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SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN AFRICA

By

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THE S.A. INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN AFRICA

Address by Mr. Leif Egeland, National Chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs, to a joint meeting of the Società Italiana per l'Organizzazione Internazionale and the Società Leonardo da Vinci.

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South Africa's position in Africa cannot be properly assessed without an overall view of the composition of the Republic's population, for the relations between the various communities within South Africa have had, and will continue to have, a crucial effect on our relations with the rest of Africa.

The latest estimates of our Bureau of Statistics (mid-1967) place the total population of the Republic at about 18.75 millions. The Black peoples, or Bantu, number in all approximately 12.75 millions, comprising various distinct ethnic groups, of which the Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho (the latter including three sub-groups) are the largest (each over 3 millions). The Whites of South Africa number approximately 3.5 millions, the Coloured people, i.e. of mixed descent, approximately 1.8 millions and Asiatics over half a million.

The descendants of Europeans in South Africa are often misrepresented abroad as settlers or colonials, as a foreign element in Africa. We are in fact Africans in as full a sense as the Black Africans and other groups such as the Berbers, and our stake in Africa is as great as theirs. We have and can have no other homeland. Moreover, we believe that our contribution to Africa has been extremely valuable and that we have much to offer to the benefit of other African peoples. Historically our claim, like that of the European-descended Whites of Portuguese Africa or of Rhodesia, to a place in the African sun, is unimpeachable. Europeans arrived in Southern Africa in the same period as in the Americas.

I have given the composition of our population simply to indicate the realities in South Africa, where the presence of distinct groups, of widely differing cultural backgrounds and levels of development, is the result of historical processes during the past 3 centuries when they moved into the geographical area of what is now the Republic of South Africa. It is not simply a question of a large homogeneous black group and a small white one. The differences between black ethnic groups are at least as great as those between various peoples of Europe who live in different nations.

Our problem is complicated, just as it is in the United States and other countries, by racial attitudes and prejudices. It is however not simply or even basically a problem of colour, but rather one of co-existence between ethnic or national groups.

Moreover this problem would exist even if there were no white people at all. Similar problems exist in other parts of Africa, where no white groups are present, for instance in Nigeria, in the Horn of Africa (where Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya are involved), in the Sudan, in Rwanda and Burundi - to give but a few examples.

What South Africans are trying to work out is a pattern of co-existence, whereby the different communities will be able to live together in harmony, co-operating to their mutual benefit so that all can develop fully and freely. Obviously the complex political, economic and social aspects give rise to strong differences of opinion between political parties and individuals, and inevitably mistakes will be made. Sincere efforts are being made by supporters and opponents of the present Government alike to achieve and maintain justice, peace and stability for all our peoples.

The pattern envisaged by the present Government's policy of separate development, is one of autonomous and eventually independent states or Bantustans within the present geographical area of the Republic of South Africa, and territorially based on the homelands which the various groups already have. The foremost example is the Transkei, where the Xhosa nation has lived for over two centuries since they reached this area in the van of an extensive migration southwards down the east coast of Africa.

Although this migration was halted by the northward movement of the White pioneers, the Xhosas have never been deprived of the area which they had already occupied and which all successive governments in South Africa have recognised as the Xhosa homeland.

In recent years the constitutional development of the Transkei has been speeded up, and since 1963 it has had self-government with its own Xhosa Prime Minister and Cabinet, and with considerable and expanding control over internal administration. A general election, on the basis of universal adult suffrage, was held in the Transkei when it received self-government, and a second general election is due next year.

The Republican Government is actively assisting in such basic requirements for development as the improvement of agricultural methods, the extension of educational opportunities and the encouragement of viable industries, although as might be expected, differences of opinion exist within South Africa on how all this can best be done.

It is envisaged that other Bantustans will later be set up for other ethnic groups like the Zulus, Vendas or Sothos. There are however formidable problems to be solved. Since some of these groups live in scattered areas in between White-owned farms, considerable consolidation of territory through Government purchase of White-owned land in these areas for inclusion in the Bantu homelands would have to be undertaken. Successive Governments have during the past 30 years tried to deal with the problem by purchasing White-owned land, but there is a strong feeling that much more could and should be done in this regard.

