
To the Editor

"The Collaborators"

SIR,—As one of those who helped collect background material for the Anti-Apartheid Movement pamphlet "The Collaborators" I should like to reply to the attack on it by your London correspondent in the May *New African*. If, as I suspect, this pamphlet is banned in South Africa, your readers will have no opportunity of judging its contents for themselves. Nor have they been assisted to do so by your correspondent for he does not attempt to outline the basic arguments or to criticise them on rational grounds. Instead, he falls into the Vorster trap of smearing the authors as "dedicated communists" and then resorts to emotional terms such as "awful" and "full of contemptible malopropisms" (such as?).

Here is a brief outline of the pamphlet's contents: The authors argue that, to prevent a race war developing in South Africa and engulfing the whole continent, total economic sanctions should be imposed through the United Nations. Such action would obviously be impossible without the support of the United States and Britain. The writers believe that the extent of British trade and investment in South Africa prevents this country from backing fully U.N. resolutions on South Africa. Using a mass of statistics and quotations from speeches and statements, they show how businessmen and Members of Parliament who have commercial interests in South Africa form a lobby at the House of Commons which defends apartheid at every opportunity.

Thus, contrary to your correspondent's opinion, it is not businessmen in general who are attacked but the "collaborators" who are shoring up apartheid by investing in border industries and helping to perpetuate iniquities such as job reservation, endorsing out of "surplus" Africans and starvation wages. As to the allegation that the pamphlet is written by dedicated communists, I believe that this is totally irrelevant. It should be judged not by the political opinions of the authors but by the soundness of its contents. Your correspondent expresses fears that the freedom movement will collapse because of communist support. My own belief is that the greater danger comes from those like your correspondent who would advocate the

conducting of McCarthy-type witch-hunts among its members.

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Nonracialism and Youth

SIR.—There is, we are informed, a military threat to South Africa from the African states—a military threat from the same African states that are in "a state of chaos and mismanagement". We are further informed that Africans are planning "subversion" and sabotage against "South Africa"—these sinister acts of planning are the brainchildren of "uncivilised savages" who "cannot govern themselves".

The contradictions are obvious—and tragic when one considers that nearly two million are utterly taken in by this type of nonsense. They are even worse when it is noted that among the most gullible are the racialist youth. This youth is prepared to swallow all the klatsch put out by their own "cultural" bodies; to believe in their divined, God-sanctioned mission (so typically accepted)—blindly and docilely.

For those who don't know: the average White youth is certain that South Africa will be invaded from the North; he is positive that this will happen within the next few years. The "black savages" will cross the border in hordes, with no discipline and (as one may guess) they will not have the Almighty on their side.

The uninitiated may not realise it but the black man with a degree is less civilised than the White labourer—the reason being (there are numerous anecdotes told on any suburban train) that the "centuries" of "civilisation" behind the White labourer make him better.

Thus, the rebel, who defies all this, who wants no part of this sham system, who may prefer to judge men as men with merit the only yardstick is labelled as a "Kaffir-

boetie", "muntlover"—or is called names even less likely to be printed.

But the people with this view have their opponents. Foremost among these are those believing that it is wrong to "ill-treat the natives", "Give them food and houses and clothing and a slight increase in pay but they can't have the vote—maybe in a hundred years' time". These gentlemen are found among "the English-speaking" and are often of the "sporting type"—but "one can't play rugby with them, you may as well shake them by the hand".

We are left with two groups. The first accedes that the "educated ones" should be allowed the vote—they will even let a few come to their parties and dances in order to show their democratic outlook—and (perhaps more accurately) just "for kicks".

This leaves the outcasts, the smallest group amongst White youth, the most hated group. This is the group that believes (in some cases albeit only for a short while) in genuine democracy. Those who maintain this belief for a longer period are even fewer.

With democrats, among the Whites of tomorrow, few and far between, the future looks tough from the non-racial point of view. Too few will brave the hostile isolation, the cold lack of popularity, the rifts that may develop between hitherto friends and numerous other unpleasantnesses.

But with the non-racial press struggling, with non-racialists of every race and age keeping their heads high amongst all the indignities they have been forced to suffer there should be no barrier to young non-racialists of today defying the massed might of the state and contributing of their talents for as long as they are able to.

Unfortunately there are not enough people to do so which places a greater burden and responsibility on those remaining.

TWO NON-RACIALIST THINKERS
Cape Town

COMMENT

"To Russia
with Love"

THE DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION has achieved the impossible! An advertisement in a recent edition of the British weekly, the *New Statesman*, "proves" that the Whites constitute the majority population group in South Africa. Those of us poor dimwits who believed that Africans were the majority group must hastily mend our ways and absorb the truth that there is no such thing as a "Bantu population": only Xhosas, Zulus, Vendas, Tswanas, etc. . . . and Damaras another day. We will also have to forget that there are deep cleavages in the White population between Afrikaners, English—and Jews, as the skirmish in the House of Assembly on the 18th March, 1964, so vividly showed. For purposes of external consumption and internal fortification we Whites constitute a nation—and don't forget it.

