

number of visitors to Southafrica was 226,899, but this figure is deceptive. Only just over 60,000 of those visitors came from non-African countries, and among the rest a major share came from Rhodesia. Southafrica's tourist strength at the moment, in fact, lies in the movement of people into the country from its neighbours, not in the great bursting-out of tourists from Europe and America. Southafrica's problem is shared by such countries as Australia.

Hidden assets. In its tangible rewards of large amounts of foreign exchange, and in its less tangible promotion of goodwill and understanding, tourism is something that Southafrica least of all can afford to neglect. It is this awareness that is pushing men in tourist agencies and private individuals in business into greater efforts over tourism, and it was with the realisation of the importance of the industry that a man such as Trust Bank head Jan Marais last month outlined some ideas. Just returned from a long trip overseas, Marais suggested that a Promotion Council be formed, as there is "no central point from where decisions affecting all aspects of tourism can be made". Promotion work is already being done by the Southafrican Tourist Corporation overseas, but there is need for a body that can co-ordinate not just promotion but tourism as an industry, both within and without the country.

Old standby. Promotion of tourism to Southafrica has long been sold on the assets of sun, wild life and open air enjoyment, though as Satour Director Pierre Basson says, each campaign must reflect what points tourists in each specific country are most attracted by. At present Southafrica is promoted abroad as a land of good climate, modern cities and wild game, though the accent changes from country to country. In the US climate might not be a hot selling point, though wild life might. At the same time, American tourists want comfort, so Satour's latest campaign will emphasise Southafrica's sophistication.

Fateful star. But sophistication can only be sold where sophistication exists. As one of Satour's US agents said in Pretoria last week, Americans who pay "nearly 800 dollars just to set foot in Southafrica are not going to be worried too much about how very favourably Southafrican hotels compare in price to overseas ones". What will be expected are minimum standards of service and comfort, and the conclusion of the 1965 commission on the hotel industry was that "one of the most significant shortcomings

found to exist in much of the presently constituted hotel industry is the markedly deficient standard of service in most facets of hotel operation". Now under way is the Hotel Board's scheme to grade hotels in a five-star system for the guidance of tourists.

Living wild. Making Southafrica live up to its promotion must be done in such a way that it caters "to the absolute convenience of the tourist", says Jan Marais. "Promotion is necessary, but it is just as important to be able to deliver the goods". At the moment tourists from abroad will generally want to take in as much of the country

africa should receive its biggest boost with the introduction around 1970 of the big jumbo jets carrying hundreds of passengers at slashed rates. But while travel to Southafrica will suddenly become feasible for Europeans and Americans who could not previously afford the fare, this will also hold good for other nations prepared to push tourism. In that climate of competition, Southafrica will have to do more than tout its wild life, its cities, its climate. Some in the trade do not believe that Southafrica can ever hope to make inroads into the world tourist pattern — one such, Bill Frazer, owner-



THAT HOARY OLD LION IN THE KRUGER NATIONAL PARK
Worth R500?

SATOUR

as possible — at least the major urban centres and the inevitable stopover at the Kruger National Park. But getting around the country cheaply can be a problem. A coach trip around Southafrica will cost around R200 (with accommodation provided), and much of the cost is absorbed in subsidising the services in the off-peak season. "You must understand," says SAR's travel and publicity agent in Capetown, Louw J. du Plessis, "we can hardly make ends meet as matters stand at present".

Lack of money to improve tourist service is the complaint too of the manager of the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, John de Smidt. "We are constantly hampered by lack of money". De Smidt's organisation has to handle up to 45,000 visitors calling at the Association's office each year, and has to struggle to cope with a five-strong staff.

More to come. Tourism in South-

manager of four Capetown hotels, declares: "I have no belief at all in a future for international tourism in Southafrica. There is no reason why any tourist should travel 12,000 miles for the sun. Of course there is the wild life — but who wants to pay R500 in fares alone on the off chance of seeing a lion?"

If Frazer is to be proved wrong, then Southafrica will have to get a move on. The Republic has a surfeit of places and happenings that with right handling — and possible government subsidies, which at the moment, are absent — could make effective tourist attractions. From Boer War battlefields to surfing and fishing on the Garden Route, from tribal life in the reserves to the rhythms of jazz in the townships, there is much that even Southafricans know little about. In getting to know tourism, Southafricans might even get to know themselves.

AFRICA

RHODESIA

The legal angle

Squaring up in court for the second time in six months, Johannesburg advocates Sydney Kentridge and Oscar Rathouse last week faced each other before the first-ever sitting of a full bench of Rhodesian Appeal Judges. At specific issue was the legality of the continued detention of Leo Baron and Daniel Madzimbamuto; at general issue was whether the judges could legally act on any laws passed post-



GOVERNMENT LEGAL TEAM (RATHOUSE ON RIGHT) GOES TO COURT
To bow to a fait accompli?

UDI. If not, then the detention was illegal, as it would have been terminated in February, 1966, unless the Governor renewed the emergency proclamation, which he had not done.

Who is he? Who is she? Kentridge hammered at one point. By "law, logic and allegiance" the judges owed their duty to the UK and to the Queen, hence could not implement the legislation of "Mr Dupont's Government", refused recognition either by the Queen or the UK government. The earlier judgment that the Rhodesian government was in fact illegal but nevertheless the *de facto* government was denied by the Southafrican barrister. A *de facto* government would have to appoint its own courts. The judges must stand by the 1961 constitution under which they were appointed and not by the 1965 constitution which was not recognised by those who appointed them.

T'other side. After Kentridge's five

days of argument, Rathouse rose to his first point: by going to the UN, the UK has recognised that Rhodesia has an effective government which Britain alone, by itself, cannot unseat. His second: that as the situation is unprecedented, the judges may themselves set a precedent. His third: that "natural" law may fill the gap created by the situation, a situation in which the old order is now inoperative — for the time being at least.

Friends, home and abroad

Somehow the news seemed not to have got around. Despite sanctions and Britain's minatory tone, the eager-to-buy businessmen flocked from all over Europe into Meikle's Hotel in Salisbury, there to be met by the more-than-willing-to-sell. Meikle's had its best January ever: Rhodesia wasn't doing too badly either. One nice deal was a Rhodesia/France exchange of tobacco/textiles. The sum involved: R4m. Other deals were there, though buyers and sellers were playing it gentle and judicious. And just to keep the UDI ruddy and cheerful, West Germany last week seemed likely to allow Rhodesian contracts to be honoured.

Us neo's. Euphoria was the keynote. It did perhaps have a curious by-effect: murmurs of approval were heard in political circles for a southern neighbour's policies and there was enthusiastic chit-chat on the possibility of going for separate development — Rhodesia-style, of course. One Rhodesian cabinet minister is reported to have said: "It is time that these people realise that we are not British settlers but a white nation of Africa like the Afrikaners..." Among these men one Afrikaner is not so popular: *Die Burger's* Piet Cillié, not only because



KENYA'S ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
AFFAIRS MINISTER TOM MBOYA
The question is...



of his recent leading articles casting doubts on UDI, but also because he declined to join four other Afrikaans newspaper editors on a trip to Rhodesia.

KENYA

Good for plenty

Despite protestations to the contrary, much Southafrican capital has gone north to the black African states, notably Malawi. One of the more attractive prospects for such investment is, however, Kenya. Since independence President Jomo Kenyatta has overridden the tribal rivalry between the Luo and his own Kikuyu and has made a national fetish out of Harambee (togetherness) winning at the same time the goodwill of most of the white settlers. Over the past year the white population has actually increased from 42,000 to 43,000. Africanisation has proceeded slowly and with discretion, which has been good for the country's uncertain economy. In the years following independence the Gross Domestic Product rose from R555m to R595m a year.

Mutual improvement. Kenya has encouraged foreign investment, which has increased threefold over the past three years. Much of this investment has derived from Europe; some from Southafrica. Among the Southafrican companies which already have interests in Kenya are the Old Mutual, and Anton Rupert's Rembrandt group of companies, whose Kenya vice-chairman is former Vice-President Joseph Murumbi. However, it is doubtful whether Southafrican government capital would be as openly welcome in Kenya as it is in Malawi. In Nairobi last month, Kenya's Minister of Economic Affairs, Tom Mboya, replied to questions put by NEWS/CHECK on this subject:
Do you give support to private South-

african companies who wish to invest in Kenya?

We deal with each case entirely on merit. We have no quarrels with individuals in South Africa — only with the regime.

Then you would not accept South African government aid?

No. We would not accept it even if it were offered. It is a matter of principle. We would find it a great contradiction on the one hand to say that we do not like what they are doing and on the other to appeal to them for assistance. By its policies South Africa denies itself the opportunity and the right to participate in Africa's leadership. *But accepting South Africa's aid does not necessarily mean that you are accepting its policies.*

Even if there are no strings attached, any form of assistance is bound to have some degree of attachment. *But Dr Hastings Banda accepts South African aid for Malawi.*

I suppose that Dr Banda feels that he is involved in a special situation and it requires very special answers. Quite frankly I think this has created a problem within the whole of the OAU, and most African countries would be reluctant to find themselves in this position.

CONGO

Letting the people go

The 43 most relieved people in Belgium last week were a party of women and children who arrived in Brussels from Lubumbashi (Elisabethville) on February 2. They were safely back home after four hard days of intense diplomatic activity by the Belgian government on their behalf. On the previous Sunday they had wept at Lubumbashi airport where Congolese security chief Stanley Mika had refused to allow them to leave. "We will all die here together", he had snapped. But Belgium pushed, and Katanga yielded.

The lucky 43 represented the advance guard of a massive exodus from Katanga of employees of Union Minière du Haut-Katanga and their families. By last weekend, nearly a hundred more had left. Earlier this year, when the Congolese government nationalised UMHK, only eleven of the company's 1,650 white workers said that they would be willing to remain in Katanga.