Even the supporters of the ruling Nationalist Party recognise the immense difficulties involved in implementing the policy of

separate development. Apart from the territorial problem of consolidating the homelands, there is the even more crucial problem of the large number of Bantu (over 4 millions) permanently domiciled outside the homelands, especially in the White urban areas where they are still subject to discrimination and disabilities in various ways.

The Opposition political parties, whilst fully supporting the development of non-White areas, are opposed to any balkanization or fragmentation of the present single State of the Republic through the setting up of small possibly unviable States. Government policy however envisages continuing close co-operation in all fields with the emerged Bantustans within the area of the present Republic, which is about the same size as the combined area of the six member States of the European Common Market.

There is a growing consensus amongst South Africans of all shades of political opinion that the problems of co-existence have to be overcome with the maximum of co-operation, and a recognition that White domination cannot be perpetuated. All are however agreed that our problem is one for South Africans themselves to solve, and we ask that our friends abroad will respect our sincerity and give us time, without any coercion or interference from outside, to work out as best we may the solution of our internal problems.

In the field of external or foreign affairs, to which I now turn, there is a wide and growing measure of agreement between all political parties.

It may fairly be claimed that, in the past half century, South Africa has played a significant and not unimpressive role in international affairs.

Barely four years after the Union of South Africa was founded in 1910, the country was involved in the First World War, during which South African forces played a decisive part in the conquest of German West and East Africa, and were also active in Europe itself. As a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles South Africa became a founder member of the League of Nations, and subsequently participated fully in the League's activities. South Africa also assumed a special responsibility in a new international experiment - the mandates system - by accepting the mandate over South West Africa. South Africa was accountable to the League for its administration of South West Africa, and since the League's demise in 1946 has continued to administer the territory "in the spirit of the mandate".

South Africa has been involved in a long controversy with the United Nations on this question. But it may be noted in passing that, although expressly empowered by the terms of the mandate to administer South West Africa as an integral part of its own territory, South Africa has never incorporated South West Africa, and the Government continues to acknowledge the international character of the Territory. Time does not allow me to discuss this still unresolved issue which has involved, inter alia, recourse to the International Court of Justice. South Africa will, however, continue to honour the "sacred trust" assumed in 1920 "to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social

progress of the inhabitants of the Territory" - notwithstanding the attempts within the United Nations to deprive South Africa of its responsibilities in South West Africa.

When the United Nations Charter was drawn up in San Francisco in 1945, South Africa's Field Marshal Smuts, who at Versailles had been probably the principal architect of the League of Nations, was again a key figure, and the preamble of the Charter, for the drafting of which he was chiefly responsible, remains as a memorial to this international statesman who always saw his country not as a small remote state bound up in its problems, but as part of Africa and of the world, with an international role to play. Though her membership of the United Nations became increasingly difficult in the changing times since 1945, South Africa has never failed to play her part as a responsible member of the Organisation.

South Africa was one of the 16 nations to contribute an armed contingent to the United Nations forces in Korea, and has supported the United Nations in other legitimate peace-keeping activities. South Africa has also participated in the voluntary humanitarian efforts of the United Nations, such as the United Nations Children's Fund, the refugee programmes and technical assistance.

My country has likewise been active in most of the Specialised Agencies in the United Nations family, which provide fruitful opportunities for co-operation in their respective fields, not least in assisting less-developed countries. Here South Africa has been able to make a significant contribution, our own experience having lain in the conditions of Africa where many of the problems facing the newer African countries are problems with which we too have had to cope.

It would perhaps be appropriate at this stage to refer to developments in South Africa itself, to indicate our potential of helpfulness to other African States.

The importance of South Africa's gold production to the world as well as to our own economy is self evident. It amounts to nearly three quarters of the gold produced outside the Soviet Union. However, South Africa also has vast resources of other minerals and raw materials, including uranium, diamonds, coal, manganese, copper, chrome ores, asbestos, platinum, phosphates, fluospar, iron, maize, wool and fruit. Let me briefly refer to some of these resources.

