

**“THIS IS AFRICA’S YEAR”:
MACMILLAN AND AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE IN
WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPERS 1960**

by

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ABSTRACT

British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's "wind of change" speech to both houses of the South African Union parliament acknowledged already at the beginning of 1960 what the rest of "Africa year" would look like. The wind of black nationalism that he was describing stood in stark contrast with the suppression of black nationalism in South Africa by the National Party apartheid government. His speech was rather predictive since he had toured parts of the African continent and was aware of the planned independence of several African countries by the time he delivered the "wind of change" statement.

This study seeks to explore how 1960, "Africa year", was portrayed in selected white South African newspapers. The study follows Macmillan's trip through Africa and reflects on the newspaper portrayal of these events in Ghana, Nigeria, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and finally the Union of South Africa. Furthermore the analysis considers how the newspapers responded to and portrayed the momentous speech. The newspaper reporting on the coming of independence to African countries during the year 1960 is also examined. A layered model to evaluate the use of newspapers as a historical source was devised. According to this, a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis was applied to interpret how the newspapers portrayed African independence and responded to Macmillan's tour. The six newspapers, *Die Transvaler*, *Die Vaderland*, *Die Burger*, *The Star*, *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times*, were selected as being representative of the white minority English and Afrikaans press. Through this analysis, deductions regarding the nature of the white press industry are made and some insights regarding the white minority South African "zeitgeist" are considered.

Keywords: African independence; Harold Macmillan; wind of change; South African white English and Afrikaans newspapers; content analysis; white minority.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC – Africa National Congress

NP – National Party

PAC – Pan Africanist Congress

SA – South Africa

SAPA – South African Press Association

UNESSA – United English Speaking South Africans

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

On 3 February 1960 the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Harold Macmillan, addressed the South African parliament and announced that the inevitable “wind of change” was sweeping across Africa.¹ Macmillan had hoped that this would be the first time he referred to the changes on the African continent in the late 1950’s in this manner, but his tour had taken on a different route than was originally planned.² However, even though he had used the term “wind of change” during his tour of the African continent,³ the Prime Minister was apparently particularly nervous about delivering this speech to the South African parliament.⁴ In addressing the South African parliament with the statement that their policies should take into account rising African nationalism, Macmillan was acknowledging the fact that South Africa was standing in political contrast with a large number of countries on the continent. While independence was being attained by several African colonies, South Africa was perpetuating colonialism by clinging to minority white supremacy under the apartheid government of the ruling National Party (NP).

Kevin Shillington summarises these events by saying that “1960, the ‘Year of Africa’ dawned in South Africa with none of the signs of impending liberation being experienced by Africans over so much of the rest of the continent”.⁵ This stark contrast between South Africa and the rest of Africa has been widely acknowledged and explored. Scholars have researched this significant period through a variety of approaches, since there are numerous platforms where this binary history had played out. While much information on this period can be discovered in primary sources and other historical documents, the media is also a platform where the interaction between

¹ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the ‘Wind of Change’ speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, p. 1087.

² C. Baker, Macmillan’s “Wind of Change” tour, 1960, *South African Historical Journal* 38, 1998, p. 181.

³ C. Baker, Macmillan’s “Wind of Change” tour, 1960, *South African Historical Journal* 38, 1998, p. 181 ; *Keesing’s Contemporary Archives* (vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17267.

⁴ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the ‘Wind of Change’ speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, p. 1101.

⁵ K. Shillington, *History of Africa*, p. 412.

these two contrasting regions can be investigated.