No place to live. The whites could hardly be blamed for wanting to leave. As the dispute between UMHK and the Congolese government drags on, tension between blacks and whites is swelling. Although the mines have



ALONG WITH Guinea, the small state of Congo-Brazzaville is one of the most inscrutable in Africa nowadays. Untouched so far by the violent upheavals of its big neighbour, Congo-Kinshasa, the country yet shows signs of uneasiness. Increasingly Westerners are finding it difficult to gain entry. The Chinese influence was evident in last year's parade to celebrate the coup in 1963, and this picture of the parade turned up for the first time this year — in Peking.

miraculously kept up full production, there have been no exports of copper since December 23 last year and the state is virtually bankrupt.

Thus Katangese soldiers, at the best of times undisciplined, are angry because they have not been paid. In response to rumours that whites were sabotaging the mines, many soldiers have joined the "young volunteers" who last week paraded through the streets of Lubumbashi carrying a coffin symbolising white UMHK workers. An unpleasant crisis may be avoided only if the economic position can be brought back to normal. And this will not happen in a hurry, as shown early last week when Congolese President Joseph Mobutu tried to form an international consortium to help run the mines. The consortium fell through when the companies concerned (including South Africa's Anglo American) bowed to Belgian pressure and agreed to keep out of the dispute until it is settled. By allowing the whites to leave last week, it seems that the Congolese government has for the time being also climbed down in the face of these Belgian demands.

TRAVEL

A different prospect

After two-and-a-half years of reporting on Africa, American journalist Blaine Littell came to ask himself: "Well, what was Africa really like anyway?" In an effort to find out, Littell returned to Africa, planning to follow a journey of exploration made by Henry Morton Stanley between 1874 and 1877. That trip took Stanley

from Bagamoyo just north of present-day Dar es Salaam on the East African coast, through the interior of present Tanzania, around the lakes of that region and then through the Congo, first on the tributaries, then on the Congo River itself. Stanley finally made it to the mouth of the Congo, thus effectively opening the unknown regions of that part of the continent for the subsequent European colonisation.

Littell never went as far. Aiming to cover in three months the ground covered by Stanley in three years, Littell found himself unable to travel more than about half the journey. But in doing so he discovered Africa for himself, an Africa that he found hard to believe. An account of one sort of disillusionment with Africa,



LITTELL IN THE FIELD IN AFRICA
Darkest Africa not much lighter

Littell's travels have just appeared between the pages of *South of the Moon* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson).

The plot thickens. Flying to Tanzania after a brief stop in Nairobi, Littell landed in a capital that was to be rocked just after his arrival by the discovery in late 1964 of an American

the interior. "Bagamoyo — the great trading post of the past and the decaying ruin of the present—had been the Dar es Salaam of the 19th century. Would Dar es Salaam become the Bagamoyo of the twenty-first?" Littell's discovery of a land where the jungle really did move back to reclaim

Kenya through Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, Littell's experiences were all of a sort. For him there was the evident fact that African governments seemed more to be succumbing to the enormous problems facing them in raising the level of skills and competence than keeping their heads above water. As he took part in patrols with mercenaries and surveyed the wreckage left by the rebellion in the Congo, Littell reached some gloomy conclusions. "What is happening is a steady, inexorable return to the bush," concluded Littell. "It derives, I believe from the African's knowledge, deeply felt, that nothing that has occurred since the arrival of the white man has made him happy or done him any good. He does not like to be reminded, even by implication, that he is inferior . . ." Overwhelmed by the processes of decay, Littell writes of an Africa that finally was too much for both his mental and physical capacity, an Africa that follows not at all the tracks of the history of progress. It is a full indictment of Africa by a man who wishes it well—an indictment both mournful and perplexed.



LITTELL AND BURNING CONGO VILLAGE
Finally too much

"plot" against the country. With bemused interest Littell watched as the papers of Dar es Salaam whipped up feeling against the US. A few days later Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere addressed a mass rally in Swahili. Nyerere, despite the obviously forged nature of the documents that purported to reveal the plot, refused to squash the uproar. "He whispered ominously, he shouted threateningly; he raised and then narrowed his voice to a nasty carping falsetto," writes Littell of Nyerere. The Tanzanian leader was widely regarded at the time as a man basically of moderation and good sense, especially by the Americans in Dar es Salaam. For Littell, the story told by one of Nyerere's confidants about him made more sense: the followers of a chief, the story ran, had eaten of a food that made them mad. Finally the chief asked for the food himself, saying: "Give me the food too, and I will eat it and become mad. Only as a madman can I lead my people."

Crumbling stones. It was finally with a Kenyan from South Africa that Littell drove out of Dar es Salaam in his second-hand land rover. From Dar the land rover was to take the journalist overland through Tanzania, through the Serengeti and north to touch Nairobi once again. "The door is swinging shut on the foreigner in Tanzania. I do not know whether this is good or bad—only that this is happening," wrote Littell after a visit to the once-bustling port of Bagamoyo where Stanley started his journey into

old human habitations and artifacts provided a sombre beginning to a trip that seemed only to confirm this regression.

Uneasy stability. In Kenya the American found that, dislike the idea as he might, the situation was not as hopeful as it first seemed. The best farming land of Kenya, the White Highlands, was with difficulty being transferred to African control and getting out of hand. And in the cities and towns of Kenya the population was rocketing. Jobs were not being created at anything like the necessary rate. African farming was improving only with the stubbornness of efforts. "I wish," said one resettlement officer in the former White Highlands, "I could say I felt this was all a great leap forward, but it's more a rearguard action."

Two steps back. Moving on from

GHANA

Sabotaging subversion

Last February, when the Ghanaian army deposed Kwame Nkrumah and proclaimed an eight-man National Liberation Council, headed by General Joseph Ankrah to be the government of Ghana, they met with so little opposition that they did not even impose a coup-day curfew. The NLC has tried to keep this popular approval and, although all political parties in the country are still banned, a commission has been appointed to work out a return to constitutional rule and civilian government as soon as possible. But last week the NLC announced the establishment of military tribunals to try non-military persons accused of subversion. These military courts,

EX AFRICA

Kampala, Uganda

Former Baganda sub-chief Michael Matovu, detained under last April's emergency regulations, will have to stay in jail. Last month he claimed in court that the emergency laws, imposed on the country by Milton Obote when he seized the Presidency, are illegal. However, a week ago, Ugandan Chief Justice Udo Uduma ruled that they were both

legal and binding. "A coup d'etat is recognised in law if it is accepted by the people," said the judge.

Tananarive, Malagasy Republic

"I am against birth control in our country, and thus against the sale of contraceptives. We need a lot of manpower to develop our economy." This is what President Philibert Tsiranana told his cabinet last week. The President also practices what he preaches — he has eight children.

against which there will be no appeal, will hand down sentences ranging from a minimum 25 years in prison to death by firing squad.

Re-reaching for glory. The reason for the new decree is largely because the NLC suspects that politicians (among them many former members of Nkrumah's government) are taking advantage of the discontent caused by the present economic austerity measures in order to further their own ends. Unemployment, high prices, and a wage freeze have already led to strikes, and in last week's decree "incitement to a general strike" was tabled as subversion. But the NLC also fears more than strikes. As early as June last year, Ghana's police chief and vice-chairman of the NLC, John Harley, produced evidence of Guinean guerrilla training camps open to Nkrumah's

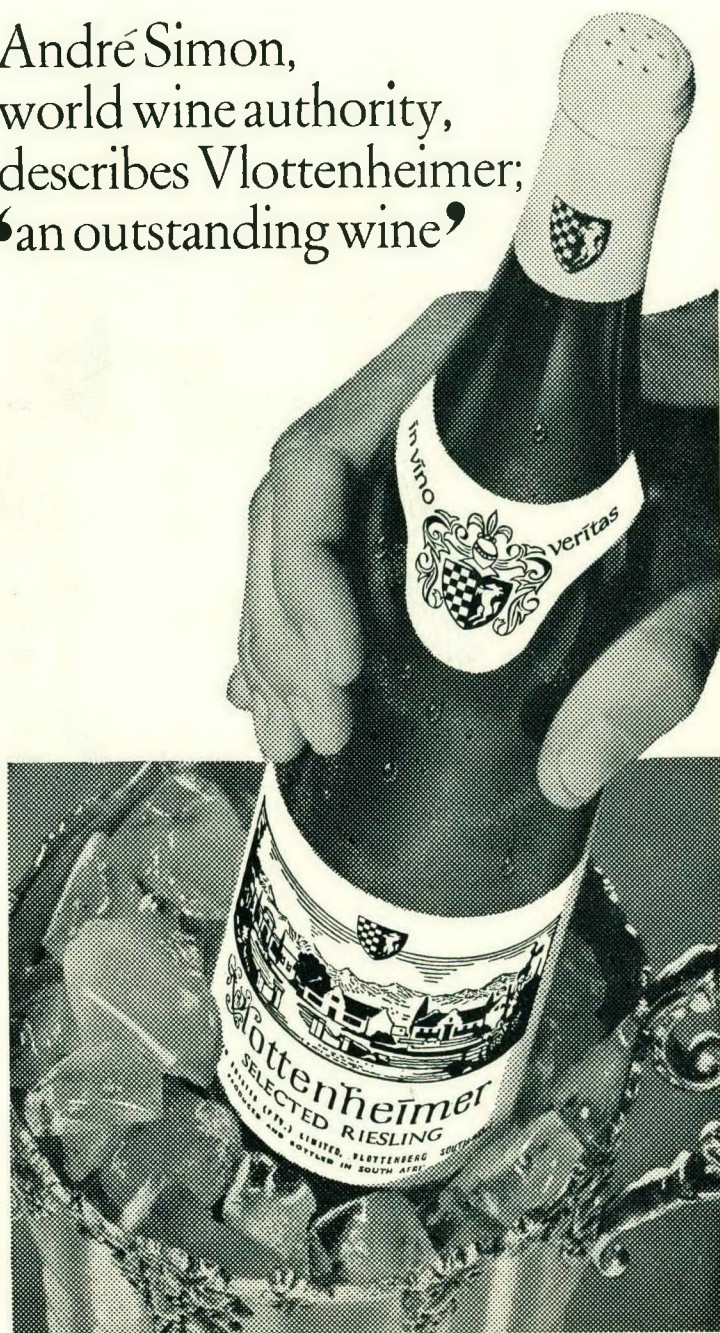


NLC BOSSES HARLEY AND ANKRAH
Flexing some warning muscles

Ghanaian supporters. A recent series of incidents has shown that some of these Guinean-trained saboteurs may have infiltrated into Ghana. In the latest incident, at the end of last month, three Ghanaians and a Nigerian were arrested before they could carry out a plot to liquidate members of the NLC. All were once members of the now dissolved Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba, where in pre-coup days "Nkrumahism" was taught.

