, agreed that violence and disinvestment in South Africa would not furnish a positive answer to the country's internal problems. It was the South African people themselves who would effectively hasten the solution of their own problems. I believe that nobody can solve these for us: we have got to get engaged in trying to find honest solutions for the problems which confront and afflict our nation. What are the recommendations that one can give in these circumstances? Let me humbly suggest a few ideas that ought to be tried in this country.

First of all, South Africans I feel, must gear themselves to adjust hastily to the demands of a new day in Africa. How many of us are cognisant of the fact that we have entered a new era on the African continent? New demands upon our systems, upon our traditions, are being exerted, and we must respond to the call of the new day.

The African wants to live as a free man in his own country. There are far too many negative laws and restrictions against Africans, which generate frustration and unhappiness - these should be entirely scrapped. They do not benefit the country because they only cause bitterness and unhappiness. Blacks in the north are already flying planes! We had the greatest pleasure of being piloted by an African from Cheleka, Malawi, to Nairobi - a very smooth flight it was and it made no difference at all that a Black man drove this plane! We have not reached a point in South Africa where a Black man can be permitted even to brush the engines of an aeroplane. We have to recognise that Africa north of us is out-pacing us, and we have got to take this very seriously.

The Africans north of us are regarded and accepted as equal by the international community. Double standards are no longer upheld anywhere else in Africa, only here in the so-called 'civilised' part of Africa. It is in South Africa where I sometimes ask the question: "Can I go into this building or not, can I eat in this cafe or not?" I have been to several parts of Africa, several countries in Europe, but it is only here where a Black man must ask himself whether or not he can have a meal in a cafe or in a restaurant. And I think this speaks very badly of our country; we are certainly behind the times. If this is to be regarded as the mark of civilisation, then I do not want to be called civilised.

More mixed missions are desirable in my mind; the world is looking out for men of different colours from this country representing our country together. This is what the world is expecting from South Africa. But Black people can only play a prominent role, if given a sense of belonging to this country. We cannot defend or justify the sectional and the exclusive policies of this country. Moreover as an underprivileged man, the Black man will always be a weak ambassador

for South Africa. South Africa must be represented to the world, not as the White man's country, for this is not true, and the world will certainly never accept South Africa as such; nor will the Africans here ever be persuaded to support this contention. The whole philosophy of separatism underlining our policies merits reappraisal. If our aim is to build a future that is safe for all the people of our country, if we are going to face the critical world together, then we must learn to plan and to work together here, at home, and abolish practices which tend to throw us apart into Black, White, Indian, and Coloured sections.

These then are my humble recommendations, and I say sincerely that our going together demonstrated togetherness, but this togetherness can only be made more meaningful, if we can practise it sincerely and honestly at home. I cannot see that the trends in the world, which are so critical of South Africa, are going to change, if we here at home do not change. What will change the attitude of the world is what we do here at home, something that will give hope to others looking at us. I appeal, therefore, for brotherhood in South Africa - brotherhood that transcends the colour of the man and looks at the man himself.

COMMENTS +

Visiting American Professor: While I have a high regard for Mr. Pearce, I am very disturbed by some of the things that he has had to say here. Had his trip not been through the United Kingdom and Europe, but rather to the United States, he would have found the situation a little different to what he has described here.

One thing South Africans must understand when you attempt to explain your country to foreigners, is that we tend to cast this against our own experience and compare where you stand with our experience. There are three things Mr. Pearce mentioned, which have direct counterparts in Black/White relations in the United States.

The first is dialogue. I believe that Blacks in the United States are fed up with dialogue; in fact, they have come to the conclusion that dialogue does not work. I believe that, particularly with the examples of Martin Luther King and the boycotts in the South, they have come to the conclusion that only a massive show of power, not violent power, is the only thing that can work against Whites. Consequently, if you explain to Americans the great progress made in dialogue in South Africa, you will find that this falls on very deaf ears.

The second point relates to the advances which have been made in the development of Homelands industry. Americans have a counterpoint to this: the development of the so-called ghetto. There has been a great deal of talk, and some action, in developing black businesses in the downtown ghettos. The Blacks have come to the conclusion that this just does not work; Black business has to be integrated with white business. You have to have Blacks in management

+ These two comments, with the speakers' replies, have been reproduced from the tape-recording of the discussion which followed the above addresses.

in White business. The development of Black areas and separate from White areas is an old story, and it simply does not work.

