



The

"WE MUST NOT ATTACK the British for not developing the country; we did not ask them to come and develop the country, but only to protect it." The speaker was not anti-British and no sarcasm was intended: if it had been, it would have been lost on the village audience in dusty Bechuanaland. The protection has been appreciated, because it has kept the country from being a Bantustan. But there is a growing resentment that the development of the Protectorate was almost totally neglected for so long. The official explanation for the neglect is that there was the constant possibility of incorporation by South Africa. The most important guideline of policy for Bechuanaland (and Basutoland and Swaziland) has always been South Africa's susceptibilities, and Anglo-South African trade may have been as much a British concern as relations between Bechuanaland itself and South Africa. The neglect of development, the banishment of Seretse Khama (the recollection injects a note of irony into Mr. Gordon Walker's Smethwick defeat) and the expulsion northwards of some refugees all reflect the ever-present fear of offending the powerful, watchful and covetous neighbour. Bechuanaland's (the same is true of Basutoland) poverty emphasises the dependence on South Africa, and as things are now, the fate of all three Protectorates is closely bound up with South Africa's.

The Bechuanaland Government expects to collect a total revenue of £2,054,435 in the 1964-65 fiscal year, from its total population of 500,000. This means that the Government's activities are necessarily very limited. In fact, the forecast of net recurrent expenditure for the current fiscal year is £3,289,955; it is hoped that the United Kingdom Government will make up the deficit.

A total of 740 policemen maintain law and order in the country's 220,000 square miles (the country has no army of its own, at all). The population density figure makes the task of keeping the peace (and of keeping out South African kidnappers and incendiaries) look a little more daunting than it is, but in fact 80% of this peaceful people live in villages, and have cattle

posts and lands, in a narrow belt on both sides of the railway line that runs through the south-eastern and central-eastern part of the Protectorate.

Exports have been averaging about £3,250,000 a year, while annual imports have been an average quarter million pounds more, in recent years, but the deferred wages of about 20,000 young men working at any one time—mainly for short periods in the gold mines—in South Africa, helps redress the imbalance. The cattle industry accounts for about 87% of the total exports; it also employs, either wholly or partially, more than 95% of the people.

The cattle population is about 1,500,000, mostly concentrated in the narrow belt flanking the railway line. The average annual rainfall in this railway belt is 18 inches; the rain falls in summer only and almost all of it comes in short and heavy storms, but in the drought of the last few years, many parts of the railway belt have had no rain at all. Except for short periods after storms, there is no surface water in this part of the country. (In fact, the only surface water in Bechuanaland is in the rivers which mark the various borders—and not always in some of them—and in the Okavango swamp area.) The people and cattle of the railway belt rely mainly on boreholes, 100 feet or more deep, for their water. Provided the rains come, the grasslands of this region yield good natural grazing, but only where and when boreholes or wells, a few dams or the deep sands of river beds provide watering points. The areas surrounding or in reach of water tend to become overstocked and overgrazed, and badly eroded in consequence. Dams and boreholes are expensive, and are not always technically feasible, and as a result, there are many extensive, and good, grasslands which carry no stock at all. Water is also a limiting factor on agriculture and much arable land is unused. And in the last few years of drought, Bechuanaland has had to import a considerable percentage of its maize and sorghum—the staple foods of the people.

In 1963, a record number of 130,000 head of cattle were exported, fetching approximately £2,750,000—£21 per head. The internal sales of cattle are negligible, as most people generally eat goat's meat. Since 98% of the people rely on the cattle industry for their livelihood, it is reasonable to take the cash value of cattle export earnings as the basis of calculating per capita cash income—the result is between £5 and £6. Add to this the results of subsistence farming, rain permitting, the yields in milk and meat from goats, the seasonable earnings of mineworkers and farm labourers in South Africa, and an annual

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Coveted Liability - 1

*Planning and aid can save
Bechuanaland from capture by Verwoerd*

per capita income of £15 would be a liberal estimate.