Different faces, same rule? The NLC has thus now partly answered charges that it was too soft on Nkrumah's sympathisers. But many of his most powerful former ministers and party functionaries, such as former chief of state protocol Krobo Edusei, are still at large after serving only a few months' protective custody. Even with the new military tribunals, the NLC is far from being merely Nkrumah's government without Nkrumah.

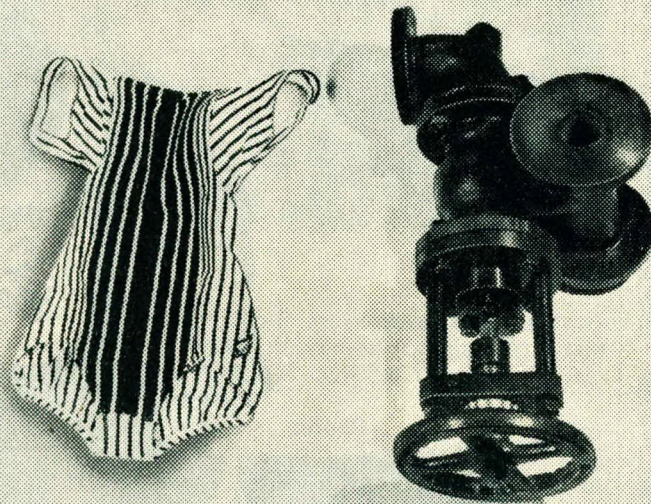
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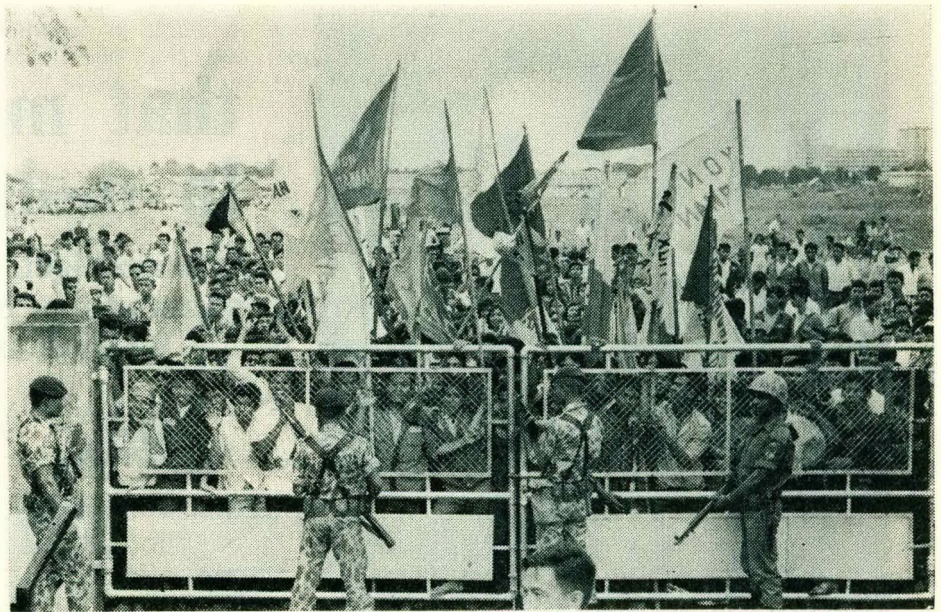
INDONESIA

Making a fight of it

Since Indonesia's army crushed the Communist coup in September 1965, army boss General Suharto and President Sukarno have conducted a ceaseless hand-wrestling bout. Suharto has gradually forced the President's hand closer to the table, whittling his political powers away. Sukarno has refused to yield altogether, at times has resisted tenaciously, while knowing he is fighting a losing battle.

Look at the sky. Much as he would like to, Suharto has stopped short of evicting Sukarno for fear of causing civil war. The engineer of Indonesia's independence still holds a messianic appeal among large sections of the populace, especially in his home district of East Java, and these would revolt if he were overthrown. Sukarno commands considerable organised support, too, in a military unit, the Marine Commandos. Making capital of Suharto's fears of insurrection, Sukarno has blocked many of the general's political measures, usually to the detriment of Indonesia. His opposition to joining financial bodies like the International Monetary Fund has kept valuable investment from a sick economy which has improved only slightly of late.

Inches left. Impatient at this stalemate, the army officers have in recent months stepped up the pressure on Sukarno. With the army's approval, thousands of students milled through Jakarta's humid streets, bearing banners denouncing Sukarno as the "supreme corruptor", and clamouring for his dismissal. At the opening of parliament last month, they stormed into the parliamentary grounds and had to be repelled by troops. Taking more direct action, the generals devised a new constitutional law providing for 110 anti-Sukarno deputies to be added to the People's Congress, or parliament, to ensure a vote of censure against him. But Sukarno blocked this measure too. Last month the army warned him that if he did not resign he would face civil war, but he held his ground. The desperate soldiers now hope to convict Sukarno of complicity in the abortive 1965 coup. The 15 cabinet ministers who have been tried for their roles in the coup since September have all given evidence to suggest that Sukarno knew about and participated in the attempted takeover. Last month Congress President Abdul Nasution announced a probe into Sukarno's actions and, as evidence of



INDONESIAN TROOPS HOLD BACK STUDENTS DEMONSTRATING BEFORE PARLIAMENT BUILDING
Long slow skid to oblivion

how speedily the investigation proceeded, the armed forces' daily newspaper last week declared that the Indonesian Attorney General would soon hand Suharto evidence that Sukarno was involved in the coup. Sukarno's hand is almost played out.

THE COMMONWEALTH

What makes the Maltese cross Malta's economy, lacking any natural resources, relies heavily for money and job opportunities on the British forces stationed there under a ten-year defence agreement signed in 1964. So Britain's decision last month to cut its forces on the island from 4,300 to 1,400 by 1967 came with a crash.

The Maltese were unanimous in their outrage. Parliament suspended its sittings so that party leaders could discuss ways of countering the British moves. Prime Minister Borg Olivier threatened to rescind the "rights and privileges" granted to British forces under the 1964 agreement. As a first retaliation, he ordered Maltese crews on Royal Navy tugs in Valetta harbour not to handle the aircraft carrier *Hermes* when it called at the island. Then last week, the Maltese government clamped down on duty-free oil supplies for the Royal Air Force. On the other side British Commonwealth Minister Herbert Bowden warned that any action by Malta to terminate the defence agreement would constitute "a breach of its international obligations". Maybe they'll take Malta to the UN.

YEMEN

Two people's war

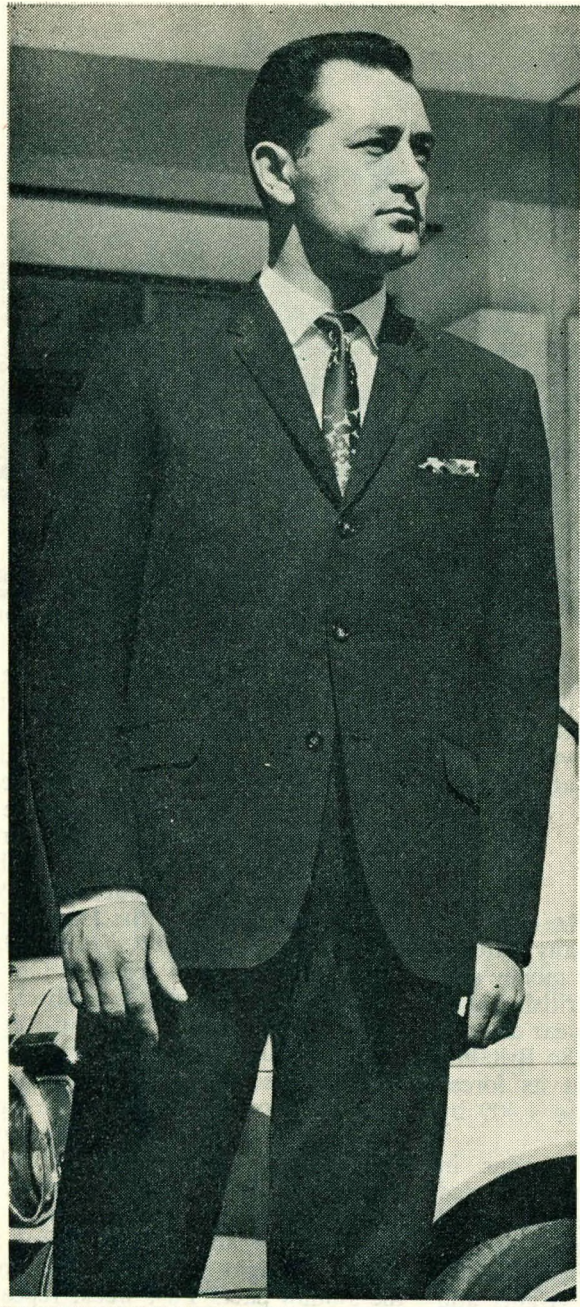
The 1965 Jiddah peace pact, under which Egypt's President Gamal Nasser

and Saudi Arabia's King Faisal pledged to withdraw their forces from the Yemen, was a dead letter from the start. After backing Abdullah Sallal's Republican regime for three years, Nasser was not prepared to release his grip. Then too, the Yemen will prove a valuable base should Nasser grab at Aden when Britain withdraws in 1968. Thus, while observing the Jiddah truce for a year, Nasser did not withdraw any of his 70,000 troops. On the anniversary of the pact last November, Imam Badr, leader of the anti-Republican Royalist tribes whom Faisal backs, accused Nasser of violating the truce by bombing villages. The Egyptian leader was also accused of using poison gas against the Royalists. Recently Nasser-backed terrorists infiltrating Saudi Arabia from the Yemen have antagonised Faisal too. So a fortnight ago, Faisal revoked the Jiddah pact. Last week, repeating the poison gas charge against Nasser, Faisal urged the Royalists to prepare for another bout of all-out war.