Our reserves of uranium which occur extensively in the gold-bearing ores of South Africa, are second only to those of Canada. Apart from being a major producer of uranium, our atomic energy research and development, at the nuclear reactor at Pelindaba and elsewhere, are far in advance of anything similar in Africa.

South Africa possesses large reserves of high-grade iron ore and enormous reserves of medium-grade ore. Most of the iron we produce is consumed locally by the rapidly expanding iron and steel industry which takes care of South Africa's own growing needs, and to some extent also of neighbouring countries.

Although an extensive search for oil is at present in progress, none has yet been found. South Africa, therefore, is still

dependent on imports for the greater part of its present oil requirements, although liquid fuels from coal are produced in the world's largest oil-from-coal plant operated by the South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation (SASOL). SASOL at present produces 50 million gallons of petrol per annum, as well as a variety of by-products which serve as the foundation of an expanding chemical industry. Within the next few years SASOL is expected nearly to double its output.

Because of our vast coal deposits, steam-generated electric power can be produced in South Africa at the lowest price in the world. Last month when opening a power station at Camden in the Eastern Transvaal, which is the largest thermal power station in the Southern Hemisphere, the South African Prime Minister drew attention to the fact that South Africa at present generates 57% of all electric power generated in the whole of Africa, and that a nuclear power station would probably be in operation in the Western Cape within ten years.

Furthermore the vast Orange River project is now under construction, which will, inter alia, provide hydro-electric power. It will take 30 years to complete, at an estimated cost of R450 million (approximately 390,000 million lire). The overall project calls for the construction of 21 large dams and weirs; a 51-mile long tunnel between the Orange and Fish Rivers; a network of canals and pipelines to permit the irrigation of some 760,000,000 acres of land and provide an initial supply of 100,000,000 gallons of water per day for domestic and industrial purposes; and a series of hydro-electric stations with a potential generating capacity of 177,000 kilowatts. I might mention that some Italian firms are involved in the construction of, as well as the supply of material for, parts of this project.

Initially, of course, South Africa was primarily an agricultural country, as is still the case with most other African States. While the past few decades have witnessed a decline in the relative contribution of agriculture to the national income, farming nevertheless continues to play a vital role in the country's economy. Scientific research and mechanisation have helped agriculture to keep up with population expansion. This is a field where we clearly hope to be of assistance to other African States where agriculture still constitutes practically the whole economy.

Recent decades have seen an unprecedented expansion of our manufacturing industry and its contribution to the net domestic product amounts now to over 27%. This is over twice as much as the contribution of the mining industry, and three times that of agriculture, forestry and fishing combined. The manufacturing industry is also our fastest growing sector, and our exports of manufactured goods to other African countries are steadily increasing.

I have highlighted certain aspects of our development only to illustrate the fact that, relative to the rest of Africa, South Africa, which has been classified by United Nations authorities as the only "developed" country in Africa, has an important contribution to make to Africa as a whole.

A few comparative statistics may be of interest.

Though South Africa comprises only 5% of Africa's total land area, and less than 7% of its population, it nevertheless accounts for 22% of the entire continent's gross production, and 40% of its industrial production.

South Africa accounts for about 20% of the continent's total exports, and takes nearly 18% of all Africa's imports. In 1963 South Africa produced about 45% of the total mineral output of the African continent.

Half of all foreign investment in Africa has been made in South Africa.

South Africa's transport system is the most comprehensive in Africa, including the largest network of electrified railroads outside the United States and Europe. South Africa's rail transport accounts for nearly 50% of all rail transport operated in Africa.

Nearly half of all Africa's telephones and vehicles are in South Africa.

How have the material advances which the foregoing figures indicate, benefitted the non-White population of South Africa? Admittedly the average levels of income are still much higher for the Whites than the Bantu, as are levels of education, and general economic development, though the gap is narrowing. We are conscious of these differences and that much still needs to be done. But much has already been achieved by and for the less-developed peoples in South Africa, whose standard of living is in fact not only the highest in Africa but also higher than that in 90% of the countries of Latin America.

