

SOUTH AFRICA

AN ATTEMPT AT A POSITIVE APPRAISAL

by Wilhelm Röpke

South Africa: The Butt of Ideological Propaganda

IT is certainly a curse of our times, rife with dubious aspects and controlled by a frightening mass of ideologies, passions and uncontrolled feelings, that so little room is given to quiet reasoning and the respect for indisputable facts. We encounter an impatient tendency to accept certain ideals of modern mass democracy that attempt to reduce everything to a normed level, demanding our obeisance. In the service of this power-greedy ideology, propagandists are at work, who have no qualms about making systematic partiality and one-sidedness of information a principle and, thereby, in the name of abstract moralism, cause us to surrender one of our loftiest and most veritable ethical values: truth.

What is called 'humanism' is very often nothing more than an extremely selective partisanship that, according to the extent to which the 'progressive' image of our time happens to be respected, measures each case by altogether different standards. It is a moralism that constitutes the direct opposite of a raising of the ethical level, being basically nothing more than a cheap way to emphasize abstract idealism and the emotional mass mind through rhetoric. In this manner, people seem to congratulate themselves on how noble-minded they are. Real ethics would demand, however, that we have the courage to make a fair judgment on the basis of unprejudiced information and that we state this judgment with equal courage against the terrorizing clamor of do-gooders and ideologies. Where this is lacking, we are faced, not with humanism and morally valuable deportment, but only with a mere 'ideology'.

South Africa represents a case in point: an extremely depressing and, at the same time, dangerous sign of the current trend. Just a few years ago, it was a country on the fringe of general interest. This interest, then favorably disposed, still contained much of the sympathy we felt for the Boers and their courageous but losing battle against their British neighbors. We pictured them as a tough and efficient people, who since the end of the previous century, had become the heirs of a fabulous mineral treasure on the southern tip of Africa that had not deterred them, however, from retaining a certain rustic simplicity. We knew that from their midst had sprung such extraordinary statesmen as Jan Smuts, who played an



important part in the founding of the League of Nations. Industrial pioneers like Cecil Rhodes and Ernest Oppenheimer—the Englishman and the German Jew—captured our imaginations by reason of the enormous scope of their activities. All were enrobed in the romantic veil of the exotic African milieu, whose beauty fed our imagination.

This picture actually changed only after the second World War and with a speed that allows us to see, in alarming form, how defenselessly and uncritically the Western world surrendered to the ideological intolerance of a progressivism that was not fastidious in its means of influencing the masses. With absolutely no idea of the falsifying and distortion of which they are the victims, countless people are letting themselves see in South Africa an odium generis humani, merely because it must solve an internal political problem unknown in other countries. They do not seem to wonder if they have not been caught in the coils of unremitting and cleverly-slanted propaganda. They appear to have forgotten the principle that it is both irresponsible and unworthy of an intellectually-mature man to judge the policies of Dr. Verwoerd and his Party, which are backed by the majority of South African voters, without first making a real study of the country. We have even experienced the example of European governments, who think they know the solution to the gigantic anthropological problems of South Africa, wanting to force these solutions through with the help of the United Nations, but who have refused an invitation from Pretoria to study the problems on the spot.

I, myself, am all the more cognizant of the narrow boundaries of my competence in this matter. A few months ago, I readily accepted invitations to lecture at South African universities and was glad of the opportunity to deepen my knowledge, previously gained from books and reports. I am aware that a several weeks' stay is not sufficient to allow a really expert judgment of South Africa, but I do think that a few well-considered conclusions at which I have arrived can bear a critical appraisal. I will go so far as to say that I feel it my duty to express them, in order to enable the reader to form a clearer opinion of this much-discussed country.

The Economic Importance of South Africa

Here is a country that, while burdened with the heavy mortgage of its ethnic heterogeneity, possesses two assets which have made it not only the most important and richest area of Africa economically but one of the most prosperous and—in certain respects—irreplaceable nations in the world economy. On the one hand, there are the extraordinary qualities of its white population, which lives under unusually favorable climatic conditions and possesses a pioneering spirit that can be compared only with that found in the United States. Initiative, hard work and ingenuity have blossomed and these characteristics, together with dependability, perseverance and the unusual richness of the land in natural resources, more than outweigh the liabilities South African agriculture is forced to accept, due to the moods of the weather.

So far as the first asset is concerned—the population itself—it must be emphasized that South Africa is a land created by Europeans: principally Dutch, Flemish, French, English and German; and the not-to-be-forgotten Jews. Centuries of the hardest work, accomplished under unimaginable sacrifices, have made this country, which is actually part of our Western world, into one of the most prosperous. It is, at the same time, highly attractive to tourists, with its diversified beauties and natural wonders, which have been largely preserved in their original splendor. The climate, as we have said, is salubrious and the giant national parks, filled with local fauna, are unique. In addition, it is the only African country offering interesting possibilities to private foreign investors and white immigrants.