RUSSIA

Demythologising Marx

It was an unusual spectacle: the full panoply of papal pomp was laid on for the head of a state which has long been the bitterest foe of the Vatican. Yet Paul VI had good reason for giving Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny the top treatment when Podgorny visited Rome last week. For the talks between Pope and President may mean a better deal for Russia's 10m Roman Catholics, and by extension, for the scores of millions of other hard-pressed religious people who live in



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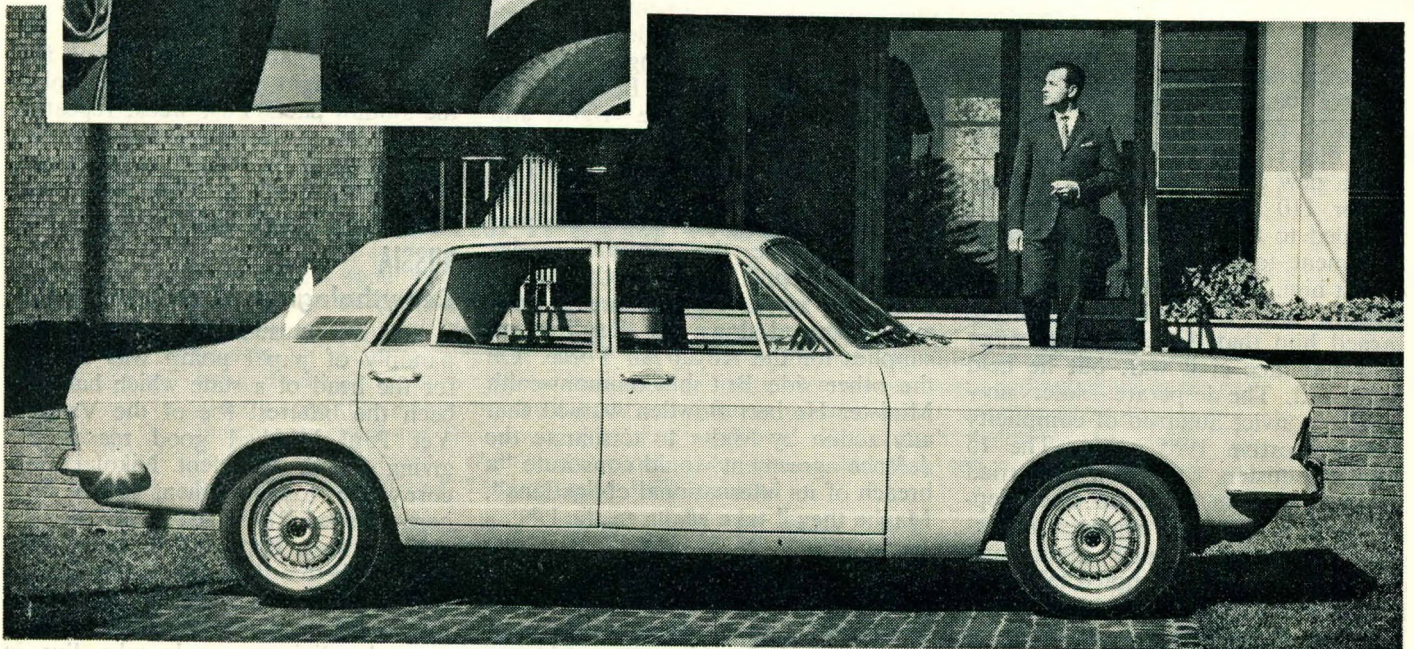
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the atheist Soviet Union.

Dishing it. The USSR's biggest religious group, the Russian Orthodox Church, was one of the most conservative institutions in Russia before the 1917 Revolution. Thus it came in for some of the fiercest attacks after the Communists attained power. Although the Soviet constitution guaranteed religious freedom, authorities moved swiftly to speed the demise of the church. In December 1917 all church property was confiscated (since then it has had to be leased from the state) and all seminaries for the training of priests were closed. A month later the complete separation of church

number of churches had risen from about 500 to 22,000 (compared with the 54,000 open in 1914), that of Bishops from seven to 73, and of clergy from a few hundred to 30,000.

Even more remarkable was the tremendous religious revival which swept the western areas overrun by the Germans. Hitler made no attempt to interfere with the church, which grew at such a great rate that even today some of the strongest centres of Christianity are in these former German-occupied areas.

Back to the dark. While the death of Stalin meant some liberalising of certain spheres of Russian life, it had



POPE MEETS PODGORNÝ

Letting some of the people have some opiate part of the time

and state was decreed, and religious activity cut down to the holding of services (which meant that instruction of the young and social and charitable work by churches was forbidden). At the same time the Communists launched a massive atheistic propaganda campaign, using educational institutions and the mass media, denied to the churches, to promote it. Moreover, the believers were heavily discriminated against. Few could hope for good jobs, while church-going youngsters were barred from state universities.

Good old Joe. The church had perforce to turn the other cheek to these assaults, and it was probably the wisest policy. The outbreak of war in 1941 gave the church a desperately needed break. It immediately threw its weight behind the Soviet war effort, and this evoked a more conciliatory attitude from Soviet leaders, who could not afford to alienate any section of the population at the time. In 1943 Stalin met with top Orthodox officials and gave the church permission to elect a new Patriarch, the office having been vacant since 1925, and also to rebuild much of its organisation. As a result, not only were eight seminaries re-opened, but by 1957 the

the opposite effect on the church. Khrushchev showed no signs of "revisionism" in his attitude towards religion, and from 1959 onwards a new campaign was launched against it. The surest barometer of Soviet religious toleration is the number of churches, which has now dwindled to 10,000, while the number of seminaries has been reduced to three.

Nevertheless, as long as there are believers, the Soviet government is committed to allowing the church to function as a showpiece of "religious freedom" in the USSR. And the likelihood of belief becoming extinct, on past experience, is remote. Again and again it has been evident that more persecution has not been enough to snuff out the church's following, while Soviet atheistic propaganda is mostly hamhanded and naïve. Moreover, outside religious links have been strengthened; Soviet WWII conquests brought millions of Lutherans and Catholics, belonging to world-wide communions, into the USSR, while in 1961 the Orthodox Church joined the World Council of Churches. Now, the Pope and Podgorny may agree to yet more gains for Russia's diminished Christians.

**DON'T BE
VAGUE**

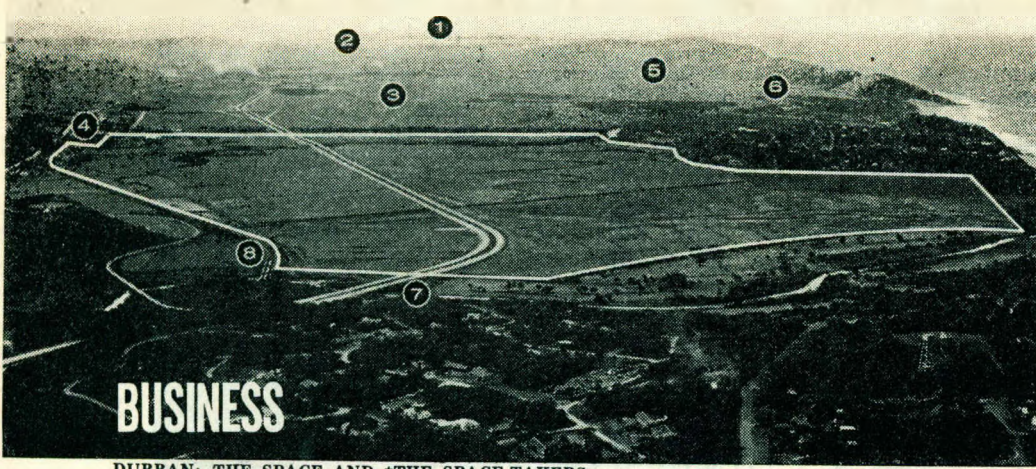


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PROPERTY

More land for plants

For the site-hunting industrialist, Durban has plenty to offer: a harbour, power, labour, proximity to the Reef—everything, in fact, except for more room. Though there are spacious “border areas” at Tongaat and Hammarsdale just outside Durban, the city itself is cramped for more industrial land. A fortnight ago Tongaat Sugar and Anglo American announced that they will develop a 720-acre industrial township at Isipingo, twelve miles south of Durban docks. Tongaat is putting in the land, Anglo American is offering most of the development capital and the connections. Prospecton, as the township will be called, is close to both the Shell/BP and Mobil refineries, and also the vast AE&CI complex at Umbogintwini, and is thus particularly promising for companies that deal with the petro-chemical industries.