The third thing Mr. Pearce spoke about was the development of workers' committees. In the U.S. we have already experienced what we call 'company unions', and the word is a dirty one in the United States and especially in the U.S. Labour Movement. The reason this is so is because these unions were organised by the management of the company. Workers don't trust this and these unions, as they occurred in the 1930's and 1940's no longer exist; the workers won't stand for them. Larger Trade Unions have been organised on a national basis and the 'company union' remains a dirty word, because the managers of companies were able to organise the union and so keep the workers from getting what they wanted.

So, considering these factors, I am afraid that, when Mr. Pearce talks about the so-called progress that has been made in South Africa, in these respects, it looks very backward to us foreigners. Many South Africans have asked me whether the foreign press is not overly sensational. They wonder, after I have been here, whether I have not been enlightened. My reply is: "Yes, the foreign press is sensational, and we do hear about banning and that sort of thing. But I am afraid, when I come to South Africa and meet your delightful and charming people, and see your beautiful country, I still go away somewhat depressed."

Mr. S.M. Motsuenyane Believe me, when I referred to the need for improvement, I meant we have only begun to move in this direction. But this movement does give us hope in the long run. Things were much worse than they are now, not so long ago. We had strikes in Durban about a year ago, and these strikes rocked the country with a new sense of realisation. At the time the Prime Minister said that every White person in the country should recognise that Black people do have souls. Whites have begun to look anew at problems like wages and a fair remuneration for the Black people of the country.

I do not like to compare the dynamism of race relations in the Southern United States with our own country. You have a wonderful constitution which moves in the right direction. We do not have a Constitution like that.

I was in the South when the sit-in movement erupted, and many young men went to sit in White areas, when in fact, they were not allowed to. The only way I could get into a White restaurant in North Carolina, where they would say, "We don't want Coloureds here," was to say, "I am not Coloured, I am an African." "Well," was the reply, "come on in!" This was a double standard, too, and it had to take a man like John Kennedy to rule that colour bars were unconstitutional.

We are looking forward to such dynamism. South Africa must gear itself to the realisation that a new day has dawned in Africa. We have to realise that we are being outstripped on this Continent. We claim to be the most developed, most civilised, most cultured, most outgoing part of Africa, but in some respects we are the most backward. Both the young and the old in South

must realise that they, and the circumstances here, must change faster than they are doing now. However, I think we are beginning to see the dawning of a new and hopeful day in this country.

You may think I am being overly optimistic, but in recent years I have been in contact with men who have the power to change the thinking in this country. Take a man like Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister. When you talk to him, he impresses you by seeing through the problems facing South Africa. But, as a politician, he cannot move as fast as he wants to. We have got to warn the electorate to become aware of what is happening.

We often talk about the so-called communist threat facing this country. However, to the Black man the colour bar and the system which excludes him appear much worse than communism, which he does not really know about. What the Black man knows, he does not like; it is this which he is fed up about. Colour discrimination is morally indefensible in our country.

A leading African Trade Unionist: I am disappointed that, when the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr. Janson, recently met leaders of the African Community (referred to by Mr. Pearce), the Trade Union leaders were excluded from that meeting. Whether the Government accepts it or not, some Black Trade Unions exist, and we operate as best we can for our people. We, like many industrialists, reject the works committees' system out of hand.

Mr. C.B. Pearce: I personally am sorry that the Worker was not represented at that meeting. I do not know who was responsible for the invitations. The group included Urban Bantu Council people, Headmasters of Schools, Leaders of Women's Associations and Sports Leaders, etc. I thought it was a particularly well represented group, and I am sorry that the Union Leaders were left out. I do not think this was intentional, because we all recognise the importance of the Black Worker today.

On the question of the works committee, I have backed these. For the first time in the history of South Africa the opportunity is provided for management to meet their Black workers in the company. This has never happened before. There has not been enough contact generally. For instance, I arranged, through the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, for 40 of our leading people to go on a conducted tour of Soweto some 3 or 4 months ago. Between them they represented employers of some 300 000 Africans. Most of those men had never been into Soweto.