Health facilities for the non-Whites of South Africa are more advanced than anywhere else in Africa. In 1965 there were 87,000 beds available for non-Whites in hospitals throughout the Republic, including Baragwanath - the largest hospital and training centre in Africa. This meant 5.78 beds per 1,000 persons, compared with an accepted world standard of 5 beds per 1,000 persons. Services available at these hospitals are either provided free of charge or at nominal charges.

In the housing field South Africa has over approximately 15 years carried out the largest housing programme ever launched in the Southern Hemisphere, resulting in the almost complete eradication of slums from our cities. Most of this programme, which involved the erection of over 310,000 houses, was for the Bantu people. The research and development in regard to low-cost housing have been found helpful in other countries and to United Nations bodies in this field.

The educational facilities for our non-White peoples are in advance of those available in the rest of Africa. Virtually all Coloured and Asiatic children, and four out of five Bantu children now attend primary school. Secondary and University education is steadily being developed, but here much still needs to be done.

There are at present five university colleges and a medical school exclusively for the non-White peoples.

Our prosperity acts as a magnet to the peoples of neighbouring countries, of whom there are about 1 million Bantu working in South Africa in the mines and in other industries. Many of them have even entered the country illegally to seek employment not available in their own countries. The fact that many of these workers send a portion of their wages back to their home countries makes their employment in South Africa an important factor in the economies of countries like Malawi and Lesotho.

The responsibilities flowing from South Africa's advanced position in Africa have an especial relevance to our own region of Southern Africa, which comprises the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi and the two Portuguese provinces of Moçambique and Angola, with a population of some 50 millions, or one sixth of Africa's total population. It is rich in most resources needed for a developed economy, and, with increased co-operation and even economic integration, could become one of the world's important economic areas.

A customs agreement, in effect amounting to a customs union, has operated between South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland since 1910. These countries also share a common monetary system, involving loose but important working arrangements on the movement and investment of capital. The products of the three smaller countries, and also, it should be added, South West Africa, find ready markets in South Africa, which would not be available to them elsewhere.

Our economic ties with the other Southern African countries namely Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi and the two Portuguese provinces of Moçambique and Angola, are based on established trade links and bilateral trade agreements.

Agreements were concluded in respect of the Portuguese provinces in 1964, with Rhodesia in the same year and with Malawi in March this year (1967), when a top-level delegation of Malawian Ministers visited South Africa.

We have no formal trade agreement with Zambia, but important economic ties have developed over the years, and trade is increasing. A country with great potential for sound development, Zambia is deeply involved in the unfortunate dispute over Rhodesia's claim to independence. Though this dispute is essentially a matter concerning the British and Rhodesian Governments, Zambia is following a hostile policy towards Rhodesia. Although it supports sanctions against Rhodesia at very great cost to its own economy, it is by no means able to cut itself off completely from Rhodesia.

Close economic ties have thus been built up over the years between all the territories of Southern Africa. Although much of this originated while the colonial powers were still responsible for the administration of large areas of this region, dramatic advances in economic co-operation, including the trade agreement with the Government of Malawi, have taken place since most of these countries became independent. Let me illustrate this further with reference

to two of the cornerstones of modern industrialised economies, namely water and power.

One of Swaziland's first acts after being granted self-government in April of this year, was to initiate talks at official level with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa on the pooling of water resources for common utilisation.

Similar discussions are under way between the Governments of South Africa and Lesotho, regarding the proposed Oxbow hydro-electric scheme, which could provide South Africa with an estimated 800 million gallons of water a day, as well as electric power. The scheme would also stimulate Lesotho's economy and provide much needed foreign exchange.