THE FULL EXTENT OF BECHUANALAND'S mineral resources are not yet known, as the country has not been completely surveyed. The Rhodesian Selection Trust, surveying under concession, has found copper near Francistown, but has not disclosed the extent and quality of the deposits. Because it has found no assured market, the same company has not yet begun to exploit the soda ash and salt deposits of the Makarikari pans. There are two coalfields in the Bamangwato Tribal Territory, near the railway line, and there is also limestone nearby, but the Government has not succeeded in interesting mining or cement companies to exploit these.

Bechuanaland's industry is confined to two small mines, one maize mill, one tannery, one creamery, one bonemeal factory, one soap factory and the abattoir at Lobatsi.

About 250,000 people roughly half the population are under 25. About 60,000 of these are at school, but in 1964 only 4,000 of them took the primary school leaving examination. There are 239 primary schools, of which a third offer the full primary course, seven years long. At the end of 1963, there were 1,310 teachers in the primary schools, of whom 588 had no qualifications whatsoever apart from passing the examination at the end of the primary course equivalent, say, of Britain's 11-plus.

There are eight secondary schools with a total enrolment of 1,200. Six are Government-aided tribal or mission schools, one is entirely financed by the Government and the eighth, founded by my wife and me in January 1963, receives no aid whatever from the Government despite its enrolment of 150 this year. In 1962 and 1963, a total of 35 pupils passed the Cambridge School Certificate "O" level; including that total, less than 50 matriculants—or equivalent "O" level passes—had been produced entirely by the Bechuanaland educational system throughout its history. No school in the country offers the "A" level course, but the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (situated in Basutoland) accepts the "O" level for entry to a four-year degree course.

BECHUANALAND IS NOW in the midst of a development plan, for which an estimated £10,250,000 will be required, over five years, nearly all from external sources. Forecasts of net recurrent expenditure over the same five-year period show that an additional £5 million will be required to meet the annual budget

deficits. As the plan nears its third year, a considerable part of it has not been implemented according to schedule, because funds are not available. The plan is modest enough in scope and aims and has attracted criticism on that score. For example, in education, the plan envisages six large secondary schools instead of the seven present grant-aided schools, so that by the end of 1969 it was hoped that *one hundred* pupils might pass the Cambridge School Certificate "O" level examination. This is hardly an over-ambitious goal, but the £226,393 necessary to implement the first stage of the plan has not been forthcoming.

The development plan provides for a total of £2,510,960, over five years, on infrastructure, £2,956,831 on social services, £2,377,460 on the transfer of Bechuanaland's capital from Mafeking to Gaborones in the Protectorate, and £2,480,533 on the productive sector.

The £2,480,533 to be spent on the productive sector includes £660,075 on livestock improvement, disease control and on animal husbandry extension work. The sum of £457,343 is required for agricultural extension work, crop research and soil conservation. An amount of roughly £1 million is needed for the establishment of a national development bank. The main emphasis of expenditure under the plan on the productive sector, is on the "stimulation of private enterprise".

Money has been borrowed from the International Development Agency for road development under the plan. Even so, the roads will still be gravel-topped and there will only be one tarred stretch, 13 miles long, between the South African border and Gaborones, the new capital. The plan provides for no more than a survey of the possible uses of the Okavango swamps. The Okavango River has an average flow of 9,000 cusecs where it enters North-Western Bechuanaland but most of this flow is arrested by the reeds which choke the river, and dispersed into the 6,500 square miles of swampland, where it is subject to a high evaporation rate; the remaining water is soaked up in the sand bed of the Botletle River in the wastes of the Kalahari. In 1959, an Economic Survey Mission reported the possibility of maintaining a channel through the sudd-like reeds and of erecting weirs to prevent the dispersal of water in the swampland. In this way, a perennial flow might be maintained in the Botletle River, carrying the water to more fertile areas. And, a subsequent reconnaissance soil survey has—in the words of the authors of the development plan—"already indicated certain areas for early agricultural development"; but the plan is content to provide for a "semi-detailed soil survey" and

the employment of an irrigation agronomist to do research for three years.