Works committees are an interim measure, in my opinion. But this measure provides for the first time consultation with workers to talk about conditions in the factory. For the Black man it gives him an avenue to management. This has never happened before, and I support this dialogue as an interim measure. As I mentioned in my address, Assocom in 1960 accepted the principle of direct representation by the African in industry. We must continue to work until that day arrives.

"SOUTH AMERICA BECOMES VERY IMPORTANT"

Interview with Mr. Brand Fourie
Secretary for Foreign Affairs,
Republic of South Africa

The following interview with Mr. Otto Krause appeared in the series *Oop Gesprek in Rapport* (Johannesburg) on 7 April, 1974, shortly after the visit to South Africa of President Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay. It has been translated from the original Afrikaans.

Question: How important is Latin America in the international arena?

Fourie: The importance of Latin America is evident when one considers that its population stands at about 300 million and it has a surface area of 8 million square miles, which is approximately 19 per cent of the world's habitable land surface.

In the past its importance has largely been underestimated. Now as a result of the development which has taken place, especially over the past decade, the rest of the world has become increasingly conscious of the importance of this great continent - and of its potential.

People are, for instance, amazed to learn that in the production of advanced machinery, Brazil can compete on an equal footing with some of the most advanced industrialised countries in the world.

Brazil has developed substantially over the last decade and all indications are that this development will continue. In the present international oil crisis the oil resources of Brazil are also of great importance, this strengthens her position in the economic as well as political field.

The role played by Latin America in international trade is best illustrated by the increasing position of Brazil and the Argentine in the international market place. In 1967 the extent of Brazilian imports and exports was in the region of \$3,25 billion; in 1971 this had increased to more than \$6,5 billion. In 1969 Argentinian imports and exports surpassed the \$3-billion mark.

Some Latin American countries have, of course, for years been producers of important natural resources like oil. The Argentine is an old producer and everyone knows the extent of Venezuela's oil resources.

At the present, more and more producers of this sought-after fluid are developing on that Continent. It is now expected that Equador, for example, will begin to make a substantial contribution in this area.

Regarding the role of Latin America in international politics, one may just refer briefly to her position at the United Nations. With the establishment of the United Nations as well as in its early years, there was a tendency among many members to regard Latin America in the same light as the so-called "new-countries". Its actions were also looked upon in this light.

Over the years this continent has given more evidence that it, so far as a majority of its countries is concerned, forms a moderate group in the United Nations, a group that also has a moderating influence upon that body. During the Cold War period, most Latin American states took a predominantly anti-Communist stand and thus allied themselves fully with the Western world.

The strength of the Latin American group at the United Nations is 24, which is about one-sixth of the total membership of that organization. With the exception of six of these countries, all of them are on the continent of South America itself or in Central America.

With the big increase in membership of the U.N. the voting position of this group has, of course, weakened relatively and cannot nowadays at all be compared with the African sector of the Afro-Asian group. Nevertheless, it remains a powerful group.

Question: How important is South America for us?

Fourie: South Africa and South America, which both lie in the southern hemisphere, have a common interest in events in the Atlantic Ocean. This ocean serves as a connecting link and, as our trade increases with that part of the world, an increase can be expected in shipping between their harbours and our own.

With the inauguration of direct flights between Jan Smuts and Rio de Janeiro, and thereafter between Cape Town and Buenos Aires, we have been brought, for all practical purposes, closer to each other.

Not only has the flow of tourists increased, but also the flow of private investors and commercial men. On both sides a greater mutual consciousness of potential has developed.

For instance, South Africa has the mining technology which can be used to great advantage by Latin American countries who specifically want to develop in this sphere.

Development in this sphere can in turn bring the possible provision of mining machinery - a field in which South Africa has already reached great proficiency. In the construction field there is a growing interest on the part of the South African private sector to export its skills to South America. At this stage a number of large-scale schemes for Latin America are being planned and carried out. This offers great opportunities for South Africa and to mutual advantage. Thus, in fact, South Africa is playing a leading role in a consortium for big construction projects in Peru.

As a result of the recent visit of President Stroessner a greater interest in that country has developed among our people. In this connection it is perhaps fitting to mention the giant hydroelectric projects which are being envisaged on the border between Paraguay and the Argentine. Because of the size of such projects, consortiums normally undertake their construction.