The extent of these possibilities is vividly brought out by the fact that, according to figures of the South African Reserve Bank (the Central Bank), the total of foreign investments in South Africa at the end of 1961 amounted to \$4.253 billion, as against \$3.905 billion at the end of 1956. British investments represent the major part and are today estimated at about a billion pounds. A report from the Swiss Telegraphic Agency in Johannesburg¹ states that these increased in 1963 alone by about £100 million (\$280 million). From the same source we learn that the profits from dividends on these investments are, on the average, the highest in the world. This fact, coupled with the relatively favorable tax structure in South Africa, explains the strong attraction of the country for foreign capital, despite the political clouds hanging over it. The total investments of the United States in South Africa are estimated at six to seven hundred million

¹ Journal de Genève, December 18, 1963.

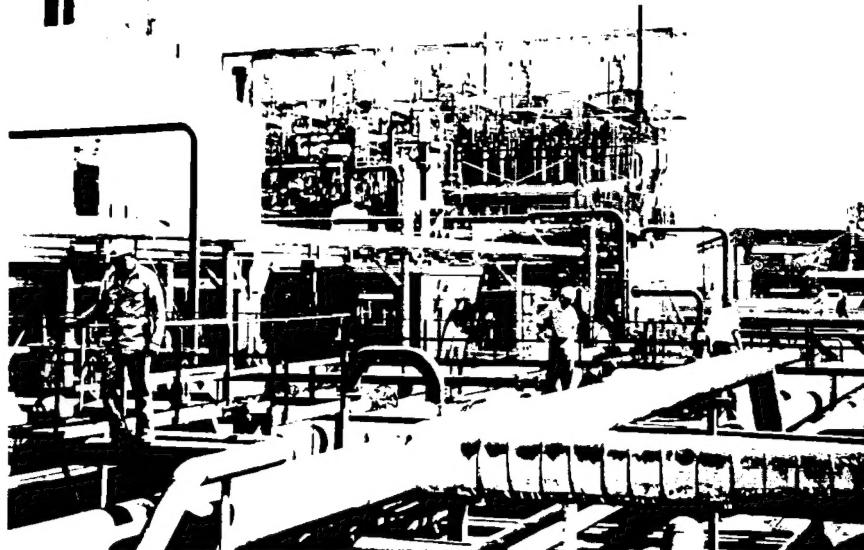
dollars. While the flow of capital from the United States came practically to a standstill in 1960 and 1961, it is estimated that U.S. capital in South Africa has grown by nearly 25 per cent during the last eighteen months. After France, with \$237 million, Switzerland follows with about \$190 million. South Africa is also a magnet to foreign investors because of the economic, financial and monetary policies pursued by its government. Despite some undeniable tendencies toward directive planning, they follow a course thoroughly friendly to free market economy and investments, which is based on the government's political stability that remains without parallel, not only in present day Africa (which would mean little enough), but also in the entire world. This government can rely not only on a strong and increasing majority of its own party, but—at least as regards its economic policies—it can also count on the agreement of the opposition, formed by the United Party and the small but intellectually-influential Progressive Party. The latter two are even more in favor of the principles of economic liberalism than the government and its party.

As far as the commercial relations with the world's principal countries are concerned, the following figures will provide an illustration: the total sum of South African foreign trade has now passed the three billion dollar mark annually, as opposed to \$350 million before the outbreak of the second World War. Even as recently as 1953, it reached only two billion dollars, representing an increase of fifty per cent during the past ten years. While not quite seven per cent of Africa's entire population lives in this country, it carries on twenty-five per cent of the entire foreign trade of the continent, not including gold exports. Another important facet of the picture is the fact that South Africa's exports to South America, Australia and Japan have doubled since 1951 and that trade with other African states, despite boycotts, has even increased in recent years¹.

British exports to South Africa, accounting for one-third of English exports to all the countries of the Commonwealth, are so important that Jim Matthews, a leading member of the Labour Party, not long ago warned his country to check political passions against South Africa, in view of the significance of that market for Britain². That South Africa leads the world, including the Soviet Union, in the production of gold (more than half of global production), is well known. Nor must its preeminent position in the field of diamonds