The media will thus be the source used in this dissertation for the exploration and analysis of this period. It will consider how events of independent Africa in the mid-twentieth century were portrayed in the newspapers of the ideologically divided South Africa which at this point stood diametrically opposed to the unfolding events in Africa. By analysing the content of articles published in a range of white newspapers, this study will consider how particular events pertaining to independence in Africa were portrayed to the South African white minority. The decades leading up to 1960 were eventful and significant years for African countries and the South African newspapers reported on them extensively.⁶ The independence celebrations of this year were preceded by rebellions, surveys and election processes. After the independence of Ghana in 1957, more and more African states were demanding independence from their colonial rulers, while fear of communism and terrorism within Africa spread through the Western world.⁷ Reports of violence and atrocities abound as did stories of peaceful and amicable takeovers.⁸

Soon after independence numerous African leaders struggled to produce the results to match the expectations that were harboured by African people during their struggle for independence. This was followed by mistrust amongst opposition parties and traditional African leaders, who posed a threat to the recently established ruling parties.⁹ Historian Frederick Cooper encapsulates some of these issues when speaking about the riots in the Congo shortly after the country's independence:

the ensuing 'Congo crisis' that began in 1960 at virtually the moment of independence would reveal that decolonization was more complicated than tearing down the flag of an oppressor and raising the flag of a new nation.¹⁰

⁶ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 'Wind of Change' speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, p. 1103.

⁷ M. Meredith, *The State of Africa*, p. 13.

⁸ K. Shillington, *History of Africa*, p. 377.

⁹ P. Esterhuysen (ed.), *Africa A-Z Continental and Country Profiles*, p. 41.

¹⁰ F. Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, p. 83.

A number of attempts were made to ensure that independence would spread across the entire African continent. Of these, Macmillan's "wind of change" tour dealt with the political reality "that African nationalism had to be recognized".¹¹ Macmillan specifically noted that his visit to South Africa during this tour was crucial.¹² After Macmillan's speech, which focused on these changes in Africa, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd casually replied by saying that white South Africa was a "bulwark against communism".¹³ The South African government used the political mix of the 1960s in Africa to avoid these democratic changes and maintain its white minority political dominance and control. Historian Martin Meredith points out that the white South African government was determined to keep political power. He explains that the government maintained that "Communists... were using African nationalists for their own ends" and it was "imperative to curb the activities... that threatened white rule".¹⁴ Despite the resistance against the racially stratified government which became increasingly militant after the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, South Africa continued to move persistently towards becoming one of the only exclusively white-controlled states in Africa.

Nonetheless, the growing contrast between African and South African politics at that time was becoming more blatant within the borders of South Africa by the 1960s. Historian Robert Ross says that "whether or not their diagnosis was accurate, the South African rulers saw these events as a potential threat to their own survival".¹⁵ The white minority rulers of South Africa, who built their government on the exploitation of their fellow black countrymen, now faced a wave of African independence rolling towards them. This wave against the conservative, race-based class system of

¹¹ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 'Wind of Change' speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, p. 1099.

¹² C. Baker, Macmillan's "Wind of Change" tour, 1960, *South African Historical Journal* 38, 1998, p. 117.

¹³ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 'Wind of Change' speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, p. 1102.

¹⁴ M. Meredith, *The State of Africa*, p. 116.

¹⁵ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 140.

South Africa was labeled the “Black Peril” by Afrikaans conservatives. It resulted in what Henriette J. Lubbe has described as “unprecedented... propaganda that was pressed into service for party-political purposes”.¹⁶

State control was not a foreign concept in South African history and its apartheid policy was in essence “social engineering”.¹⁷ Besides discriminatory laws and policies used to divide and control racial groups, the NP government also had a close relationship with the press. They used this medium not only as a propaganda tool but also as a control mechanism. The latter state control of the media is evident in the fact that between 1950 and 1990 (four decades of apartheid rule) more than 100 laws were passed that restricted the mass media in South Africa.¹⁸ The control of the media is also evident from the fact that during the 1960s television was not permitted in South Africa, although television was already a well-established form of mass media elsewhere in the world as well as in southern Africa.¹⁹ This meant that South Africans received information mainly via radio or newspapers. The more influential of these two media, specifically concerning more educated South Africans, was definitely newspapers.²⁰ Not only did South Africans have limited access to media, but the media that they did have access to was influenced, if not controlled, by the government. Because of this close relationship, or rather control of the press, the NP portrayed events to the readers in a manner that favoured the view that they themselves would have wanted to be largely accepted within white South African society.