The path is open for South African undertakings to play a role here. South Africa is furthermore directly affected not only by her bilateral relations with Latin America but also by the actions of Latin American countries in organizations such as the United Nations.

While individual countries are voting against us on so-called 'colonialist questions', the majority tend to oppose blatant, illegal action on the part of the United Nations against us. This is in keeping with Latin America's traditional respect for the principles of International Law.

This approach was again demonstrated in the attitude of the Latin American delegations when the question of South Africa's credentials was considered at the last session of the General Assembly. The great majority of them supported South Africa's credentials. No Spanish or Portuguese speaking country voted against South Africa.

In the nature of things there are often differences between them and us on the political level. But on the other hand, there are also a growing number of instances where we have a community of interest and a common approach.

In an area which is of increasing importance, namely the Law of the Sea, our approach is almost identical.

In the next few months the third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea will take place. It will be the largest international conference since the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco.

One of the most important aspects to be considered is the Latin American idea that coastal states should have the right to determine so-called economic zones along their coasts.

Like the Latin American states, South Africa is in favour of making these zones as wide as possible, allowing the coastal state exclusive jurisdiction over fishing and fish-conservation in them and also that coastal states should have the exclusive right to exploit all mineral and other resources, like oil, there.

Question: In earlier years, South Africa had virtually no contact with South America. How have relations been developed?

Fourie: Before World War II, South Africa had consular relations with only three South American countries - the Argentine, Brazil and Uruguay. Since then these relations have in the post-war years been extended to the creation of diplomatic missions. Contact between South Africa and South America has become

progressively closer, and now South Africa has diplomatic and consular representation in almost a dozen Latin American countries.

A few days ago, another two countries of the group agreed to the appointment of a South African ambassador.

Question: How will closer ties with South America benefit us mutually? What can we offer each other?

Fourie: As already mentioned, the establishment of direct air services is one of the most practical methods to promote and strengthen contact and mutual access. One can just hope that future expansion in this field will be possible. I am, of course, aware that there are always great problems to be overcome, for instance, the economic viability of such services, especially in the first years after introduction.

Secondly, the expansion of mutual trade is of the greatest importance. This also includes the import and export of skills and services, as in the case of the construction projects to which I have already referred.

The exchange and making available of scientific knowledge and expertise through organizations like the CSIR and the Bureau of Standards can make a real contribution.

South African biologists, veterinarians, doctors, mining experts, etc. are also in contact with their colleagues in South America. Experts from that part of the world are now also being invited in increasing numbers to come and exchange knowledge first hand in South Africa.

Question: What are the problems in the path of greater contact?

Fourie: As I have already mentioned, we began to develop contact with the greater part of Latin America only after 1945.

When moving into a new part of the world, there are always problems to be overcome. So, for example, commercial practices, legal approaches, financial arrangements, etc., have to be learned. Furthermore, the language factor presents a formidable barrier especially in the early years. That in itself showed up a great lack of information on the circumstances, potential and developments.

As regards my Department, each year has seen greater attempts to stimulate the learning of Spanish and Portuguese by members of the staff. We have so advanced in this respect that during the visit of the President of Paraguay and his entourage a whole group of young men from this Department were able to assist in the translation of conversations.

Together with some educational institutions and the S.A. Airways, we are also attempting to make it possible for students in South America periodically

to attend courses in one of our official languages. Hopefully, our educational institutions will be more able to tackle this problem in the future.

Question: How does the visit of President Stroessner fit into the pattern of our development of better relations with South America?

Fourie: This visit and the contact with Paraguay is pleasing, especially since that the visit is being made by a Head of State from a continent which, as I have indicated, is becoming increasingly important in world terms.

The two agreements which were signed with Paraguay during the visit create for South Africa another opportunity to participate in international co-operation.

We are further convinced that the proposed co-operation with Paraguay will develop to our mutual advantage.

It will not only lead to an extension of our trade and participation in development projects, but it ought to bring about generally better relations between our two countries. President Stroessner was not only accompanied by his official entourage but by a strong contingent of businessmen, financiers, radio, press and television people. In fact, it was the largest single group of media and information people who have ever visited South Africa from South America. Our State President's and Prime Minister's speeches on the occasion of the visit were relayed to large audiences in South America on radio and television.