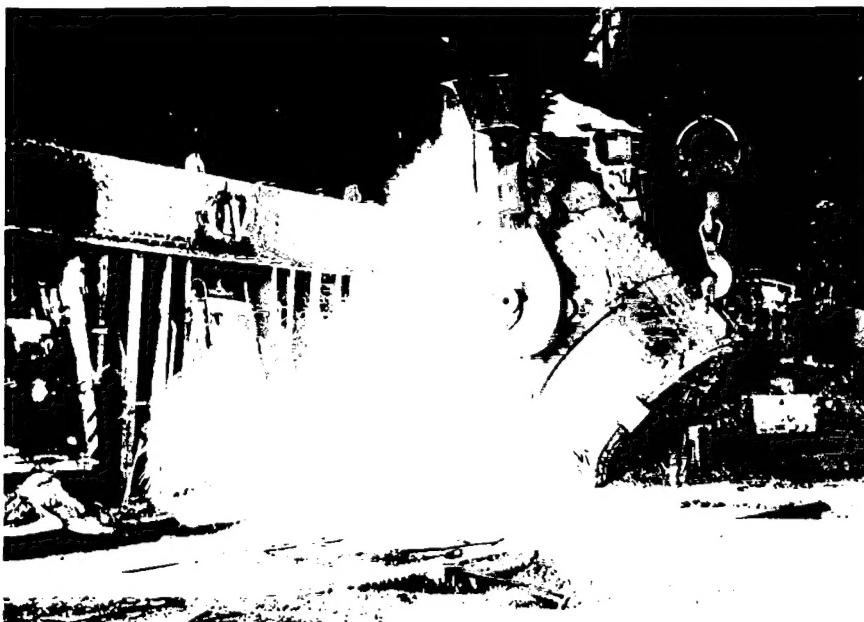
¹ Economic and other bulletins of the Swiss-South African Association, 1963, No. 7.

² Journal de Genève, October 10, 1963.



Above: The South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation (Sasol) at Sasolburg — the world's largest oil from coal plant and South Africa's youngest industrial giant. From about 7,000 tons of coal nearly two million pounds of gas and chemicals are produced. Besides the basic products like gasoline, gas and oil, a range of by-products including raw materials for fertilizers, solvents, waxes, synthetic rubber, detergents, plastics and pharmaceuticals are produced.

Below: While mining gave the first impetus to the development of modern South Africa, it is now being overshadowed by the phenomenal growth of the manufacturing industry. With a quarter of the national income already coming from secondary industry, South Africa is today among the advanced industrial countries of the world.



be mentioned. However, it is not generally known that this country is also the world's leading producer of chromium, that it ranks second in the mining of antimony ore and asbestos and third in that of manganese and vanadium ores. Although oil wells have not yet been put into operation there, the Republic has nearly inexhaustible and easily-exploitable coal reserves—87 per cent of the reserves and 80 per cent of the current coal production of all Africa—which represent a solid basis for energy requirements. That South Africa also ranks high in other mining fields (6th for nickel, 7th for magnesium, 10th for copper, silver and tin) does much to round out a truly impressive picture.

The unusual position occupied by South Africa in the world economy corresponds to its own internal economic strength. The growth of its economy, evident above all in the extent of its industrialization, is astonishing, but not without political danger because, as will be shown, South Africa's ethnic problem has become more acute since the flooding of the cities by the Bantu. Exhaustive figures would be superfluous here, because it is a matter of record that South Africa, along with Western Europe, North America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, belongs to the definitely well-to-do nations. Its Bantu population participates to such a great extent in this prosperity that its standard of living far exceeds that of the inhabitants of all the other African countries. Just as in Western Europe and Japan, South Africa is now in a period of definite economic upswing. Like Switzerland and Germany, it nevertheless shows a considerable surplus in its balance of payments¹. With an index of 100 for 1956/57, the production capacity of South African industry climbed in the first three quarters of 1963 to 143.4, as against 127.8 for the previous year, thus confirming the unusual tempo of the country's economic growth.

These balance-of-payments surpluses have taken the place of a period of deficits which, with the exception of large imports of capital goods, were caused mainly by capital exports. As Dr. M. H. de Kock, Director of the South African Reserve Bank, recently explained, South Africa's position is distinguished by the fact that, thanks to its gold production (for which there are no marketing problems) and to the diversity of its exports, its balance of payments

¹ According to provisional figures of the South African Reserve Bank, balance-of-payments surpluses amounted to about \$133 million in the fiscal year 1962-63, or 573.8 million Swiss francs.

is far less vulnerable than those of other underdeveloped countries (if South Africa can be thus categorized). On the other hand, the sensitivity of its capital balance, resulting from large foreign investments and political problems, is being slowed down by increased credit possibilities and an exchange control which is still deemed necessary. In addition, the recent balance-of-payments surpluses have permitted the Central Bank to pile up reserves amounting today to over \$700 million (over three billion Swiss francs). The director of the South African Central Bank is, therefore, justified in being confident that any new difficulties in the South African balance of payments can be efficiently overcome.