Better offer. Prices at Prospecton range from R22,000 an acre upwards, which is cheaper than other land still available in Durban. In a semi-residential suburb such as Clarewood, businessmen have been paying up to R35,000 an acre. Enquiries for nearly 200 acres have already been received for Prospecton’s cheaper land. As yet, however, only 70 acres are immediately available: for the rest the average level of the township is only 10ft above sea level. Over 3.5m cubic yards of earth will be trucked from a nearby hill to raise Prospecton’s level. (Almost all of the present industrial land in Durban was built up in this way.) The partners expect to sell all the plots easily. Port facilities combined with proximity to the Reef may prove stronger come-ons than the tax concessions in Pietermaritzburg or the much cheaper land in Port Elizabeth and in the Vaal triangle.

* (1) Durban Harbour. (2) City centre. (3) Louis Botha Airport. (4) Isipingo line. (5) Mobil refinery. (6) Shell/BP refinery. (7) Main south coast highway. (8) New township. Prospecton boundaries.

CHEMICALS

Three quick reactions

One major announcement followed the other last week as rapidly as sulphuric acid turns blue litmus paper red. Three items — each a significant step forward — suddenly changed the complexion of the fast-growing South-african chemicals industry. In effect, what the different moves mean is a diminution of the dominance of such longtime chemical overlords as Sasol and African Explosives & Chemical Industries, and a noticeable shift towards a more balanced and graduated growth of the industry as a whole. Affected, specifically, are the fields of plastics, pesticides, and rubber industry chemicals.

Evening up with scorer. For many years African Explosives & Chemical Industries has had the plastics market firmly in its grasp. Not until late last year was there any hint of a competitor. Then last week it was confirmed that a R40m chemical combine, called Sentrachem, has been formed by Federale Volksbeleggings, Distillers Chemicals & Plastics and the IDC to challenge AE&CI’s reign as giant of the chemical industry. Sentrachem proposes to do this by absorbing National Chemical Products (NCP), Klipfontein Organic Products (KOP), Synthetic Rubber, and Kolchem, as well as the IDC and Federale Volks interests in Karbochem. Then, using all their know-how, overseas contacts and extra productive capacity, it will begin manufacture—in addition to their existing output—of PVC (polyvinyl chloride) and low-density polyethylene. Both have up till now been exclusive AE&CI provinces.

Not that AE&CI managing director Derek Scorer seems particularly perturbed. “I see Sentrachem as a promise rather than a threat,” he confides. And with good reason. Not only is the market growing at such a pace that plenty of room exists for

competitors; but AE&CI’s biggest speciality (fertilisers) does not conflict with that of Sentrachem (plastics). Hollard Street obviously realises this, since AE&CI shares dropped only 5c on the day that the formation of Sentrachem was announced.

More newcomers. In another sector of the market, Federale Volksbeleggings, which has a big stake in KOP, will be at the receiving end of new competition rather than at the delivering end. Probably because local producers refused to supply it with pesticides, Triomf Fertilisers has retaliated by arranging with France’s Pechiney Progil to make its range of pesticides in Southafrica. For its part, Triomf will market Pechiney’s products. Pechiney is one of the largest European manufacturers of crop-protection chemicals. With a 40% hold on the French market and turnover running to R85m a year, Pechiney may use its push to set up an opposition to KOP’s pesticides that could prove formidable.

Third man in. The mammoth US manufacturer of organic chemicals for the rubber industry, Monsanto, is presently having talks with Southafrican government officials on its plan to build a factory in the Republic. As Durban and Port Elizabeth are the major centres of the local tyre and rubber industries, Monsanto’s R7m plant would be located at one of these points. To begin with, its chemicals will be made from both imported and local raw materials; but it expects to avoid all imports ultimately, as the other sectors of the chemicals industry increase the range of raw materials available.

SEMINARS

ABC of exporting

A spot survey conducted at the seminar proved revealing: for instance only 18% of the 227 executives present had ever heard of the tax allowance granted to exporters; and only 3% knew of the bonus permits available for imports used in the production of export items. Other gaps in their knowledge were also shown up.

Under these circumstances, the Safto (Southafrican Foreign Trade Organisation) seminar held in Johannesburg last week made extremely good sense. It set out to update exporters, both established and potential, in the basic mechanics of their type of business. And what might have proved boring to most of those present had they been well up on the subject, came as material that was either new or else put in perspective for the first time. In-



SAFTO EXPORT SEMINAR
Holes in pockets of ignorance

terest held as speakers ranged through all the main fields of exporting:

- ★ Lectrolite Products managing director Herbert Muller described in detail his own exporting operations. As an aside, he warned that the proposed legislation to secure detailed labelling of products would badly knock South-african exports to "unfriendly" states.
- ★ Credit Guarantee deputy general manager Jan Bouwer explained how credit insurance has become a primary

export tool. The sale of capital goods on the world markets has become so competitive that exporters are forced to accept medium- and long-term re-payments, and credit insurance safeguards them against any insolvency, default or political unrest that might occur during that time.

- ★ Consolidated Stevedoring & Forwarding chairman Gordon Rennie suggested how the growing use of air-freight (up 400% in the last five years)

could lead to Southafrica's becoming the "market garden" of Europe. As Southafrica produces its summer fruit during the European winter, this is more than optimism. "But exporters must make an *effort* to get into the markets and promote their produce," declared Rennie.

Talks on the role of commercial banks in the exporting process, and on aids and incentives to exporters, plus a film on the principles of export marketing, ended the proceedings. But they did not end the series. Further seminars, of a more specialised nature, are being prepared on costing, packing, and export planning.

PUBLISHING

The shelves grow

With nearly 250 new titles appearing on the Southafrican paperback market every month, demand may seem at first glance to be well covered. But with books, the more there are, the more they sell. Britain publishes nearly 2,000 paperback titles a month, and there is room for even more. There is room in the Republic as well. To help

CHECK STUBS

One follows the other

A fortnight ago the UK-based Leyland Motor Corporation reported that its Rhodesian sales were down R2m a year as a result of sanctions. Now the crisis is spreading: both Ford and BMC are fast running out of assembly kits, and by March they may be at a standstill.

From thirty to 31

Starting from April 1, came the announcement last week: Lufthansa Africa intends to expand its service to Johannesburg from two to three flights a week. The extra flight, which will arrive at and depart from Jan Smuts airport every Monday, is scheduled to operate via Nairobi and Athens.

Out on the farm

A R70,000, 85-acre farm in the lush Hennops River valley has been bought by Merck Sharp & Dohme, the international drug company. MSD will test animal health products there. As a research farm, it will be used not only to test products that emerge from MSD's laboratories, but to give farmers demonstrations of the latest techniques, equipment and products important to agriculture and animal husbandry.

Stitched in time

Faced with a 30% duty on its sportswear exports to Southafrica, Slimma of London decided that local manufacture would be preferable. Last week it awarded the franchise to Johannesburg's Sterling Clothing, after sizing up six other garment factories in the Cape and on the Rand. Sales are expected to hit R200,000 this year, and to grow to about R800,000 by 1970, despite heavy competition from such sportswear giants as Delswa, Greys, I. L. Back, and Fairweather.

Under a veil

Negotiations are under way between the Southafrican government and France's Sud Aviation for the delivery of Super Frelon helicopters and Transall transport planes, valued at R50m. A big difficulty is the fact that some of the parts used in the Super Frelons are made by the US's Sikorsky company, and any deal between France and the Republic would contravene the US's arms boycott of Southafrica.

Free on board

The latest Safmarine refrigerated ship, *SA Hex River*, steamed into Table Bay last week on its maiden voyage. Weighing 10,394 tons and with a cruising speed of 18 knots, the new ship is fifth in a fleet of

six refrigerated ships that is being built by Holland's Verolme United Shipyards.

Oranges and lemons

A preliminary survey by the Citrus Board has shown that the citrus export crop for this year may be even higher than last year's 20m cartons. If so, anything up to R50m worth of foreign exchange may be netted, depending on the quality of competing Brazilian and other southern hemisphere crops.

Everywhere but here

While Southafrica probes on, without much success as yet, oil is being struck in other places in Africa. Following Libya, Egypt, Algeria, Nigeria and Angola, comes Cabinda, the Portuguese enclave north of the Congo River mouth. Cabinda Gulf Oil, a subsidiary of the US's Gulf Oil, has now made a big strike 1,700ft below the sea at a point eight miles from the coast.

At one go

The West German government announced last week that it will buy 1,000 tons of uranium, worth R16m, from Southafrica within the next three months. It will in turn sell part of the supply to a West German electricity company and will stockpile the rest for use in industrial research.



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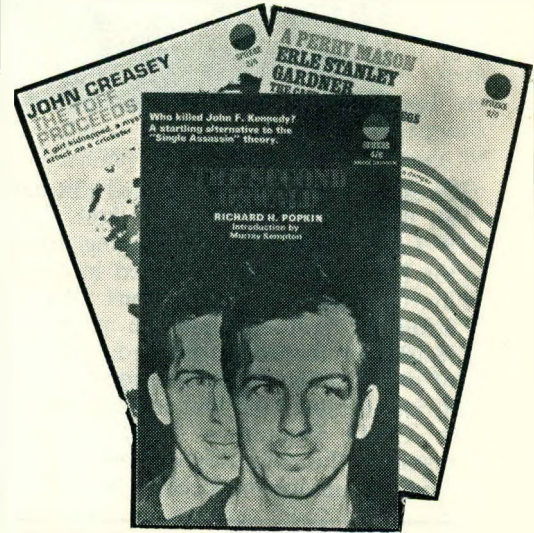
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fill it, and profit in the process, Britain's Sphere Paperbacks, a new company in the giant newspaper and publishing Thomson Group, will move in with ten titles a month. A fortnight ago Sphere managing director Richard Fisher flew to Johannesburg from London to launch an initial thirty titles. Sphere's immediate problem says Fisher is to achieve a "sensible distri-



SPHERE PAPERBACKS
Impulse buying but no impulse selling

bution". Print orders in the UK will range from 15,000 to 75,000 copies a title and nearly 10% of this output will be marketed in the Republic.