Question: What about the criticism of President Stroessner's visit?

Fourie: Certain accusations were made against members of the government and senior officials of Paraguay. These accusations were rejected by a spokesman of the government of Paraguay and dubbed product of the international sensation press. Our Minister of Foreign Affairs has already reacted sharply to these reports.

In a speech at a reception in honour of the President of Paraguay, our Prime Minister expressed himself as follows: "You, like all other nations, have your critics. However, the more we see of your critics the more we like you." We must not forget that many positive things were said about President Stroessner's visit in our press.

Question: Where governments change so often in South America, is there any solid foundation on which we can build closer ties?

Fourie: In what parts of the world are governments not constantly changing? A de facto situation can change overnight and in this regard one can mention among others, Australia, New Zealand and Madagascar. It is not necessary to

mention other countries.

The fact is that, with the exception of South Africa, there are very few countries in the world where governments have not changed in the past twelve to fifteen years.

It is indeed very encouraging to extend relations in areas where there are definite signs of stability. But in today's world it would be negative if we only tried to build relations with countries where we could accept with certainty that governments would not change for many years.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE LAW OF THE SEA⁺

The United Nations Law of the Sea Conference, which opened in Caracas on 20th June and which is due to continue until 28th August, is the third Conference to concern itself with such matters in the last two decades. Previous Conferences in 1958 and 1960 failed to achieve a durable international consensus. During recent years strong pressures have built up and new claims have been made as to the uses of the sea and the seabed, and the jurisdiction of states over it. The fact that all the 149 participant nations meeting in Caracas accept the need for a body of international law governing the use and abuse of the seas gives reason to hope that satisfactory solutions may be hammered out and agreed. However no-one is excessively optimistic, and a second long session has already been arranged for Vienna next year. Seasoned negotiators recognise the problems of trying to agree among so many nations a body of law to govern 70 per cent of the Earth's surface.

The need for a measure of international agreement is urgent. Laws of the sea are at best sketchy and often un-enforceable, but they are essential if the world is to avoid the seas being fished out, maritime mineral resources being exhausted, the oceans being polluted beyond their carrying capacity and the high seas being turned into a zone of international conflict. The precedents for the Conference are not too encouraging. The 1958 Conference adopted conventions on territorial and contiguous waters, the Continental Shelf, freedom of passage, fishing rights and the conservation of scarce resources. The 1960 Conference failed to reach international agreement on national moves to extend territorial waters or the development of principles governing the next band of national control, namely "exclusive economic zones". The latter imply economic sovereignty without prejudice to normal rights of navigation or over-flying.

The scope of the Caracas Conference will have to be wide enough to comprehend all types of national maritime jurisdiction, fisheries regimes, rights of navigation, limits on marine pollution, and the establishment of an effective international agency to oversee the application of any international law which is agreed. The area of the high seas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction was described as "the common heritage of mankind" in the ringing Declaration which was adopted unanimously at the 1970 UN General Assembly, and it must be hoped that this skeletal phrase can be clothed with the flesh of substantial international agreement. The prime purpose of the Conference is to prevent any recurrence of the sort of dispute which, for instance, recently brought the United Kingdom into conflict with Iceland.

⁺This brief report is taken from an article in *Overseas Review*, No. 95, July 1974.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON RAW MATERIALS
AND DEVELOPMENT

The United Nations Special Session on Raw Materials and Development, which took place in New York from 9th April to 2nd May, ended with a predictable profusion of speeches but few firm decisions. However, there was no mistaking the main message of the Conference, which was that some of the developing countries now wield a powerful new economic weapon, namely commodity power.

The weapon is of recent origin. In 1970 exports from the developing world accounted for only 38 per cent of the international trade in basic commodities. Today they account for 48 per cent. In some vital raw materials, such as copper, tin, rubber and bauxite, developing countries have a near monopoly. It is today's high commodity prices, rather the effects of aid or increased industrialisation, which have helped the developing countries to lift their share of total world exports from 17 per cent to 27 per cent over the last few years. Oil is the most important commodity, with annual world exports worth some \$135,000 million a year at current prices. By comparison, world trade in copper - the second most important commodity - is worth only \$7,300 million a year and sugar some \$7,000 million a year. Despite these large differentials, there is growing evidence that other producer-nations may be tempted to try to emulate the Arabs' example over oil by forming their own commodity cartels.