IN MARCH 1965, Bechuanaland's new constitution came into force and general elections were held, under universal suffrage, for self-government. Seretse Khama's BDP won 28 out of 31 elected seats in the Legislative Assembly. Her Majesty's Commissioner for Bechuanaland keeps certain reserve powers, but the Protectorate is now within easy reach of independence. The development plan will have made little difference to the country's dependence on South Africa. Half of Bechuanaland's cattle exports go to the Republic and half of the rest are transported through South Africa. All three Protectorates are in customs union with South Africa and the official currency is South African money. Some 20,000 young men are working in South Africa at any one moment. Bechuanaland imports from

South Africa nearly all of its sugar and flour (producing none of either), much of its maize and sorghum and most of its manufactured goods.

Bechuanaland shares nearly its entire border with the white-dominated countries, South Africa or South West Africa and Rhodesia. There is a common border with Zambia, a few miles long, but this is in the extreme north and too distant to be used economically; besides there is no link between this border and the railway belt of Bechuanaland hundreds of miles away across arid and undeveloped countryside.

SOUTH AFRICA HAS ALWAYS WANTED the incorporation of the Protectorates. To understand, however, specifically, the reasons for the Verwoerd Government's desire for incorporation, is to wonder whether the desire is really dead, or only dormant.

[To be concluded

COMMENT

IRONICALLY, MALCOLM X, on his recent visit to Britain, spoke at length on the deliberate distortion and what he termed image-projection that takes place in newspapers. On his assassination the point was hammered home by the world press, certainly the western half of it, who described him as an "apostle of violence". This image of the man needs examination and the things he stood for need to be explained.

Shortly before he went back to the United States to his death, he told the council of African Organisation conference and the London School of Economics in London, and students of Birmingham University the facts of his stand on the question of violence. Violence for its own sake was not the philosophy of Mr. X, who had a keen insight into the many problems facing the nonwhite world. Among other things he advocated a system of pooling scientific, technological and administrative ability from among the Coloured peoples of the world to serve independent Africa, much as was done by world Jewry in the establishment of Israel.

RETALIATION WITH VIOLENCE against violent suppression of human dignity is certainly a doctrine repugnant to many, but how long can the struggle for emancipation be pursued when every constitutional nonviolent manner of voicing disapproval of tyranny is met with violence by the disciples of violence? In this context and in this context alone was Malcolm X an advocate of violence.

Contributions to this brief, regular feature are invited.

The realisation that humanitarian precepts do not apply to the countless thousands of nonwhites who have been and are being massacred surely justified retaliation in defence of life by all means possible. On the other hand, in the eyes of so-called civilised society, those engaged in a struggle for liberty are merely barbarous rebels and anything but human. And this mass of less than humans who constitute two-thirds of the earth's population are awakening from their stupor and they long to assert their manhood.

THOUGH MALCOLM X is dead the longing lives on. The selfsame humanitarian advocates who bomb villages and kill hundreds of men, women and child rebels in the Congo, are not only engaged in a merciful war of slaughter in Vietnam but are also engaged on the home front murdering and lynching their own.

The slaughter at Sharpeville by South African Police armed with smallarms and Saracens and now reinforced in the air with Buccaneers, against the ultra-lethal weapon, the Pass-book, is a lesson the horde will never forget. It is most unfortunate that hundreds of Malcolm X's existing now and yet to be born are not accorded a lesson in the book of true human nature and that they are forced to learn the phonetic alphabet which was apparently so well taught in Kenya.

Perseus wore a magic cap so that the monsters he hunted down might not see him. The pseudomoralists and humanitarians might do the same so that the coloureds might not see them only they should draw their cap well down over eyes and ears and make believe that the horde does not exist. E. O. ●

