

Four day spectacular

The success of *Anti-Apartheid News* has been spectacular. 5,000 copies of the first issue were sold out in four days. New orders are still pouring in and over a hundred annual subscriptions have received in the last week alone. Our print order has been stepped up to 8,000 to meet the demand and we are aiming at 20,000 by the end of the year.

Scores of column inches in papers as varied as *The Guardian*, *Tribune*, *Liberal News* and the South African *Sunday Chronicle* helped us make a powerful impact. So too did our controversial layout. Dozens of readers wrote expressing strong opinions for and against the paper's layout. But even the most critical were constructive and often amusing. One critic said the whole paper looked like a blank verse poem by Fenner Brockway. Another wrote, "*AA News* just arrived. Terrible. Send another dozen".

Months of great activity lie ahead and *Anti-Apartheid* is daily gaining momentum. Part of that activity must be selling *Anti-Apartheid News*. We are fighting for peoples' minds and the facts and arguments in our pages can forge new attitudes among those who are still uncommitted. Sell *Anti-Apartheid News* at every opportunity; especially if there are no organised group activities at present in your area.

Finally, you may have paid your tanner for eight pages, but this is one column we want back. Every reader can help in at least one of the ways outlined below. Tick where applicable.

£1000 fighting fund

The Anti-Apartheid Movement subsidises our paper by £80 each month. This totals almost £1,000 a year. We are launching a £1,000 Fighting Fund to make the paper self-supporting and take the weight off the Movement's strained finances. Why not send a pound; or when paying your account give the odds to the Fighting Fund? The Fund got off to a splendid start with a gift of £50 from a South African business man. Only £950 and ten months to go.

I enclose £.....s..... for £1,000 Fighting Fund

Sell A-A News

An annual subscription costs 10/-. Bulk orders of six or more copies are at the reduced rate of 4d per copy, sale or return.

I wish to become a subscriber (annual subscription 10/-)

Please send me.....copies every month.

Join Anti-Apartheid

We are in the middle of a big recruiting drive to double Anti-Apartheid membership. If every reader becomes a member we shall succeed.

I wish to become a member (cost 10/- per year)

I am studying and wish to become a student member (cost 5/- per year)

We wish to join as an organisation (cost £1 per year)

Name

Address

Organisation

The fatal disease

Hofmeyr. By Alan Paton. (Oxford University Press, 58s.)

South Africa: Crisis for the West. By Colin and Margaret Legum. (Pall Mall, 35s and 12s 6d.)

The Anatomy of Apartheid. By E. S. Sachs. (Collet's, 45s.)

It is not uncommon for those of us who have campaigned for boycotts against South Africa to encounter the argument that outside intervention and pressure only embarrass and weaken the white liberal opposition to apartheid, and that given time the forces of liberalism will succeed in bringing about a broad white conviction that the black people are entitled to a fair deal. In a similar vein, we have the argument that the compelling realities of economic progress will hasten the breakdown of apartheid and give added impetus to the liberal element and its solution to the race problem.

The fallacy in this line of reasoning is found in the facts of South Africa's history over the past half-century. These past 50 years have seen a steady intensification of race segregation and oppression, and the further entrenchment of the system of white supremacy through the build-up of a powerful police State.

Throughout these years, the African people, and many abroad, have hoped in vain that the white liberal opposition could create an acceptable alternative to white supremacy.

Has liberalism in South Africa failed? Does it exist today and, if so, what is its role in the grim crisis that has overtaken the country? Why has the country's economic progress in these years not been matched by any parallel loosening of the apartheid system? These are the kind of questions which the books under review provoke.

Alan Paton's massive and brilliant biography of *Hofmeyr* is in a sense a history of South African liberalism in the important period when the so-called "Native Question" became the focus of South African politics, in the early 1930s. Until then, the policies of racial segregation were largely implemented piecemeal.

It was in this formative period of the "Native Question" that Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr became a leading figure in South African politics and earned the reputation of being the leading exponent of South African liberalism. He had come from a long line of Cape liberals and the young Hofmeyr was undoubtedly influenced by this liberal tradition — a fact which complicated his political life and made him a controversial figure, especially among his own people, the Afrikaaners.