In New York the developing countries did not present a common front, since those without large commodity earnings fear not only that they will be left behind in their economic development but also that their normal sources of aid will dry up as the industrialised countries have to use more and more of their foreign exchange to pay their increased commodity bills. The poor countries therefore pleaded for special help and got some satisfaction from the decision to set up a special fund to which the industrialised and other unspecified countries will be urged to contribute. A 36-nation Committee is to work out the details of the proposed Fund's operation and report to the Economic and Social Council in July.

The International Monetary Fund has drawn up a list of the developing countries which have been hardest hit by the rise in commodity prices. India, for example, is now paying out almost half of her total export earnings simply to meet the cost of imported oil and the list of other countries in particular difficulty includes Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh, and the countries of the Sahelian Zone of the Southern Sahara, where the people are already seriously affected by drought. Such countries will hope to receive the greater part of any United Nations aid which is forthcoming and the United Nations Secretariat estimates that they will need at least \$6,000 million this year.

It is hoped that the oil producing countries will make substantial contributions to match those of the industrialised nations. Saudi Arabia claims that it is already spending \$2,000 million a year on aid and Iran has promised \$1,000 million specifically to India. The new commodity-rich nations seem unlikely to be among the major donors, since they want

to use their windfalls to the benefit of their own development. Zambia, for example, now earns £800 million from her copper exports and Malaysia is enjoying the fruits of a triple boom in the price of tin, rubber and palm oil. Such commodity-rich nations have been able to borrow in the Eurodollar Market to meet their own increased oil bills and to finance their new industrial development.

The industrialised countries argue that a proliferation of commodity cartels, export quotas and high support prices will do great damage to world trade. The last US Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. George Shultz, warned that such measures by the major commodity producers could lead to serious retaliation. The United States alone controls 60 per cent of the world's wheat trade and it is worth noting that the industrialised world holds a larger share than the developing world of international trade in non-oil basic commodities. Over the last year alone higher prices added about \$30,000 million to the industrialised world's commodity earnings. There is also evidence that the increasing solidarity of the commodity exporting countries in the developing world is being met by concerted action in the industrialised world. For example, some of the leading aluminium producers are linking their research efforts as a counter to the bauxite producers, and metal fabricators are now spending large sums of money on research into cheaper substitutes for commodities whose prices have risen excessively.

At the Conference in New York, the British Government, in the person of Mr. David Ennals, stressed the inter-dependence of the international community and the need for a co-operative approach, particularly to the severe problems of the hardest hit developing countries. However, in common with many other industrialised countries, the Labour spokesman expressed substantial reservations about the final texts of the Conference - the so-called "Declaration on the Establishment of a new International Economic Order", and the Programme of Action which supported it - and regretted that the emphasis on inter-dependence and co-operation voiced in the general debate was not reflected more fully in the final texts. Mr. Ennals joined in pledging a major contribution by the European Community to emergency aid for the hardest hit countries on the understanding that other members of the international community would also contribute.

Taken from *Overseas Review*, No. 94, June 1974,
published by the Conservative Political Centre,
London, p. 14 - 15.

PRESSURES ON APARTHEID:

A Reply to David Hirschmann⁺

Otto Krause

Mr. Hirschmann, I am afraid, is very much a prisoner of the clichéd, caricature view of the Afrikaner. Throughout his article on *Pressures of African States on Apartheid*, Mr. Hirschmann relies on the assumption that the Afrikaner nation is an unbending, never-changing, monolithic (and maybe neolithic) people with a fixed idea about their own racism and apartheid, a nation with no sense of adaptation, self-interest or idealism.

Of course, no such people exists upon this planet; but years of anti-Afrikaner propaganda have created this one, and the wonder is that so many outsiders believe it. That Mr. Hirschmann should assume this nature of Afrikanerdom is disturbing, in an academic and in a man who lives in South Africa.