Gold Production

Gold still occupies first place in South African exports, with wool second. It is, therefore, an extremely important factor for the country's economy, especially because it concerns a product for which there are cost and production problems but, as previously said, no selling difficulties¹, since the price of \$35.00 which the U.S. Treasury Department pays per ounce of pure gold may not be lowered. The question is only if this price is high enough to permit South African gold production to continue at its present pace. Inasmuch as the official gold price has remained unchanged for the past thirty years, that is to say, since the American Gold Reserve Act of 1934—and this despite the extraordinary rise in all other prices and costs—one could assume that South African gold mining interests would be faced with great difficulties. It is interesting to note that the production of gold has, indeed, reached a low point in the United States today, because the fixed price makes it more and more unprofitable to mine.

It is thus all the more astonishing that this rigidity in the price of gold has not prevented South Africa from continuing to increase its production. In 1951, it mined \$420 million worth (a little more than 1.8 billion Swiss francs); in 1959, this soared to \$705.6 million (over three billion Swiss francs) and in 1962, to \$884.8 million (over 3.8 billion Swiss francs). In ounces, production rose from 25.49 million in 1962 to 27.43 million in 1963, or double the 1953 figure. Obviously, this increase has been rendered profitable through rationalization, concentration on the most profitable sources and the putting into operation of new mines with rich lodes, together

¹ Most of South Africa's gold is sold in London.

with profits from simultaneously-mined uranium and silver ores. A leading expert, Professor Evan Just of Stanford University, recently estimated the average production and capital costs of South African gold mining at \$27.00 per ounce of pure gold, which means that the \$35.00 an ounce price still leaves room for an average net profit of \$8.00 an ounce¹.

Whether convincing arguments of a more general nature, which are coupled with international currency regulations, would indicate the wisdom of raising the price of gold to correspond to the far higher price and cost indices of today, need not be mentioned at this time. It would, in any case, lead too far², for it is too complicated and lengthy a question to treat within the confines of this essay. It is sufficient to know that South Africa's gold production has reached a record level without any such increase in price and promises to climb even higher.

There is, however, no doubt that the profit margin in many mining operations is already very slim and that the mines of the classic Witwatersrand (near Johannesburg) will be exhausted in the foreseeable future. According to figures given in 1962 by the then president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, Mr. H. C. Koch, it may be reckoned that the gold production of the Rand Mines will come to a standstill by 1987 at the latest³. It is not feasible, at the present writing, to tell how far it will be possible to offset this gap in production by putting new gold deposits into operation. According to Mr. Koch, after 1986 gold mining will retain its leading role in South Africa's economy, even when the Rand Mines no longer play a part in it. New voices are, however, more cautious. In any case, much of South Africa's future will depend on to what extent it will be possible, within the next few years, to develop new industries. Obviously, an increase in the price of gold—well within the realm of possibility—would fundamentally change the picture.

South Africa's Ethnic Problem

It would, of course, have been impossible to keep South African

¹ Proceedings of the Second Gold and Mining Session, 1963, Pacific Northwest Metals & Minerals Conference, American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers, page 5.

² Compare with my lecture, 'A World Without a World Monetary Order', recently given in Johannesburg and which was published in 1963 by the South African Institute of International Studies in Johannesburg.

³ Neue Zürcher Zeitung, No. 3303, August 22, 1963.

gold production profitable, had not the hiring of Bantu migratory workers contributed to keep labor costs relatively low. Here again we are confronted with the ethnic problem, which outweighs all others. Already the fact that, within the borders of the Republic, there is a population of 3.25 million Whites as opposed to 11.64 million Bantu, not to mention 1.65 million mulattos (who are referred to as "Coloureds") and 522,000 Indians, is a difficult enough problem. The situation is aggravated because South Africa, through the development of its industry, its mines and its large cities, has become a country in which the majority—consisting of an extremely different race—has filtered into white settlements and in some cases already outnumbers the white people there. This has given rise to a problem which, to be fair, we must admit has no parallel elsewhere in the world.

In order to understand the issue and its unique nature, one must start with the indisputable fact that the Whites of South Africa have not merely a doubtful right to the land which they have settled and brought to the highest prosperity, but, rather, they are completely justified in owning and controlling it¹. When the Europeans, starting from the Cape, began to settle there in the middle of the 17th century, they came to a practically empty country at approximately the same time as the Bantu tribes from Central Africa, to the north, arrived in South Africa from the opposite direction. During the course of the succeeding centuries, the Whites have become just as much Africans as the other Europeans, who went westwards across the Atlantic Ocean, became Americans. The sole difference is that the white South Africans, contrary to the white Americans, did not at first—and later to a far lesser degree—crowd out the original inhabitants of the country.

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the South African Bantu is not only a man of an utterly different race but, at the same time, stems from a completely different type and level of civilization. One of the most shocking signs of the intellectual confusion of our times is that too few seem to ask themselves if it is at all possible to weld

¹ See the excellent statement of R. Wertheimer: 'Die Zukunft des weissen Mannes in Südafrika', Aussenpolitik, February-March, 1964. It must not be forgotten that the increase in the white population has reached a high point. Today, in addition to the considerably increased birthrate, come larger numbers of European immigrants, plus whites from Rhodesia. The more clearly Southern Rhodesia's fate approaches that of Kenya, the more will South Africa become the center of economic activity in Africa for the white population.