Size and scope. Sphere has the backing to help it gain the ranks of such longtime paperback publishers as Penguin, Pan, Fontana, Corgi and Four-square. For a start it has access (through the Thomson Group's hardcover divisions) to some of the best-seller authors: John Creasey, Erle Stanley Gardner, and Zane Grey among others. Moreover, Sphere will pay well to pull in top artists for its covers — a sound move considering that 90% of all paperback sales sell on impulse. And the spark for that impulse is the cover. Girls, guns and all.

FARMING

Two up for maize

In some areas, like the western Transvaal, the plants are already so tall that farmers are unable to touch the tops of them; in others, like the north-western Free State, they are at least shoulder-high and in full tassel. Everywhere, in fact, the 1966/67 maize crop is looking the best ever. Timely rains, coupled with high-yield hybrid seed, have produced on the 5m morgen under cultivation plants that one farmer calls "green and good". And if conditions

remain as favourable over the next eight weeks, maize farmers and merchants alike agree that a record crop of mealies is in the bag.

Estimates of its size are around 80m bags, which is far above the 58m-bag harvest of last season, the 48m of 64/65, and even the record 67½m of 63/64. Revenue will naturally increase as well. At last season's producer price of 350c per 200lb bag, the industry should gross well over R250m.

A plan for outing. Of the 80m-bag crop, domestic consumption will take up about 52m bags. The surplus—28m bags—will then be available for export. This surplus is itself a record, and the Maize Control Board is determined to see that it is handled in the most efficient way possible. Meeting earlier this week in Pretoria, its Export Committee drew up a programme for dealing with the surplus. A big worry was transport. As long as the SAR



WITBANK MEALIES IN FULL FLOURISH
As high as an elephant's eye

can cope with the 2½m tons of maize it must ferry from inland storehouses to the maize export harbours of Durban, East London and Capetown—particularly during the peak delivery months of June, July and August—the rest should be simple. With East London's new 660,000-bag grainfeeder coming into operation this season, even storage space at the ports will be adequate. Up to 25 cargoes a month are expected to leave the harbours in 10,000-ton tramp steamers, headed for the important maize markets of Japan, the UK, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Germany. The prices fetched there may not be as high as in previous years, since most of the other maize-producing countries have also reported excellent crops.

MINING & FINANCE

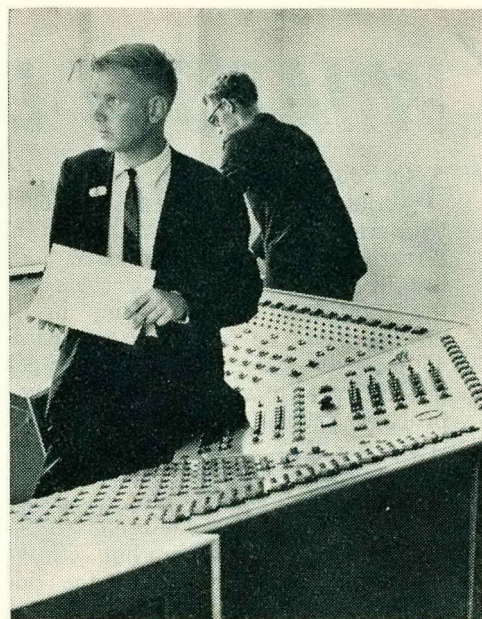
Not so bad

When a sinkhole swallowed up part of the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine two years ago, shareholders braced themselves for some enormous renewal costs. But the gold plant continued working normally and the uranium and sulphuric acid installations were put on a care-and-maintenance basis. In the meantime the company added heavily to its accumulated reserves. The result is, now that the mine has decided to build a new gold and uranium complex on safer ground, the brunt of the expenditure has been cushioned. Blyvooruitzicht announced last week that, apart from some temporary loan financing at peak periods of spending, most of the R9.5m cost of the new plant will come from the accumulated funds and will at worst affect dividends only by keeping them level.

Smooth flow for Esso

"Automation," said Secretary for Commerce and Industries August Kotzenberg last week, "must be used with the greatest discretion in Southafrica". Opening Esso Standard's automated oil terminal at Durban, he went on to explain that discretion was needed particularly in the labour-intensive industries which provide jobs for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The oil industry is not one of those—thus Esso could freely, and proudly, point out that its new R700,000 terminal is the only automated one in Africa and is one of only twelve such terminals in the world.

What goes where. Esso's system means that one man at a central console can control inflow and outflow of various petroleum products. Though there are emergency facilities for receiving these products from tankers, the main hook-up is to the nearby Consolidated Refinery. Separated by 20,000-gallon "slugs" of water, fuels and lubricants will flow from the refinery to the Esso terminal, there to be stored in ten huge tanks totalling 8m gallons in capacity. These tanks in turn will feed Esso's road tankers, and the Esso share of the throughput of the Durban/Rand oil pipeline. In effect the new console regulates these feeding operations and ensures automatic valve control and tank measurement when petroleum is shunted from tank to tank. At conventional terminals at least thirty men have to be on duty to operate valves, check on tank levels, and regulate outflow.



CONSOLE AT ESSO'S AUTOMATED PLANT
One in twelve better than 30 in 4,000

Under another name. The real significance of Esso's terminal though, is that it is the company's biggest oil installation in Southafrica to date. Though Esso (parent name: Standard Oil of New Jersey) is the biggest oil company (and the third biggest of all companies) in the world, it has been in the Republic as Esso only since 1963. Before that it owned a 50% interest in Vacuum Oil Southafrica, the other 50% being owned by Mobil. When anti-trust men in the US had moved against Esso and Mobil a few years earlier, the two split up their world-wide interests. Mobil happened to get the Southafrican operation, while Esso took over Mobil's shares in other parts of the world. Then in 1963 Esso moved in on its own.

Despite its unlimited financial and technical resources, Esso's style in the Republic has been cramped by government legislation against the over-traded retail petrol trade. As a result Esso has a mere thirty petrol stations out of 4,000 in the Republic. But its bulk sales to industry and commerce are going well. Promisingly, last month's Economic Development Programme predicted a growth rate for the petroleum industry of 11%—the highest rate for any sector of the economy.

Old country revisited

Having yielded first copper and then tin to miners as far back as the Roman times, the mineral lodes of Cornwall still have something to offer. Johannesburg's Union Corporation is now converting a small tanker for dredging operations. It will start work at St Ives Bay, in Cornwall, where Coastal Ventures, a Union Corporation subsidiary, has found tin deposits.

WHAT'S IT LIKE TO LIVE IN SOWETO?

YOU rise around dawn, wash at the cold water tap, dress and make your way out of the house and up the dirt road past the houses that look just like your own. You struggle into the train that comes rattling in on the line from the west and you battle with the everyday crush. You work in the city with *lanis* as your boss, you probably get around R50 a month, and you wish it was twice that, and when it comes to taking your pay home you disappear once again into the crowd surging back at the day's end to the city terminal. You stream out with the others at your station after the ride back, out into the streets where you can join five or six in one of the big American taxis that are waiting in a long line outside the station. Or you can walk or take a bus, as most do, through the streets where the smoke is already laying a dusky, glinting screen and the street lamps are flickering. That evening, with your money you will be stopping off at a beer hall, or a shebeen, or going to a session, or a *famo* — the Sotho strip-tease parties given by some housewives. You keep a lookout for the characters who prefer your wages to earning their own, and your wife or girl-friend will have your supper ready and your children are playing in the little garden. On the other hand you might never think of drinking kaffir beer or putting down a Black Label, for you might be an abstainer, a fierce devotee of one of

the Bantu churches. But if you are, you are in a minority. The young people on this night will be doing the town, talking loudly in their own kind of language. You might be one of them, and you are taking out your "show", your *ousie*, and buying too much *kook* for your income and your head next morning, while your "timer" sits at home and shakes her old-fashioned head at her son. You travel the streets that stretch for miles over the rolling land, you are on your guard against the *tsotsis* who wouldn't think twice to *Tsafendas* you. You are black, you are one of the many pushing people, you live in Soweto.

SOWETO is not one but many places, and in fact comprises 22 separate townships under the control of the Johannesburg City Council. Two other townships, Meadowlands and Diepkloof, are run by the Resettlement Board, a government agency. Including these two areas within Soweto (for they lie right next to the Council townships), the complex has a population of around 500,000. It is a population dangerously near to overbalancing, dragging itself down in the enormous number of children that are born and brought up with no other home but the townships. With the exception of the massive, sprawling rows of little houses, nothing is more striking to the eye than the sheer number of children in Soweto. In the afternoon, as the

schools close, the streets of the townships fill with untidy figures of children, from the smallest to the biggest. They fill the streets, wandering home in huge packs, they gather at the street corners and stand around at the shops, eating hollowed out half loaves of bread that they fill with a red paste that is a mixture of mango leaves and spices.

Around 35% of Soweto's population are children under 15, and of those of school-going age, around 70% are actually at school. Few other areas in Africa have such a well-educated population, and the facilities are expanding. At present 25% of household heads in Soweto have had schooling up to Standard VI, and their children will be considerably better off. But still there is not enough, and last month many children had to be turned away when schools re-opened. Classes were already overcrowded, and principals had no choice but to refuse applicant after applicant. But if you are born in Soweto, and have parents that can afford the small fees, and you show ability, you are likely to get through to one of the area's five high schools. The oldest of these is Orlando High on the main road of Soweto's oldest township, Orlando East. Run by an energetic principal, Wilkinson Kambule, Orlando High packs over 1,000 children into its buildings. Kambule is a brisk, sardonic man, who says that he is "persecuting" his boys to get them



GETTING THROUGH A SOWETO WEEKEND: BUYING KAFFIR BEER (LEFT); SHEBEEN SOCIAL (RIGHT)
It swings; it's a drag. You're hung up, you're dragged down

to pay their fees and ask their parents for the little extra that will enable the school to obtain the rand-for-rand contribution from the Bantu Education authorities for a new library. Kambule's is a vehement, assertive approach common to quite a few in the townships: a feeling of awakening strength in Soweto's massive presence, tucked away from the eyes of South Africa's whites. "People would be frightened to know how we are developing," says Kambule frankly. "We are a giant developing alongside another giant..."

