

events, with the possible single exception of the Congolese Republic, and in Asia the radically different systems of government in India and Pakistan have not produced any appreciable difference in the Gross Domestic Product per head of total population in those countries.

The term that is often used to describe the policy of most African governments is African Socialism, though each nation interprets its major tents according to its own needs. African Socialism is pragmatic: it rejects the Russian emphasis on class war, which it finds irrelevant in Africa; it rejects the Peking doctrine of the armed revolution; and it approves of the one-party state, which is opposed by democratic socialists. It asserts and assures the political personality of Africa, the cultural autonomy of each nation, a new concept of socio-economic development, and the propagation of African spiritual values. By adhering to the doctrines of African Socialism, African states are in a stronger position to maintain their policies of non-alignment, which protects their independence; single party rule, which is designed to hasten national integration; and Pan-Africanism, which insures against inter-African disputes and strengthens each state in its struggle for identity and purpose.

President Nyerere has warned Africans of the dangers of "the second scramble for Africa".^{*} He laments that even the socialist countries have joined the capitalist countries in using their

^{*} See Julius Nyerere, "The Second Scramble" and "Democracy and the Party System", reprinted in Rupert Emerson and Martin Kilson (ed.), *The Political Awakening of Africa*, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1965, pp. 162-165 and 122-128.

wealth for power and prestige, rather than the eradication of poverty, and that one millionaire will spend millions on destroying another. He argues that the pattern of imperialism has changed, and instead of one imperialist power fighting against another, Africans will be turned against Africans. The big powers are attempting by means of slogans to divide and rule Africa and to thwart African collaboration: talk of creating larger units is dismissed as 'artificial', although African colonial boundaries could hardly be more artificial; attempts to deal with tribalism are labelled 'dictatorship'; and moves for unity are 'communist' or 'imperialist' plots, depending on the affiliations of the power-hungry accuser. African nations must stand together and resist the destruction of their value systems and their hopes for a better standard of living. "African nationalism is meaningless, is anachronistic, and is dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism."

Years of dependence have brought to the people of Africa a hesitation to take responsibility, and the presence of rich, powerful, materialistic countries in the world can dull the spiritual drive of people and blunt the instruments and purposes of government in poorer countries. If decisions are made about Africa's future in London and Washington, African states are no more free than if they were made in Moscow or Peking. African states have to become masters of their own destinies, and the surest way to achieve both true political independence and ultimately the economic viability that entrenches it, is for them to commit themselves firmly to the Pan-African ideal and to reject any individual short-term economic gains which involve compromise of aims, or alignment at the expense of another African nation.

Separate but Equal

I WAS SITTING on my doorstep this afternoon, watching from a distance the official opening of a new Municipal Swimming Pool. The whole enormity of the crime and evil of apartheid with its hypocritical references to equal facilities hit me like a ton of bricks. We are close enough to have watched the whole thing being built. The Africans dug the pool, put in the filtration plant, grew the grass and got drunk on the site on Fridays for want of something better to do; today the same Africans put up the bunting, carried the wire for the loudspeakers, carried the tables and chairs for the distinguished guests and swept the concrete. And at the given time, who jumped in in their privileged hundreds? All the little white bodies, and the Africans stood and watched, now on the other side of the fence of course, and smiled. It's really those smiles which break my heart most of all — they only have to smile and everyone says what wonderful natures they have — a

happy contented lot whose jaws are probably aching with the strain.

As I went indoors and ran the bath for my children another aspect of 'equal facilities' came to mind. A friend of mine remarked recently that he didn't really mind filling his own bath at night with a hose through the window from the tap outside, and then waiting an hour and a half for the immersion heater to warm it up sufficiently — that he was used to — but what did annoy him was having to empty the bath afterwards, bucket by bucket, by which time the point of the operation was somewhat lost. The same good-natured smile?

If, in this day and age, a humble bath-plug becomes a privilege rather than a right then I am sick and ashamed of my race classification. We could do well perhaps to remember that the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1954 handed down a judgement which said that separate but equal facilities had proved inherently unequal. V.L.