Though controversial, he was both powerful and influential. He served in various ministerial capacities in the Governments of both Generals Hertzog and Smuts. In his time, he spoke out frequently and with force against the steady erosion of African rights. He used his considerable gifts of oratory to espouse his liberalism — his belief that "there was no real ultimate divergence of interests between the European and non-European". But like the liberalism he proclaimed, his politics suffered from that fatal disease of never-ending compromise and surrender to racialism. At all crucial moments, when a lead was expected from him to create an organised opposition to the rush of fresh legislative attacks on the non-white peoples, he became a master of equivocation.

Hofmeyr frequently explained that he was "revolted by the idea of social equality" between white and non-white, and, as Paton reveals, Hofmeyr



Alan Paton, whose book on Hofmeyr is received here talks to Bishop Ambrose Reeves.

to the Institute of Race Relations were great expressions of liberalism, and yet as a member of the ruling party he succumbed to the ruling policies of race segregation and what he liked to call "white leadership".

Paton's generally sympathetic portrayal of Hofmeyr is understandable. However, what clearly emerges from this study is that the history of one of South Africa's leading exponents of liberalism was a history of tragic compromise and surrender to the forces of apartheid and racialism.

The failure of white liberalism, and at times its identity with the *status quo*, emerges with equal force in Colin and Margaret Legum's *South Africa: Crisis for the West*. When it came to the "Native Question" all the major interests in South Africa's power structure united.

The Legums' survey of South Africa's power structure is of the first importance. With meticulous care and a masterly assembly of the facts, they explain the differences between the parties and between the wide range of vested interests who possess a stake in South Africa's power relations. Differences there are. In some instances these differences are terminological: the Nationalist Party of Dr. Verwoerd stands for "Baaskap" or white supremacy, while the main opposition United Party stands for "the maintenance of white leadership for the foreseeable future".

The small Progressive Party has devised a complicated plan in which the role of the African population is unclear, if not hidden. Mrs. Helen Suzman, the solitary Progressive member in the South African Parliament, maintains a courageous anti-apartheid fight, but this stands in curious contrast to the activities of Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, who is reputed to be the guide and mentor of this party.

Despite these differences they all unite in the South Africa Foundation; a most remarkable institution. Under its wing is gathered a strange and motley body of interests and individuals. Its 100 trustees, as the Legums report, "read like a studbook of the most powerful directors in the Republic".

After its launching the Foundation quickly raised some £500,000, suggesting, as a Johannesburg editor warned, "big business rallying to the defence of its economic interests".

Today the Foundation is the main international lobby for apartheid and against outside intervention: it operates in London and New York.

The absence of fundamental conflict between the major power interests in South Africa; their determination to hold together and sustain the apartheid State; a survey of African resistance movements and the ripening political crises in South West Africa and the Protectorates, necessarily lead the Legums to argue strongly in favour of international intervention through economic sanctions.

In E. E. Sachs's *Anatomy of Apartheid* the ways in which the legislative machine and the police State have been employed over the years to meet the dictates of the major economic interests are fully described. Thus, despite the industrialisation and the progress of the economy, of the growth in overall incomes and employment, the machinery of apartheid has become more rigid and entrenched

money economy, encourages urbanisation and improves living standards. But, as he admits, the South African "progressive capitalists are not so progressive"; the pass laws and the immense body of restrictions placed on the African worker make him easy prey for intense exploitation.

South Africa's own past provides the richest of lessons. Unless the liberal opposition in South Africa firmly joins hands with the African people to struggle fearlessly for a full democratic society, in which all are equal, then the world can have no confidence in either the strength of their convictions or in their ability to chart an alternative course to apartheid. And if they are to join hands with the African and other non-white peoples, as many have done, they must not only welcome but urge the whole of the civilised world to effectively and fully boycott apartheid.

Author hits at library

South African expatriate author, Ezekiel Mphahlele, has attacked the Johannesburg public library for asking him to send copies of *South African Bulletin*, which he edits from Nairobi.

Two of his books, "Down Second Avenue" and "The African Image" are banned in South Africa. Mphahlele explains that while studying for M.A. and B.A. degrees, "I paced the streets of Johannesburg looking for second-hand books to buy. How often have I passed your public library and wistfully looked at it for minutes, knowing that, as an African, I was not permitted to enter and borrow books!

"Why, then," he continues, "do you consider I should feel concerned, or even faintly interested, in supplying your library with reading material that I produce?"

The anatomy of APARTHEID

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