South Africa has reached an agreement in principle with Portugal, whose provinces of Moçambique and Angola are our neighbours in the East and North-West respectively, to co-operate on two large hydro-electric and irrigation projects. The first is the Cabora-Bassa scheme on the Zambesi River in Moçambique which, it is estimated, will cost about R268 million (or about 233,000 million lire). When completed, it will produce an estimated 18,000 million kilowatt-hours per annum, which will be 70% more than the power generation estimated for the Aswan High Dam on the Nile. South African agreement to buy power from this scheme will make it a financially feasible proposition and the balance will be available for Moçambique itself, Malawi and Rhodesia and possibly other African States in the region.

In addition to power available from the Cabora-Bassa scheme, it will be possible to put a vast area in Moçambique under irrigation - an area equal to the present irrigated area in Egypt - thus providing sustenance for millions.

The second project will be on the Kunene River which forms the border between South West Africa and Angola. This scheme will provide water and power for the development of both territories. In South West Africa this will be of special help to Ovamboland which is the homeland of about half the population of South West Africa and which the South African Government is encouraging on the path to self-government and eventual independence.

It has been forecast by experts in South Africa that these two hydro-electric schemes will eventually be linked up in an overall Southern Africa power grid, involving also the giant thermal power station at Camden in the Eastern Transvaal and the planned nuclear power station in the Western Cape, to both of which I have already referred.

The Southern African Regional Commission for the Conservation and Utilisation of the Soil (SARCCUS), which was formed in 1950, recently held a conference in Pretoria to discuss the enlarging of its scope to cover forestry, other aspects of agriculture and allied industries. The new nations of Southern Africa are taking a greater interest in this body and the opportunities of fruitful co-operation which it provides.

Enough has, I think, been said to illustrate the close and steadily expanding economic ties between the countries of the Southern African region. What of the rest of Africa?

Fruitful co-operation in important technical fields was promoted by such international organisations as CCTA - the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara - and CSA - the Council for Scientific Co-operation, both of which South Africa was largely instrumental in founding. These two organisations, which included South Africa, Rhodesia, the metropolitan powers, Liberia, Ghana and other emerging African States, functioned until the formation of the United Nation's Economic Commission for Africa in 1958 and the Organisation for African Unity in 1963, when it was felt their activities should be absorbed by the new bodies.

South Africa has also participated actively in the work of such world bodies as the World Health Organisation, the Food and Agricultural Organisation and the World Meteorological Organisation. Many South African experts have assisted on Committees and projects of these organisations involving the Africa region, and have also given direct help to other African States. Our veterinary research laboratory at Onderstepoort, for instance, has given invaluable assistance in combatting animal diseases throughout Africa, and even beyond the Continent.

South Africa has also been a member of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency since its inception, representing the Africa and Middle East region as the most technically advanced country in the atomic energy field in this region. Very recently South Africa's readiness to assist other African countries in atomic energy development for peaceful purposes was emphasised officially.

The examples I have cited of assistance and co-operation in the past illustrate the willingness of my country at all times to play a constructive role in Africa and to accept the responsibilities which its more advanced state place upon it in relation to the rest of Africa. Let us now consider some of the reasons why during the past decade or so South Africa has been prevented from playing its proper role in Africa as a whole as fully as it would have wished.

The "wind of change" which swept through Asia and then Africa after the Second World War, reached its peak in Africa in 1960. In that year alone sixteen African States achieved independence and were admitted to membership of the United Nations. Until 1955, there were only four African States in the United Nations, namely Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and South Africa. There are now 39 African member States, or nearly one-third of the total membership.

This drastic change in the African situation has had, as is well known, a radical effect on the world body. It has also had profound repercussions on South Africa and its international relations. New channels had to be found to a large number of independent states, in place of a handful of European powers with whom we had had long and well-tried relations. Furthermore these new states were having to chart their own course in a harsh world, without much experience or training. Many of them were more concerned with flexing their new-found political muscles and

celebrating their independence, than with realistically applying themselves to the problems of their own economic and social development.

In any case, therefore, prospects for practical and fruitful co-operation between South Africa and these many new states were far from promising. The biggest obstacle was, however, the violently emotional anti-colonial spirit and the fact that South Africa was regarded as a colonialist power.