The first all-black parliament in South Africa, the Legislative Assembly of the Transkei, meets in Umtata, capital of the new state. Under the South African Government's program of separate development, similar parliaments are to be established for each of South Africa's disparate black nations and will eventually become parliaments of politically independent states. Many of the members are trained lawyers, teachers and hold university degrees.

a nation worthy of the name out of such utterly different ethnic-cultural groups and, on top of that, to organize it politically as a democracy. It is all the more necessary to keep in mind the words of Ernest Renan, in his classic work «Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?» (What is a Nation?—1882) : 'A nation is a spiritual principle, resulting from the deep complications of history; a spiritual family, not a group determined by the geographical shape of the land in which it lives. Man does not improvise himself. A nation, like an individual, is the end result of a long past filled with effort, sacrifice and devotion.' If this truth serves us as a premise, we must admit that seldom has there been a group of men who, by virtue of their completely heterogeneous cultural and ethnic heritage, were so unsuitable for the building of a nation, to say nothing of a democracy, as that composed of the white and black men of South Africa. An uncommon measure of ideological passion is required, in order to ignore these differences—and an even more uncommon one to dispute the elementary truth expressed by Renan after it has been pointed out.

It is here that the tremendous difference between the South African ethnic problem and that of the Negro question in the United States stands out. The South Africans could actually envy the Americans; their Negro question being merely one of a minority representing no danger for the majority and one which has more or less been assimilated into the great mass of the population during the course of centuries. This problem could be solved without jeopardizing the very existence of the nation as a whole. The South Africans are therefore right when they express a desire for an understanding of South Africa's ethnic problem most of all by the Americans, especially since the latter have not even been able to solve their far easier and less dangerous problem. The Bantu problem in South Africa stems not so much from an inheritance of the slavery system, but is rather the consequence of the ever-increasing power of attraction of European industry and urban culture which, as continued immigration from northern Africa proves, has spread far into the continent toward the north.

In this connection, we must cite the remarks of one of the best experts on colonial history, Professor Wahrhold Drascher of Tübingen University, who, in his book «Schuld der Weissen?» (The White Man's Blame?), 1961, writes: 'The patriarchal relationship of the Boers with the natives, as it has been upheld despite many wars, differs greatly from the unscrupulous destruction of the Indians in North America, the extermination of the Australian aborigines

and the brutal slave hunting in the tropical areas of the African continent.'

'Apartheid' concerns a separation of the races, by means of which the South African government is trying to solve, or at least render bearable, the ethnic problem of the country. We, as outsiders, should make an honest effort to understand the true nature of the issue—its uniqueness and the heaviness of the burden it represents. What—possibly in unattractive fashion—this Dutch word is meant to convey is the effort, at the cost of great sacrifice, to do something completely reasonable, that is to say, keep apart the immiscible ethnic groups through the setting up of autonomous areas reserved for the Bantu, the first of which has now been given over to the Xhosa nation under the name of 'Transkei'.

If we find it hard, in principle, to reach a just verdict, we should remember other cases in which the separation of ethnically heterogeneous groups, painful as the operation generally is, is considered today as unavoidable. The banishment of the Greeks from Turkey after the first World War was surely, for those concerned, a terrible thing and cannot, in its rigor, be compared to the current apartheid in South Africa. Everyone will admit that, if Turks and Greeks still had to live together in Asia Minor, problems would arise which would far overshadow those on Cyprus. Further, they would concern the political symbiosis of groups much closer to each other than the Whites and Bantu in South Africa. The Jews in Israel, to cite another example close to us, own that they would be faced with a completely insoluble problem if Israel were forced by the United Nations to accept the return of hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees into the land they left in 1948, in a sort of spontaneous 'apartheid', which Israel itself recognizes as inevitable. Finally, it must be borne in mind that the division of the Indian subcontinent into India and Pakistan, which was accomplished with hideous sacrifices and still represents the cause of great enmity between the incompletely and unsatisfactorily separated races is, basically, nothing other than a particularly brutal form of apartheid. This in no way hinders those responsible for it from making South Africa the butt of their most severe opprobrium, even though that country is trying to reach a milder and more equitable application of a principle which, in general, is tacitly accepted. Not even the fact that caste differences in India give rise to cruelties which find no parallel in South Africa is recognized.