This assumption is all too apparent as Mr. Hirschmann threads his way through the pressures upon apartheid. In well-nigh every instance it is Afrikanerdom which is reacting to pressure whether from within or without, and reacting tardily or unhappily. Or, as he says, "The development or alteration of its policy which the government judges would dilute overseas criticism must also be one which it feels it can get away with ..."

He practically ignores the main force for change in South Africa, namely pressures stemming from within Afrikanerdom, and only in one instance, when discussing the "requisite" concatenation of pressures which would apparently change Afrikanerdom's course, does he say: "The specific issue raised must be one which the government itself or a vocal group in the National Party perceives as a defect ..."

For the rest, according to Mr. Hirschmann, the National government only changes when forces outside Afrikanerdom make change unavoidable.

And consistent with this view he comes up with such statements: "In cases where it (the government) feels it may have overstepped the mark (as to change) it immediately takes a counter-balancing step which both demonstrates that it has not strayed from the path, and also serves to divert attention. Thus immediately after the Natal strikes, which momentarily wrested the initiative from the government, it neutralised any doubts its supporters may have had by banning sixteen student leaders".

Now, anyone remotely in touch with Afrikaner thinking would by no means hold that the Natal strikes "momentarily wrested the initiative from the government". On the contrary, there was at the time practically unconcealed glee among Afrikaners that the English who for so long and so hypocritically preached against Afrikaners for not giving the blacks a square deal, should in this case be caught out by the blacks themselves for paying such miserable wages. The Natal strikes in fact set Afrikanerdom crowing.

⁺ See note at end of article, page 34.

Moreover, anyone who has followed the course of the Schlebusch Commission will know that the banning of the student leaders at that time was the result of a protracted investigation and by no means bore any relation to the Natal strikes.

For all his insight into the workings of Afrikanerdom, one sometimes feels that Mr. Hirschmann indeed does not live in South Africa.

His lack in this respect is, however, common amongst most English-speaking South Africans, and even academics who are supposed to know better. But then again this all may be Afrikanerdom's fault, for playing its cards too close to the chest.

Nonetheless, there does exist an Afrikaans Press with views to read for all who choose to read. And any reading of the Afrikaans Press over the past decade or so will indeed show that Afrikaners, their leaders as much as the man in the street, have been truly touched by a realization of the need for change regarding race relations. This sensing of a need for change of course goes back further; but it was only in the years after Afrikaner political hegemony had been more firmly secured that it became more manifest.

The fact is, simply, changes in old-style apartheid - the 1948 model of the policy - became increasingly necessary in Afrikaners' own view not only as the political battle against English-speakers receded in importance but as Afrikaners in the 1950's started taking long-term - and hence more moral - view of their future as a new nation on this continent.

Hence the great inter-Afrikaner debate of the fifties with apartheid, or straight segregation, pitted against the liberal concept of separate development - with separate development the victor but the National Party managing to retain apartheid as an apparent concession to party political consistency. (That the National Party should so contrive to run two mutually inconsistent policies at the same time is simply an indication that it is essentially an Afrikaner-based party and not a racially based party.)

Following such debates the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation upon South Africa became more and more accepted by Afrikaners, with a consequent reappraisal of several apartheid doctrines. And already changes are taking place in these related fields, largely through the device of allowing former practices to fall into desuetude.

But most importantly, a new moral climate of reappraisal has reached into Afrikanerdom through its own questioning, rather like that which touched white Americans in the sixties; and all the aspects of apartheid which affect human dignity are today being toughly debated by Afrikanerdom - privately and in their press.

The government itself is part of this continuing debate on change; and this must necessarily be so, for Afrikanerdom's perception of its self-interest and indeed of its long-standing idealism is changing. That is to be expected; any other nation would also do so in changing circumstances.

Foreign pressures and South African pressures outside Afrikanerdom are of course further prods toward change. No one can hold that they have no effect. When mild, they do verily help along change in South Africa; when too threatening, they are naturally counter-productive.

Yet the main agent for change is indubitably new perceptions within Afrikanerdom itself: on the grounds of both self-interest and idealism, often working hand in glove. Mr. Hirschmann thinks otherwise. He sees foreign pressure linked with non-Afrikaner internal pressures as the prime mover.

