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AF 11

that 'Portuguese military domination and administrative control have brought peace to Huila district', he says that they have also brought 'usurpation of tribal authority, destruction of African trading activities and disintegration of traditional methods of land and animal husbandry'.

To some extent therefore these two books, both critical, as is the fashion today, of Portuguese colonialism, cancel each other out. It is certainly true that all conquest is disruptive, as this island found after two invasions, but if the old must be destroyed before the new comes to life, can we really complain that traditional ways and belief suffer in the process? It is generally admitted, for example, that the world's population cannot be fed without a radical transformation of the subsistence economy practised by the vast majority of primitive peoples. This means teaching them to farm by modern methods and cuts at the very roots of tribal society and custom.

Mr. Urquhart's book nevertheless makes interesting reading (although it is a mystery why it should be sponsored by the Office of Naval Research of the U.S. Navy). His descriptions of the way the natives of Huila construct their houses and their villages, of the plants and animals that form the basis of their pastoral and agricultural activities, and of the use they make of their physical and cultural environment—the fruit of a year's field research in Angola—throw a fascinating light on much which, to the traveller in a hurry, is inexplicable in Africa. One ends up marvelling, not so much at such an archaic way of life, as at the skill and ingenuity it shows.

Dr. Birmingham's booklet is apparently a potted version of a larger work which is shortly to be published, and for which it would be fairer to the author to wait before passing judgment. It is concerned with the development of the slave trade in Angola, with the various wars fought by the Portuguese to establish their authority over the local rulers, and with their vain quest for silver, and covers the period between 1483 and 1790, for which it provides a handy reference.

GEORGE MARTELLI.

Hofmeyr. By Alan Paton. *London, Cape Town, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1965. 545 pp. Bibliog. Index. 58s.*

Time longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa. 2nd ed. By Edward Roux. Foreword by Philip D. Curtin. *Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. 469 pp. Bibliog. Index. \$6.50.*

The Anatomy of Apartheid. By E. S. Sachs. *London: Collet's. 1965. 424 pp. Index. 45s.*

The Future of South Africa. A Study by British Christians. Preface by T. A. Beetham and Noël Salter. *London: SCM Press for the British Council of Churches. 1965. 172 pp. 12s. 6d.*

THE late thirties, which carried the world over the brink of war, were crucial to South Africa in an additional way. J. H. Hofmeyr, resigned from Hertzog's Cabinet, evicted from the United Party, was the only man of liberal mind with the greatness as well as the following who could have led an effective political party. If he had done so, in these years before the war, then, in Mr. Paton's words, 'liberalism . . . would not have been left to emerge when white fear was at its greatest, when events in Kenya and the

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Congo and the Central African Federation were driving white South Africa to look, not for high adventure, but for security' (p. 310).

He received, in these years, many appeals to emerge as a national liberal leader. Why did he hold back? This penetrating biography reveals the complexity of the reasons. They have as much to do with the times, the drift to war, when Hofmeyr knew his full weight would be needed behind Smuts, as with the extraordinary man that Hofmeyr was: of rare intellectual power and moral intensity, but emotionally crippled by the lifelong dominance of his mother, and politically, to some extent, by Smuts.

The book also gives much insight into the many faces of South African liberalism. Mr. Paton, unlike many other leading liberals, past and present, has no doubts about the sincerity of Hofmeyr's convictions, but he also stresses their limitations. The ideas which horrified Malan and embarrassed Hertzog and, later, Smuts (and, indeed, probably cost him the 1948 election) were not radical enough for the Ballingers, the Hoernlés, the Rheinalt Jones and others, and other kinds of liberal. But for long periods Hofmeyr had office and immense responsibility, and perhaps there are very few whose liberalism could have survived, as Hofmeyr's did, the torments and temptations of power in a South African context. This biography illuminates the whole of South African parliamentary political life.

The major political struggle in South Africa is, of course, extra-parliamentary. *Time longer than Rope* is an account of it, from Makana the prophet to the Rivonia arrests. The first (1948) edition¹ of the book was probably one of the most seminal ever to appear in South Africa. It was then the only comprehensive account of non-white protest and political movements, of which, as a former activist and educational organiser of the Communist Party, the author had unusually wide and close knowledge. It is still, with much additional material, the best account. South African non-white affairs are poorly documented, so that our knowledge of them depends almost entirely on the quality of those reporting them. Professor Roux's early Marxist fervour never bemused his judgments or clouded his style, which were, and remain in this later edition, those of a man deeply and compassionately involved, but clear, disciplined and convincing.

The style of Mr. Sachs's book does it great harm. The work is a serious attempt to lay bare the main motives of South African racial policies, old and new; that is, dispossession and cheap labour. But the subject seems belittled by the unremitting use of all the clichés of Marxist *saeva indignatio*. The chapters on 'The Manufacturing Industry' and on 'Labour Legislation' are most valuable, as one would expect from the author's many years in the front line of South African trade unionism.

Everyone is expected to have opinions these days, not only about *apartheid* but about what is to be done about it. *The Future of South Africa* is a thoughtful and efficient survey aimed at forming, and informing, Christian opinion, and thereby to encourage the building up of external pressures against the South African Government. It starts from the premise that the racial situation is sinful, '... an exacerbated form (of) the same kind of failures as we show within our own society' (p. 11), and ends with an exhortation to prayer, but in between is, in the main, severely practical and well-documented.

The working party which produced the report saw no indication that economic expansion would of itself bring a solution. That is a view argued

¹ Reviewed in *International Affairs*, January 1949, p. 108.

by many leftists up to a couple of years ago, perhaps because the full rigours of the *apartheid* legislation were not then so apparent, nor the fact that the labour market works largely by legalised exception to its rules. The sense of an urgent need, therefore, for *external* pressure or even intervention is becoming increasingly strong. But Christians cannot counsel violence, and the authors of this report therefore will not support the use of sanctions which, they are surely right to think, would lead to violence and, moreover, jeopardise the independence of the High Commission Territories. Many other ways are suggested, however, for the withdrawal of every kind of support from the South African Government. These measures may ease the (British) Christian spirit of its need to take action, and, perhaps, of some sense of guilt about the situation—the introduction to the report points out that ‘there is a disquieting element of truth in the view that separate development in South Africa began within the Church, and spread from thence into the body politic’ (p. 15). But they would also exacerbate the fear and sense of isolation among the white masters; and the flaw in this report, in what is otherwise a closely and carefully argued case, is that it nowhere explains why these emotions, thus encouraged, should lead to any mellowing of racial attitudes within the Republic itself.

PRUDENCE SMITH.