How clear the problem was to a man like Abraham Lincoln, the emancipator of the American Negro, is shown by his attempts to have them leave the United States because they could not be assimilated. He explained to a delegation of Negroes which visited him during the Civil War, on the 14th of August, 1862, that the colored people should leave the United States because 'there is an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh as it may be, for you colored people to remain with us'. His further words expressed a true philosophy of apartheid, viz.: 'Your race suffers very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffers from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side.'¹

Apartheid means, therefore, that certain appropriate possibilities for development will be given the two ethnic groups in South Africa, black as well as white, through the establishment of 'Bantustans'. This is the specific form in which South Africa pursues the policy of 'decolonializing' and 'development aid', which corresponds to this country's needs. No expense is being spared and all the experience



South Africa is served by a system of excellent roads and highways. There are approximately 115,000 miles of national and provincial roads of which about 13,300 miles are bituminous surfaced. Almost half of the motor vehicles registered in Africa operate in the Republic.

¹ From Carl Sandburg's definitive biography of Abraham Lincoln, N. Y., 1954, Vol. I, pp. 574-5, quoted from Nathaniel Weyl-Stefan T. Possony: 'The Geography of Intellect', Chicago, 1963, p. 278.

of the Whites who have had contacts with the Bantu for centuries is being utilized. One of the major aims of this policy is to raise the educational standards of the Bantu, already higher than in any other part of Africa, and to teach them modern agricultural methods. Moreover, it is no accident that one of the most intelligent and just appreciations of this policy is to be found in the works of a Zionist author.¹ The fact is, as this specialist emphasizes, that Zionism is basically nothing other than an application of this same principle of pure ethnic separation, as regards the relationship between the Israelis and their former 'guest' races and of their relationship to the Arabs, of which we have spoken before. This, too, Israel has in common with South Africa: because of her policy, she has to justify herself in the eyes of the world.

I should like to repeat that any tenable criticism of the South African policy of racial segregation must be based on the fact that it represents a very serious try at the solving of a very serious problem. Just as Willy Bretscher, Editor-in-Chief of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, a man with a thorough knowledge of international politics and a confirmed liberal, said not long ago²: 'Those, too, who regard the policy of apartheid with a critical eye or, perhaps, consider it utterly wrong, should be careful not to try to simplify the extremely complicated problem with which South Africa is confronted, nor forget the difficult and even tragic situation in which the white population, which has lived there for hundreds of years, finds itself, as a result of the latest historical developments.' (Underlined in the original.)

One may judge the chances of success of this policy as good or not, but it could hardly be called stupid or evil. Its leading concepts were epitomized a year ago by former Swiss Ambassador F. Kappeler, in a talk before the Swiss-South African Association in Zurich, as follows:

1. Because a mixed white and black racial community is not possible in view of experiences both in South Africa and elsewhere, but is, on the contrary, undesirable to the overwhelming majority on both sides, a common seat of power cannot be achieved;
2. a continuation of white supremacy with merely limited representation of the black population through the Bantu will no longer be accepted;
3. a transferral of power by the whites to the black majority will be nearly unanimously refused;

¹ Paul Giniewski, 'Une autre Afrique du Sud', Paris, Editions Berger-Levrault, 1962.

² *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, No. 5095, December 6, 1963.

4. equal rights for both races, with the right to vote for those who qualify, must, in the end, given progressive schooling and development, lead equally to black supremacy;
5. it must be concluded that the generally-demanded right to vote and self-government of the Bantu can today be realized only through separation of white and black areas.

Here is the proper place to mention the idea given a focal position by R. Wertheimer in his previously-mentioned study¹. Without rejecting apartheid as such, this authority accepts it, in that he relies on its serving, through training and development of the Bantu population within an appropriate framework, to prepare for a future in which whites and blacks, after overcoming their excessive racial consciousness, will be able to work together in such a way that the whites could then grant the blacks equality without destroying themselves and South Africa in the process (as they would today, a fact which must be granted by all informed persons). Professor Thomas Molnár, incidentally, after a recent study trip to South Africa, remarked that the politically-mature among the Bantu do not reject apartheid because, on the one hand, they refuse a graduated right to vote as a permanent disqualification and, on the other, fear total equal rights ('one man—one vote') since they know that the inevitable Bantu majority would then lead to total political, spiritual and economic ruin of the country². Whether Wertheimer's hopes will be fulfilled remains to be seen. In any case, apartheid as such would not preclude them.

May I emphasize that a fair judgment of this policy is rendered even more difficult by a circumstance of great importance. A difference must be drawn between the 'actual' or 'big' apartheid and that of the 'little' or 'small' apartheid. The latter is the often humbling, petty and exasperating degradation of the black within the white settlements, i.e. a 'segregation' such as is known principally in the southern part of the United States, but which also occurs to a large degree in the north. Here there is little to excuse and less to defend and the government in Pretoria would be well advised, in the interest of its policy of 'big' apartheid, to undertake a thorough revision of its methods.

Justice demands refutation of the idea that South Africa's Bantu, as a whole, are a persecuted and unhappy mass of people. In view of the cold war being waged against that country by the entire

¹ R. Wertheimer, loc. cit.