Bottled up. But it is a giant developing in a pattern that conforms to neither what white liberals would like to see nor what the South African government thinks it sees. Soweto is at once tribal and detribalised, modern yet deeply old-fashioned. Among the young, it is a place of protesters who seem unable to make their protests in any degree effective. Its civic leaders echo the complaints of the inhabitants, but rarely seem to capture their full confidence. Its intellectuals are articulate but inclined to hyperbole and self-pity. Indubitably the place swings, but it swings all too often only around a



SOWETO SAMENESS: JABAVU (FOREGROUND) STRETCHES ON TO MEADOWLANDS, DIEPKLOOF, DUBE, MOFOLO
Beneath a glittering haze

bottle of beer and the sound of jazz, not around some self-confident centre.

High society. In the newer townships like Zondi, Naledi and Chiawelo, where ethnic grouping is by and large observed, life goes on in a seemingly undifferentiated way. In Jabavu, the poorest of Soweto's townships with the exception of Pimville, the people are

considered rough by other inhabitants, and largely left alone. But the pattern will vary — widows who spend their days cooking and gaining some little money taking in washing, live next door to lazy labourers' families and puritanical Zionist households (these folk prove their propriety by flying their flag outside). Poverty goes in hand



MOTSISI & MOTJUWADI

For the articulate inhabitant, Soweto is an urban heaven and hell. It is, however, the harsher aspects that are usually dwelt on. In these two pieces, two journalists describe what Soweto means to them. The first is by Stanley Motjuwadi, an African reporter on the Rand Daily Mail:

Month-end. You expect no quarter and in turn give none on a Soweto train. My pay is safely tucked under the soles of my feet as I make my way home from Phefeni station. (At least whoever takes my money might as well deserve it.) I am cursing paydays, especially paydays like this one that falls on a Friday, when I am disturbed by a group of running men. "Shandis," they shout. *Shandis* are cops. It means a raid. It means trouble when you are in arrears with your poll tax. So I take my cue and go on the double.

I feel my way home. It is now nearing midnight, and with the police gone

SOWETO — BY TWO INSIDERS

the likelihood of getting a vice-grip around my neck from behind and being forced to make an unrehearsed and unceremonious striptease act is even greater.

I feel like breaking into song as my wife opens the door. Getting home was an achievement.

Personally I do not know what exactly Soweto does to me. You cannot help being miserable with all the suffering around you in Soweto. At times Soweto makes me a cruel beast, what with hoodlums lurking and me being forced to sprint in the dark just because I owe poll tax. There are times when Soweto makes me gay. On other occasions Soweto makes me morbidly depressed. Like when somebody reminds me that Soweto is not home. My home is somewhere in a Bantustan I have never seen and where I will be shepherded when my use as a labourer has ended. Then Soweto's monotonously uniform houses take on the shape of a labour camp.

Life in Soweto is "hell", says Casey Motsisi. A senior reporter on Johannesburg's World, Motsisi writes:

Soweto scares me — yet this is where I live. I live in fear and disgust. My neighbours are not the kind who

can give you mental companionship. They are the "Russians" whose pet subject is sex. If you have not been to the "mountains" (circumcision school) you cannot share a drink with them. If you haven't got half a dozen secret loves you're not a real man. Comic relief comes only in the form of snatching someone's wife who has married into a different clan and keeping her locked up in your house. After such incidents my wife asks: "Cookie, who don't we move to Rockville? They even have electricity in the houses." Then I remind her of the knife battles there in which scores of lives are wasted. She shakes her head and asks just where we can go and stay and lead a normal life.

I don't have the answer.

The only people who are impressed with Soweto are the tourists. The Non-European Affairs Department takes them on conducted tours of the jungle — pointing out the gladioli like the posh mansions in Dube, and avoiding the poison ivy in the sadder parts of the town.

I'll go back there tonight. I will sleep huddled in fear and hoping for daybreak. Just to get into Johannesburg and get away from it all.

with illiteracy, yet the poverty will be mitigated, increasingly, by the paradoxical ownership of the more expensive goods of a western society.

But in other parts a fairly well-appointed middle-class is struggling up, full of the snobbisms of a different society. Many Africans deny that Soweto society is pushing up its elites, and parade their belief in a homogenous African society. But the differences are there, and growing acuter. In Dube, the showcase and most developed of Soweto's townships, the houses that have been built on the small plots reflect a life of a lower middle class white suburb. If not a Houghton, Dube is at least an Orange Grove. In their achievement of a solid

their neighbours still live in standard houses and envy them. They are, by and large, doctors, traders, teachers or maybe even a shebeen queen — an "auntie". For most however, the basic struggle is to pay the rent, hold down a job that pays on average around R40/R60 a month, and to stay away from the violence that infests Soweto once the sun goes down. An average nine murders a weekend are committed in Soweto, by stabbings and shootings of which inhabitants are only too painfully aware. There are too the professional gangsters, the men it is definitely not worth the trouble offending. "You live next to a man who stays at home all day, he has a house and always seems to have money. It makes

Parting of the ways. In the abrasive life of the townships, tribal customs if not tribal allegiances are perforce sloughed off. For the more modern-thinking, for the younger intellectuals, tribalism is a hollow word. "I am a Xhosa-speaker and my wife is Sotho-speaking," says Phillip Vundla, one of Soweto's best-known Advisory Board members, "so what does that make my children?" "Intermarriage," says another Soweto inhabitant, "is killing tribalism. I speak Xhosa when I visit my brother-in-law and he speaks Sotho when he visits me". Formerly "Shangaan" was a word of abuse, but with the influx and urbanisation of Shangaans the insult is losing its force. Still, in the Shangaan township of



DUST, DOGS, DETRITUS: PIMVILLE, THE LAST SLUM
For some, better than a koti-koti

independence, inhabitants of Dube sometimes feel a twinge of regret. As one housewife from the township put it: "It's not like the old days back at Western (the black township next to Sophiatown which was cleared of Africans from the Fifties on). People here are not free inside, they do not speak easily. They come to see what you have in your house."

(In the pages of the *World*, the afternoon daily for non-whites in Johannesburg, the changing values and new cliches of urban black society are equally evident. Everybody above the rank of labourer is termed a "socialite", and businessmen are more often than not dubbed "tycoons". The moral values that the *World* tries to propagate are those of a Booker T. Washington, not a Martin Luther King.)

IN Soweto over 2,500 have built or are building their own houses. Those who have, live in Dube or Moroka (better known to inhabitants as Rockville), or in solitary splendour while

you wonder," says one Soweto inhabitant. But wondering is as much as most will do. Township police are not held in very high regard, and the efforts to clean up the townships in surprise raids cause more resentment than gratitude.

Ragged culture. As Soweto inhabitants lift themselves up, the material pattern of the society that emerges is one of a money-hungry but not terribly thrifty people. The pattern of consumption tends to coincide with that of whites who have a comparable income, so that better-off Africans are now showing similar spending habits to those of poorer whites. There is both a crudity and a conservatism of taste. The furniture is dark and heavy, the kitchens are all glass, perspex and plastic, the pictures are kitsch, the photographs are of families studiously posed. And in spite of the raciness of life, of a jumbling of traditional and urban taste, there remains the conformism. Slacks are rarely seen on women, and mini-skirts never.

Chiawelo the women often cling to their tribal dress, and their children wear ankle bangles. But if the rest of Soweto is any standard, their grandchildren will have fully adopted Western dress.

ON the other side of the Potchefstroom road, on the south side of the new Soweto, lie the crumpled shacks of Pimville. A hangover from the Thirties, Pimville is the one remaining slum in the area, where broken-down and patched-up houses swarm with children, and stagnant puddles lie in the rutted roads. Pimville is under notice, and at one end of the township are the demolished dwellings of people who have been moved to the new township of Klipspruit in Soweto. As fast as the Council can build houses, Pimville is disappearing. Not all are keen to move; some like Mrs. Polena Merafe, own their own homes in Pimville and dislike the idea of moving to a council-rented one. "I don't want to leave my

house for a *koti-koti*" (Sotho nickname for a council house, meaning a tin). But the eviction of Pimville inhabitants is taking time, and as Mrs Merafe says: "Perhaps we'll be in Doornkop (the Soweto cemetery) by that time."

Roots of discontent. The demolition of Pimville is finally completing the pattern of a 30-year-long programme in which hundreds of thousands of people have been moved from shanties and cardboard huts to the relative comfort of the Soweto house. It has meant a greater opportunity for decent living, but it has brought its losses. Freehold no longer exists, and while the inhabitants of Soweto can own their houses, they cannot own the land. This is one dominant complaint of the rising classes of Africans, able to afford better but unwilling to take the plunge without security of tenure. For those who have accepted the framework of separate development, like the Mofolo businessman Ephraim Tshabalala, the lack of freehold rights is as real a grievance as for the township intellectuals for whom apartheid is considered only a temporary phase. "We are not happy with the government over not being settled on the soil," says Tshabalala.