in 1921 bitterly criticised the opportunism of the Soviet government and the lack of interest in the commission on the Eastern question set up by the congress shown by the European and American delegates. The demand of the fourth congress of 1922, that "every communist party in the countries possessing colonies must take over the task of organising systematic moral and material assistance for the proletarian and revolutionary movement in the colonies . . . European communist workers in the colonies must try to organise the indigenous proletariat and win their confidence", also remained essentially a dead letter: what proved to be a stronger force was the dislike, say, felt by the French workers, however communist-minded they may have been, for Algerian *bougnoules* and similar sub-proletarians. But now the new league was to provide a new beginning, and it is easy to understand that a man like the young Messali should enthusiastically rally to its banner, since his membership of the French Communist Party during the past few years had given him no practical opportunity to mobilise his Algerian compatriots.

WE FIND MESSALI among the speakers at the "Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism", organised by the league in Brussels in February, 1927. His brief address, made in the name of the *Etoile Nord-Africaine*, ended with the words: "Our fight for independence will be hard . . . French imperialism wants to set brother murderously against brother amongst us. I hope that the victorious struggle for freedom of the Chinese people will be the signal for the liberation of us all, and I assure the fighting Chinese people that they have the support of all oppressed peoples. Through uniting all oppressed peoples, and with the support of the world proletariat, we hope to achieve the destruction of imperialism and to create a truly human society. I greet the representatives of brother nations who are at present at this congress.

I greet with all my heart the French proletariat which has supported us and still supports us today. . . . I conclude my speech with the call: long live the socialism of the oppressed nations! Long live the Soviet Union, which is liberating the world! Long live the Chinese revolution! Long live the congress!"⁵

This text contradicts the assertion made in a biographical sketch recently circulated by political friends of Messali: "In 1925 Messali Hadj completely severed his connections with the communists, in whose organisation he was active as a very young man."⁶ No, in 1927 the chairman of the *Etoile Nord-Africaine* at least still believed that it was possible to advance in close fellowship with the Comintern. But not for very long. When the first wave of police persecution against the *Etoile Nord-Africaine* began in 1929, Messali evidently did not receive the hoped-for support from the communists. In May, 1933, he had the party programme revised in order to safeguard his organisation "from threatening infiltration and underground activities".⁷ It is now that the *Etoile Nord-Africaine* for the first time expressly demands "complete independence" for Algeria, whereas the communists three years later wrote in the founding manifesto of the P.C.A. (Parti Communiste Algérien): "If we try to shake off the chains of serfdom and oppression which keep us shackled to imperialist France, we do so in order to create firm brotherly bonds, which will bind our people of their own free will with the great brother-nation of France into a community with common interests."⁸ In other words, a communist France would not think of giving up Algeria!

Meanwhile, at the Moslem Congress in Geneva in September, 1935, Messali had entered into relations with the Pan-Islamic movement and its leader, Cheikib Arslan: the gulf between him and the communists became even wider. The communist author Egrétaud criticised Messali's demeanour at that time as "wavering" and "confused".

In 1934 the *Etoile Nord-Africaine* participated in the

FRANKIE, YOU'RE A GENIUS! In one unguarded moment the department's journal, *S.A. Digest*, let out what must amount to one of the great understatements of recent times when it quoted a public relations consultant as saying that "presenting South Africa's case to the rest of the world is recognised in international public relations circles as the trickiest single public relations problem"! With so much dirty linen to hide, who can wonder. But, never despair: "Waring washes whitest of all," or, presenting the new anti-Soapy formula, "We didn't get White by accident."

BUT I AM WORRIED by one or two small doubts. Who reads these advertisements? And who believes them? Apart from those dubious allies, the League of Empire Loyalists and a few Tory backwoodsmen, we have few

friends in Britain and the impact of the proportionate representation is negligible. All of which just goes to show that even mountains of Old Spice won't remove the stench of good old polecat. And even if the Old Specious is laid on with a heavy hand, our own bunglers can be relied upon to drop some resounding clangers and undo all the good work. Who will ever forget the performances of Messrs. Vorster, Sauer and Abraham in the C.B.S. TV film "Sabotage in South Africa"? The latter, in particular, was splendid: when asked if Africans were allowed to protest against the provisions of the Transkeian constitution, he blurted out, "Of course they are, they're protesting about them all the time!"

ONE WONDERS WHAT impact is made by the long procession of retired warriors, tycoons and editors of minor

provincial European newspapers, all of whom dutifully issue strangely similar-sounding statements just prior to departure. How seriously, for instance, can one take the opinions of Monty, who equates Dr. Verwoerd and Mao Tse Tung together as "great guys"?

I AWAIT WITH bated breath the handling of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill by the Propaganda Department. It is difficult to see just how this Bill can ever be given the proverbial sugar-coating, even by the most ingenious of public relations men—and how it will be believed by even the most ingenuous of readers. The Leader of the Opposition says it will lead to a revolutionary situation. He might consider sending a copy of the Bill to Mr. Kruschew, inscribed "To Russia with Love". It is Bondage of the worst kind.

A. B. OLIPHANT