South Africa had struggled for, and eventually achieved, its own independence much earlier in the century, and it did not deny the right of other African countries to independence - with perhaps some reservations about the amount of preparation required before any country was in a position to fend for itself in the modern world. But South Africa was linked by them to the European powers, perhaps because we claimed to be a Western country, intent on preserving Western civilisation and values in Africa. Moreover South Africa was controlled by the White minority, which had no other homeland, at a time when White colonial powers and White settler groups were withdrawing hastily from control of most of the rest of Africa.

South Africa was, therefore, left to bear the brunt of the emotional onslaught of the anti-colonialist movement, with such demands as "one man, one vote" and "Africa for the Africans".

Also, it must be added, there was throughout the world an increased consciousness of the question of human rights, after the experiences of two world wars, with an emphasis on racial equality and the immediate ending of discrimination on the grounds of race and colour.

This sudden combination of circumstances set South Africa at odds with most of Africa. The countries of Western Europe and North America, concerned about their relations with the new African States, found themselves embarrassed by their links with South Africa. A further complicating factor was the cold war, in which the support of the so-called uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa was eagerly sought after by both the West and the Communist bloc. In this situation South Africa came to be considered by many in the West as a political liability, and South Africa became politically more isolated, not only from most of Africa, but also from the countries of the West. South Africa was, for instance, virtually forced to leave the British Commonwealth, because of the pressure of the Asian and African members.

The campaign against South Africa has centred in the United Nations, and the Organisation became a forum and an instrument for pursuing this campaign. While the new States did not have the actual military or economic power to effect changes which they demanded, the United Nations provided them with an arena where they could wield political power in the shape of a large bloc of votes. The competition for these votes between the Communist and Western States has been a fact of life at the United Nations, and it is a fact of life that South Africa has had to live with as a member of the United Nations.

The result has been that South Africa has simply not been

able to play the role in Africa which, as I have indicated earlier, she is clearly equipped to play - except to a certain extent in Southern Africa. The co-operation which previously existed in such bodies as CCTA and CSA, was discontinued. Although a member of the United Nation's Economic Commission for Africa, South Africa was debarred, soon after the Commission was established, from participating in and contributing to the Commission's work. In the case of such important specialised agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the World Health Organisation (WHO), South Africa was likewise prevented from further participation in their African regional activities. When the Organisation for African Unity was founded in 1963, South Africa was not able to join. Moreover, this Organisation, many of whose aims are very praiseworthy, has concentrated on political issues such as the anti-South African campaign, the position of Portugal in Africa and the Rhodesian question, instead of facing the real and deepening problems of African development.

Against this rather bleak picture of the setbacks to co-operation between South Africa and the rest of Africa during the past decade, I would put the progress that has been made in the Southern African region, as already summarised. Beyond this there are also signs that the attitude of other African States towards co-operation with South Africa is beginning to change.

The South African Government has shown in recent years, since the independence of several Black African States in Southern Africa, that it is willing to deal with the Governments of these States on equal terms. The Prime Minister of Lesotho, Chief Leabua Jonathan, has twice visited South Africa for meetings with our Prime Minister. A delegation of Ministers of the Government of Malawi visited South Africa earlier this year to discuss matters of mutual interest with the South African Government and to sign a formal trade agreement. Our Foreign Minister and other Ministers have made official visits to both Lesotho and Botswana, and there have been many contacts between South African officials and officials of all these countries.

It has often been said that, because of the racial problem in South Africa, the Government would not be able to exchange diplomats with Black African States. However, by the end of this year a diplomatic mission from Malawi will be established in South Africa and we shall have a mission in Malawi. Although the first Malawian Chargé d'Affaires will be a White man, his assistant will be a Black man and there is no doubt that when an Ambassador is appointed he will be a Black Malawian. The Prime Minister of Lesotho has also announced that he intends establishing diplomatic relations with South Africa, and he made it clear that Lesotho's first Ambassador will be a Black man.

Our Foreign Minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller, has stated that official representatives of such states coming to South Africa, would be received with the respect due to all representatives of sovereign states, irrespective of race or colour, just as we and all other states require that representatives abroad be received.