Were it not for his old-hat view that an obtuse and incorrigibly racialistic Afrikanerdom was not like any other people on earth and hence only changeable from the outside, he might admit that peaceful change (the kind he stands for) is nearly always brought about by those who wield power and therefore change willingly. It is seldom forced by outsiders. But peaceful change is surely what is occurring in South Africa today. Maybe too slowly; but surely.

+ David Hirschmann's article *Pressures of African States on Apartheid* appeared in our last *Newsletter* (Vol.6 No.1). As explained in that issue (page 30) both Mr. Hirschmann and Mr. Otto Krause - the well-known journalist and political commentator - were members of a panel which discussed the question of *External Pressures on South Africa*, although both Mr. Hirschmann's article and this reply by Mr. Krause were written specially for the *Newsletter* and are not simply reproductions of their contributions to the panel discussion.

NEWS FROM THE BRANCHES/NUUS VAN DIE TAKKE

EASTERN PROVINCE

The following speakers have addressed recent meetings of the Branch:

Mr. C.J.A. Barratt on "External Pressures on South Africa".

Professor Denis Worrall on "South Africa's Position in the World : Problems and Prospects".

Mr. Otto Krause on "South Africa and the Portuguese Crisis".

CAPE TOWN

The following speakers have addressed recent meetings of the Branch:

Baron Fraser of Lonsdale on "The Present State of Britain's Economic Health".

Mr. C.J.A. Barratt on "The War in Mocambique".

The Hon. Mr. Justice J.H. Steyn on "Justice in South Africa with reference to Developments in the U.K. and Israel".

Sir Robert Birley, K.C.M.G. on "The Federal Republic of West Germany".

Mrs. Catherine Taylor on "The Campus Scene in the U.S.A. 1969-1974, and some general observations".

NATAL

The following speakers have addressed recent meetings of the Branch:

Mr. A. McI. Johnston on "Anglo-Irish Relations and the Question of Ulster".

Mr. C.J.A. Barratt on "External Pressures on South Africa".

Mr. Otto Krause on "South Africa and the Portuguese Crisis".

PRETORIA

Die volgende sprekers het onlangse vergaderings van die tak toegespreek:

Prof. M.H.H. Louw oor „Omgewingsaspekte van die Internasionale Gemeenskap".

Dr. Jeremy Keenan oor "Algeria: The Misunderstanding of a Revolution".

Mr. C.J.A. Barratt on "External Pressures on South Africa".

Mnr. Gerhard Töttemeyer oor „Probleme en Vraagstukke in die Politieke Ontwikkeling van Owambo".

Mrs. Armintha Burns on "Political Warfare".

Dr. John Poorter on "A changing Europe : The Consequences for South Africa".

Mr. Lars Persson on "Aspects of Integration Policy in South America".

WITWATERSRAND

The following speakers have addressed recent meetings of the Branch:

Professor S.W. Johnson on "Traditions and Current Trends in American Foreign Policy".

Sir Kenneth Younger on "The Energy Crisis: A Revolution in International Relations".

Professor Shimon Shamir on "The Middle East Today".

Dr. Henry Olivier on "The Significance of the Caborra Bassa Project for Southern Africa".

Mr. S.M. Motsueyane and Mr. C.B. Pearce on "Overseas Impressions of Economic Developments in South Africa".

Mr. Leslie Sehume and Mr. Gert Wolmarans on "British-South African Links in International Sport".

Mr. John Seiler on "The South African Perspective of the World: Can it serve as the basis of a Productive Foreign Policy?".

Professor Jack N. Behrman on "International Control of Multinational Corporations".

Dr. Margaret Mead on "Developing Race Relations in the United States of America".

Mr. C.J.A. Barratt)

Mr. Wilf Nussey) on "The Changing Situation in Portugal".

Mr. Otto Krause)

SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS IN THE LIBRARY AT JAN SMUTS HOUSE

- BEHRMAN, J.N.
National interests and the multinational enterprise: tensions among the North Atlantic countries. Prentice-Hall, 1970.
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At the end of the day, 1961-1963. Macmillan, 1973.

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The boundary politics of independent Africa. Harvard Univ. Pr., 1972.

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Germany's Ostpolitik: relations between the Federal Republic and the Warsaw Pact countries. Oxford Univ. Pr., for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1971.