² Thomas Molnar, 'First Step in the Transkei', *The National Review*, February 1964.

world, but above all by the propagandistically least scrupulous governments, all unfavorable reports about this country should be viewed with the greatest scepticism. It would be best to count them either untrue or grossly exaggerated, until the opposite is proved. I, personally, have the liveliest and most pleasant memories of the happily-waving children in the native villages; the humorous farmer from the northern Transvaal, who earned sufficient money to buy another cow by working in our hotel for several months as an elevator boy, and the magnificent dances put on by the individual tribes represented among the seasonal workers in the gold mines. These were their great Sunday entertainments at which they merely tolerated the presence of their white employers, whom they caricatured drastically in a refreshingly disrespectful way. All statistics prove, in addition, that nowhere in Africa is the black so well paid, provided with such good living quarters, so well fed and so well dressed as he is in South Africa. Nowhere is as much done for his education and health as in South Africa, and Giniewski reminds us that that country has never had a lynching.

If we weigh all the factors, 'small' apartheid remains a saddening affair and a source of unhappiness for countless individuals. But, the smugness with which so many people the world over regard the South Africans (the Boers and the English are drawn closer together through campaigns against their country) is morally hardly on a higher level. These self-satisfied people sit in judgment, although they are lucky enough not to have in their own countries, whether they are Swiss, German or Scandinavian, such a unique and terrible problem as the ethnic problem of South Africa, and are probably not even capable of imagining its dimensions.

This Phariseeism, so difficult to take, is one of the main reasons why perspectives are here again grotesquely twisted. It would be ludicrous, were it not scandalous, to compare conditions in South Africa with, for instance, the genuine genocide and culture murder in Tibet or even only with the fate of the Baltic people and others within the boundaries of the Communistic supercolonial empire. But many of those desirous of forcing South Africa out of the community of nations, who do not even wish to sit at the same table with South Africans in order to discuss questions of social insurance, vaccination or the tourist trade, are the very same ones who would like to invite into the United Nations the people responsible for the crushing of Tibet, not to mention their flirtation with the colonial rulers in Moscow.



South Africa in the Scheme of World Politics

Whether Dr. Verwoerd's ambitious plan, designed to solve the ethnic problem of his country through separation, will be successful, no one can predict. The prospects of success would, undoubtedly, be far greater, could the situation ripen calmly and slowly and if it were possible to count on good will from all sides, including that of black Africa. What gives us pause for thought is that an experiment which, in any case, is a nearly desperate project, must be undertaken today in the atmosphere of a supernationalistic Africa and inverted racism and with the ardour of the Communistic world revolution. The greatest obstacle, however, is the Bantu masses, which have already become entrenched in the cities. Still, one must not be too pessimistic, since nearly two-thirds of the Bantu are still settled in' rural regions, the majority of them in their traditional tribal areas.

At all events, it is unfair to reject this policy if one has no ideas for a better solution. Only completely confused ideologists such as the so-called 'liberals' in South Africa and their counterparts in other countries can seriously propose that one should give the blacks full political equality within the framework of a unified South Africa, thereby actually handing over to them jointly undisputed control of the country. This would be nothing less than advising national suicide. Even the Scandinavian governments, which appear to regard the solving of the South African problem as their historic mission, do not dare do so, although their proposal of a doctrinaire democracy, in line with the universal prescription of calling on the United Nations to protect the whites in South Africa from the consequences they dread, also gives proof of a shocking lack of a sense of reality. The only serious alternative to apartheid, which is being discussed in South Africa alone, is the proposal of the small 'Progressive Party', to make possible for the Bantu a gradual cultural and political assimilation, similar to the Portuguese example. It has already been pointed out how precipitate it would be to jump to the conclusion that this formula would be less problematic than that of Dr. Verwoerd, or even superior to it. Perhaps a combination of the two could be envisaged.

Anyone who does not let himself be blinded by irresponsible demagogery, must admit that much is at stake in South Africa, politi-

South Africa produces three times as much steel as all African countries combined and is tenth in world output. The South African Iron and Steel Corporation (Isco), the country's largest steel company plans extensions for the next 10 years to an estimated \$1.12 billion or \$1.26 billion and the annual production to about 4.5 million ingot tons. Highest steel ingot production figure was achieved during 1962/63 when output reached 2.5 million tons.

cally, culturally and economically. If the Communistic non-Western majority in the United Nations, together with the Western masochists, succeed in transforming South Africa into a kind of Congo or Indonesia, this would mean a political and economic upheaval of world-shaking proportions, comparable only to the loss of Latin America to Communism.