The townships' most articulate people, the young who might be anything up to third generation inhabitants of Johannesburg, maintain an intense debate over their condition. For Soweto's elite as a whole, for the professional men, for the traders and the clerks, the most pressing problems remain much the same as for the vast mass of people. If it is no longer a matter of simply making ends meet, it

is the problem of housing, of better housing, of crime, of the money to be got in a better job, of the overcrowded public transport and the educational facilities. Among the young in particular there exists a vast cynicism that derides the docility of the older generation, though as yet it still lacks the drive and initiative to make great changes.

Not quite at home. Untouched by any beauty, without many common facilities (there is only one proper cinema in the complex — in Meadowlands), with only two supermarkets but no cafés where a meal or snack of decent quality might be had, Soweto for all the newness of some parts is a tatty place. It is too a homely place, where shebeens in private houses are preferred to the new, formal bar lounges.



JABAVU CHILD WITH TOY
In his hands a future

"You can't avoid being on good terms with the shebeens," says an African PRO for one brewery. "Some of them take 800 cases of beer a weekend." Standards of real excellence are absent in all but a few places, for the general poverty still makes for a drabness. Soweto is a blurred world, the people themselves liable to show sudden contradictions when their hold on the new urban values slips and there is no tribal bulwark to fall back on. Even the township elite lives precariously and provides ample scandal for the non-white Press. Leaders of evident standing and following are few and far between. Yet some inhabitants rise so quickly that they outstrip their contemporaries, and are left isolated, wistful for the life they think they could lead in other circumstances. One young doctor in Meadowlands who wants to specialise in gynaecology con-



STREET ARABS OF SOWETO
But what future?

fesses: "I was asked this question: is it better to serve the community through being a GP or through becoming a specialist? The answer is obvious in Soweto, but I don't want to think about it too much. I don't think I can stand being a GP here for another ten years. At present I can have up to a hundred cases a day."

A long way to go. A wearing place that alternates from mid-week somnolence to furious weekend activity, Soweto is truly a giant. On its progress rests much of the future of black South Africa, for it is here that the skills, the energy, the wealth and the identity of a new generation of blacks are being most powerfully formed. Time and education are on Soweto's side in an expanding economy. But it is a place where tradition is swallowed up, where values and incentives have not yet formed sufficiently to make of the majority much more than labourers dependent on the initiative of others. By the witness of the inhabitants their main desire is for greater material gain, on broad political issues they are wary, sometimes apathetic and often divided. There is a growing sense that in spite of official policy the people of Soweto themselves will have something to do with their ultimate destiny, but few recognise just quite what.

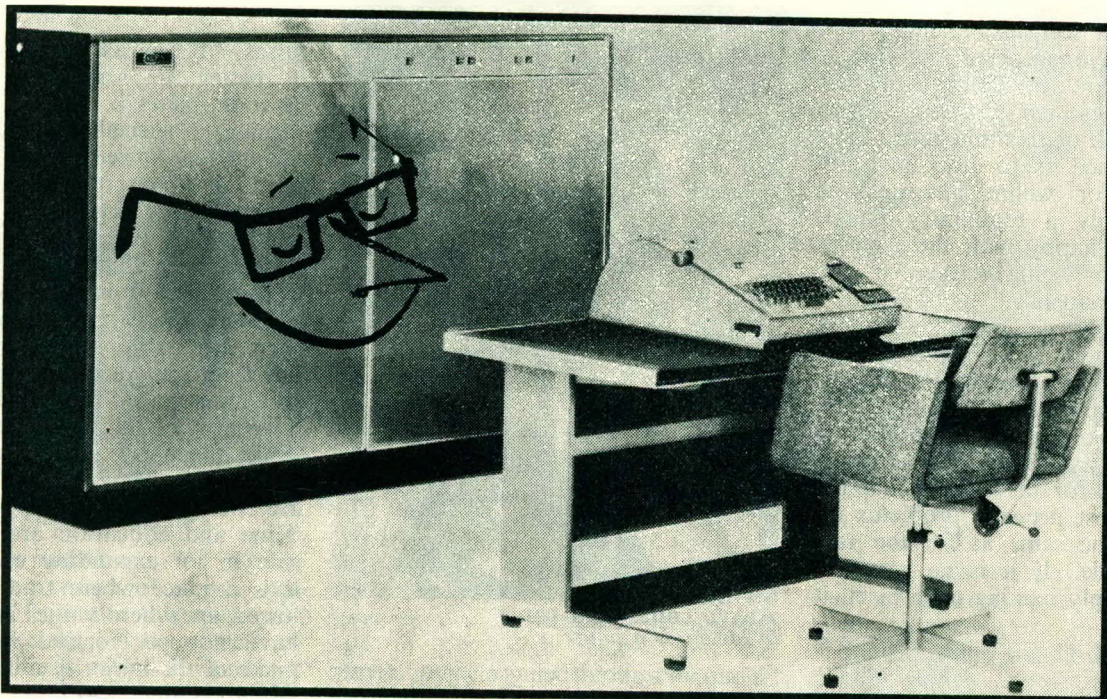
Life for the peasantry-turned-proletariat has been tough, but they have made it not unremittingly grim. For more and more of Soweto's inhabitants, urban life is both intoxicating and intimate, and it is the only one they know. As one of them puts it: "You know you hate even to get away over the weekend for a break, and when you come back you think what a lot you have missed".



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SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT: A LIBERAL FORMULA FOR CHANGE?



New attitudes and circumstances have combined to put the policies of the South African government in a different light; and there is a growing awareness that separate development could have a potential for the good which its detractors for years have flatly denied. In this article, Simon Brand, senior lecturer in Economics at the University of South Africa, sums up the policy in the framework of liberal thinking, yet comes to conclusions with which many liberals will disagree.

Brand is a graduate of the University of Pretoria and of Stanford. He sets out his views as follows:

FOR close on 19 years now, South African liberals have been engaged in furious debate with supporters of the National Party's race policy. The results of this voluminous debate are practically nil. The Nationalists have been pressing forward inexorably with their apartheid programmes, while the liberals have long been moving steadily towards the outer fringes of South African politics, exerting an ever decreasing influence on the formulation and implementation of policy. In the circumstances, it is perhaps worthwhile to re-examine the merits of the separate development approach to South Africa's problem of race relations, not with a view to praise or condemn the government case, but rather to see what that approach can offer liberal-minded South Africans who are dissatisfied with the meagre results achieved through the traditional liberal alternatives.

In brief, the liberal argument against separate development runs thus: complete separation, involving a radical geographic partitioning of the country, is a morally acceptable formula for resolving racial conflict and eliminating racial discrimination in South Africa. But even on the most favourable assumptions, the trend and pace of economic growth and the priority assigned to this objective in the value system of the ruling white group, render complete separation unattainable. Consequently, by the end of this century or whatever other date chosen, the whites will still be a numeral minority in those parts of South Africa to remain under white control. Barring a radical change in group attitudes, discrimination on grounds of race will thus remain prevalent. And so, it is concluded, it is better to start right away propagating a programme aimed at extending to a political and eventually to a social dimension the integration of the races which has already gone so far in the economic field.

The logic of this argument, as far as it goes, is unassailable. However, the conclusion ignores the equally unassailable reality that political integration is a dead duck as far as the white electorate is concerned, and its decisions are effectively governed by considerations other than humanitarian concern over the disabilities of non-whites under the prevailing order. Barring violence as an instrument of change, as presumably liberals are in principle bound to, the prospect would appear bleak for attaining in South Africa the kind of society cherished by those of a liberal persuasion. But it may appear less bleak if a distinction is made between the proximate and the ultimate objectives after which South African liberals may

realistically strive without sacrifice of principle.

THE ultimate objective must of course remain that each and every individual in South Africa, irrespective of the colour of his skin, shall have the fullest opportunity to realise whatever potential is inherent in him, within the bounds of only legal and social strictures to which he will freely consent or which he will have the democratic means of trying to change.

The proximate objective must perforce be much less ambitious. Perhaps it can be stated thus: that individuals of all complexions shall have as much opportunity as possible to realise their inherent potential, and that the burden shall be softened as much as possible of discriminatory legal and social strictures to which those which they affect do not freely consent, and which it is not within their power to change by peaceful means.

It is now contended that a programme of separate development, carrying with it separate freedoms, can contribute immediately towards the stated proximate objective, and that in the long run it can also contribute significantly towards the stated ultimate objective.

In the first respect, it is certainly true that even by the most optimistic assessment the Bantu areas cannot absorb enough Bantu workers to change essentially the conditions underlying racial discrimination in the rest of South Africa. With regard to the great mass of Bantu workers then, whose principal motive for being in the "white" parts of South Africa — and whose principal aspirations — are economic, separate development offers little of direct benefit. In their compassion for these people, liberals are effectively restricted to trying to soften the harsher aspects of the burden of discrimination. Even within this restricted framework much can be done, as witness the achievements of the various private welfare agencies operating in this field and the steadily improving, albeit still appallingly low level of this black proletariat.

SEPARATE development does, however, have early benefits to offer that group for whom the frustrations of discrimination are most intense, precisely because they have escaped from the struggle for bare subsistence, and have come to nurture aspirations beyond the purely economic. It does not appear unrealistic to assume that vigorous development of the Bantu areas can afford ample scope for the potential leaders, the highly trained and the professionally qualified among the Bantu, fruitfully to employ their talents and qualifications and to pursue their individual interests, free from the limitations imposed on them in "white" South Africa. In fact, should this black élite accept the opportunities, and the challenge, thus offered, they would be entering near or at the top of a new system in the process of being developed, and they may in these circumstances have more scope for true creativity than they could hope for as unwelcome entrants into a system already well established under the leadership of others — and in which they would stand little chance in any case of being allowed to rise above a rather modest level.

Thus by intensifying their customary welfare activities on behalf of the Bantu in the "white" areas; by continually prodding private businessmen to do all within their means to raise Bantu wages, and municipal and higher public authorities to improve housing and other facilities for the

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