The question of the exchange of diplomatic representatives is, therefore, no longer one that stands in the way of improved relations with other African States.

While it is obvious that a diplomatic exchange is unlikely to take place with a country openly hostile to South Africa, this does not mean that approval of the Government's internal policies is required from a State establishing a mission in South Africa. Both Chief Jonathan and President Hastings Banda of Malawi have in fact made it clear that they do not approve of certain South African policies. But at the same time they do not believe in boycotts and other hostile acts, and they are convinced of the necessity for co-operation in Africa.

In this connection our Foreign Minister stated in August of this year :

" As is generally known, the Government proceeds from the standpoint that international friendship and co-operation must rest at all times on mutual respect, the recognition of the sovereign independence of states, and no interference in the domestic affairs of others. Differences in political views and approaches in respect of internal affairs, should not be a stumbling block in the way of fruitful co-operation between governments on matters of common interest."

The fact that co-operation in Southern Africa is bearing fruit is of fundamental importance in improving our relations with other states. They will see more clearly the advantages for Africa of such co-operation. In this connection it has been significant that the executive head of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Dr. Robert Gardiner of Ghana, has said several times recently that other countries of Africa would have to be realistic and do business with South Africa. He has been quoted as warning the new States of Africa that their object should be "to survive - not provoke stronger nations" and that they can only progress by honestly assessing their desperately poor economic situations and then swallowing their pride and getting help from the stronger nations - including South Africa. He stated further that the economics of unity in Africa spring "not from sentiment, but from the technological imperatives of the 20th century", and he pointed out that three countries in Africa - Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa - produced between them about half the income of the whole continent, and South Africa had the lion's share of that.

There are clear indications that these more realistic pronouncements are being pondered in many parts of Africa, although strong political pressures are still preventing much open support for them. It is my expectation that this mood of realism will steadily grow, as African States increasingly appreciate the seriousness of their own development problems. Political attitudes will then, one hopes, recede and South Africa will be more widely recognised as having a constructive role to play, and as being genuinely willing to play this role. Less than a month ago our Prime Minister claimed that South Africa is destined to be a leader in Africa. South Africa, he went on, has the skill, the ability and the initiative for this role.

I must make it clear that, when we talk of playing a role in Africa, we do not envisage any form of domination, political or economic, over other, smaller African States. As our Foreign

Minister stated last August :

" Where one country helps another, the main aim of such help must be to put the receiving country in a position to help itself. South Africa is strongly against any form of neo-colonialism or economic imperialism. We consistently refuse to interfere in the affairs of others, and we resist all attempts of others to meddle with our affairs."

At the same time as the mood of greater realism appears to be growing in Africa, there are signs that the countries of the West are approaching African problems in a more realistic fashion. Constructive developments in Southern Africa contrasted with chaotic or unstable conditions elsewhere, are making an impression in Europe and America, and hopes have been voiced that the stability and co-operation existing in Southern Africa will spread to other parts of Africa. Continuing high confidence in South Africa's own economic progress is also an important factor, and one hopes that Western Governments will become more conscious of the value to the West of South Africa's influence for progress in Africa.

In addition to South Africa's economic value to the West, there is the country's strategic importance, which cannot be overlooked in any survey of South Africa's place in Africa. This is a factor which has been dramatically brought home to many since the closing of the Suez Canal this year. For the second time in a little more than ten years, South African ports have had to cope with a vast increase of shipping which has been re-routed round the Cape of Good Hope. With the tendency now to build giant tankers, the sea routes round the Cape will assume even greater permanent importance, irrespective of whether the Suez Canal is open or not.

It is appropriate that I conclude with a reference to the importance of the route around the Cape of Good Hope. This Cape, which the first European navigators many hundreds of years ago, named the Cape of Storms, was soon regarded instead as a sign of hope for all who passed it and for all who came to live permanently in the South of Africa. I feel today that in the turbulence of our Continent in this 20th century, the Republic of South Africa is a sign of hope for progress and development throughout Africa.