Although the overall economic picture we can draw of South Africa is unusually favorable, the political element represents a heavy burden for this rich, important country. It is all the more important that there be not the slightest doubt of her decision to protect herself from internal danger and from all outside threats. The chances of such a defense, if properly examined, do not appear to be bad. One of England's leading journalists, John Mander, who tends rather toward the left and is one of the editors of the excellent periodical 'Encounter', said, in September 1963, that the South Africans had grounds to look forward to the future with confidence. The South African, he says, is optimistic and confident of his ability to guarantee his internal security. Mr. Mander does not think that South Africa would lend itself well to guerilla warfare. He knows that many years must elapse before the black nationalism in South Africa could represent a serious military threat. Nor does he think that the Western powers, with their big interests in South Africa, could afford to intervene on a military level as they did in the Congo. Mander, the British Liberal, gives apartheid, as a policy of dividing the country, a positive meaning. He does not believe in a revolution in South Africa, but is convinced that evolution will cause her to go in the direction of the same unpleasant but strangely stable equilibrium that reigns between Israel and the Arab countries. This parallel is, he feels, an exact one. Together with the Israelis, the South Africans are the only whites in all of Africa and Asia who were able to form a nation. If not both peoples, at least the Afrikaners are conscious of this parallel. They feel themselves called and led by God's hand to the promised land, after years of persecution and a desperate fight for life. The white South Africans, like the Israelis, are faced with an overwhelming majority of opposing forces, but again like their Jewish counterparts, they could lean on their superior efficiency and experience, in order to maintain themselves for a very long time in black Africa. A Bantustan, in the southeast perhaps, could always serve, according to Mr. Mander, as a sort of African Jordan.

The danger that the Western powers could let South Africa down in a serious way, even if they feel they owe it to the Bantu to be unfriendly toward Pretoria, has never been great because the suicidal nature of such a policy is all too obvious. The chaotic development that is more and more marked in the rest of the continent, profiting only the Communists, has certainly helped increase the Western powers' estimate of South Africa's worth for the economy and politics of the free world. Very informative in this connection is an essay written recently by a Conservative MP in the British House of Commons, Mr. Patrick Wall, and published in the *Yorkshire Post*. His remarks attracted much attention outside England as well, because he very definitely compared the political stability, strength and dependability of South Africa with the revolutionary development on the rest of the continent, concluding that South Africa must be uncompromisingly supported. In a serious case, the West could fall back only on the southern part of the continent; only there would they be able to dispose of air bases and ports. The Communists are doing everything to provoke a revolutionary situation which would allow them to lay hands quickly on all of Africa. But a determined stand on the part of Great Britain and the United States could, for a decade at the least, stabilize things on the basis of the Zambezi Line, which would divide the black-controlled northern part of the continent from the white-controlled south. This would result in South Africa's being invested with a key position.

The nations of the West should finally be courageous enough to look impartially and in unprejudiced fashion at South Africa's problem in all its severity, difficulty and complexity. Instead of hitting at Pretoria, basking in their own moral perfection and forcing the South Africans toward an ever-increasingly stiffer resistance, those countries should try to help them by means of real justice and a true understanding of the situation, which can be mastered in this way alone. Included in this is recognition of the fact that a cold war (which has already become quite warm) is being waged against South Africa. If this is not admitted, it is hardly possible to understand the present limitations of the constitutional guarantees and the continuance of exchange control. The opposition party (United Party) had finally to convince itself that, as a matter of pure self-preservation, protecting the country by means of extreme watchfulness against sabotage and terrorist tactics, now being organized on the Venezuelan pattern and which are, of course, Communist-inspired, is unavoidable.



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During 1926-27 research professor in the U. S. in connection with an assignment from the Rockefeller Foundation to study the agricultural problems of the U. S. 1930-31 member of the Reichs-Commission for the reduction of unemployment; discharged in 1933 on account of intellectual resistance to National Socialism; subsequently called to Turkey by Kemal Pasha to assist in reforming the University of Istanbul and to establish an Institute of Economic Science; since 1937 professor in Geneva. In 1950 advisor to the Federal German Government.

1952 Italian Price of Litterature (Premio Cremisini);

1953 Grosses Verdienstkreuz of the Federal Republic of Germany; Corresponding member of the Institut de France (Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques);

1964 Grosses Verdienstkreuz mit Stern of the Federal Republic of Germany

Here mention is made only of some of Wilhelm Röpke's many valuable publications:

Finanzwissenschaft, 1929

Weltwirtschaft und Aussenhandelspolitik, 1931

Krise und Konjunktur, 1932

Crises and Cycles, London 1936

Die Lehre von der Wirtschaft (1937), 10. Aufl. 1965

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Civitas humana, London 1964
The Solution of the German Problem, New York, 1946
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International Order and Economic Integration, Dordrecht-Holland, 1959
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Economics of the Free Society, Chicago, 1963

You will find a complete list of all publications at the end of the two books "Gegen die Brandung" and "Wort und Wirkung".

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