This relationship between the media and the NP is particularly relevant since the NP has been accused of having controlled and utilized the media as a tool for this social engineering.²¹ Dirk Richard speculates that newspaper support played an important

¹⁶ H.J. Lubbe, The myth of ‘Black Peril’: Die Burger and the 1929 election, *South African Historical Journal* 37(1), 1997, p. 107.

¹⁷ R.B. Miller, Science and society in the early career of H.F. Verwoerd, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19(4), 1993, p. 657.

¹⁸ R. Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid*, p. 47.

¹⁹ R. Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid*, p. 45. Also see C. Bevan, Putting up screens: a history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976, M.A. Dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2008.

²⁰ R. Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid*, p. 45.

²¹ W.A. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid*, p. 179.

role in the winning of the 1948 election by the NP,²² while William Hachten goes so far as to say that the Afrikaans press was created by the NP specifically for this purpose.²³ Richard also correctly points out that *Die Transvaler* always remained a political mouthpiece and that the appointment of its editors always depended on how the political winds were blowing within the party at that time.²⁴ Taking into account the absence of television, the plethora of restrictive laws passed in the country as well as government interference that shaped the South African media landscape in the late 1950s, it is clear that any study of the media within this time period requires contextualization.

When writing on of the South African media landscape, Gordon Jackson asks the question: “Why the press?” He answers by saying that newspapers are assumed to play an enormously influential role in the political life of modern societies. He adds that scholars cannot pinpoint or even gauge exactly what this influence is or to what extent this influence exists, but it is nonetheless generally agreed that newspapers have a “distinct influence” on the people and politics of their societies.²⁵ Jackson highlights some of the complexities that go along with research of the media. Insight and understanding from the disciplines of history and media studies are needed to correctly contextualize, not only the press in general, but also the press in the specific South African context. The methodology of this study will therefore combine methodological practices from history as well as media studies. Bearing in mind the very complex relationship between the press and government at this time, this study requires sufficient background in order to contextualize the media and its representation of African independence. In order for this study to obtain a balanced analysis of the portrayal of these events to the white population of South Africa, the newspapers selected included three Afrikaans and three English newspapers with the highest readership numbers.

²² D. Richard, *Moedswillig die Uwe: Persoonlikhede uit die Noorde*, p. 72.

²³ W.A. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid*, p. 179.

²⁴ D. Richard, *Moedswillig die Uwe: Persoonlikhede uit die Noorde*, p. 86.

²⁵ G.S. Jackson, *Breaking story: The South African Press*, p. 5.

In the context of this study, the white press refers to the newspapers that were produced by white South Africans primarily for consumption by white South African citizens. They are *Die Transvaler*; *Die Vaderland*; *Die Burger*; *The Star*; the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times*.

The content analysis of newspaper articles as used in this study is one way in which the past can be approached and hopefully shed some new light on the events under consideration. The value of this research can be summed up in the words of Richard Cobb:

The most gifted researcher shows a willingness to listen to the wording of the document, to be governed by its every phrase and murmur ... so as to hear what is actually being said, in what accent and with what tone.²⁶

Related to this is the fact that newspapers can be regarded as time capsules, and especially in a country like South Africa with a controversial past, it is the task of the historian to look deeper than government policies and prominent leaders and events in the process of reconstructing the past. The aim of this study is therefore to examine the newspapers and determine what was selected for publication, how these events were portrayed in the newspapers and what was actually being consumed by the white readership. Thus, through this study, the aim is to determine how the events in Africa in the mid-twentieth century were “presented” to the white South African population.

The particular African independence events chosen for examination in this regard are significant but also different in character. They include Macmillan’s “wind of change” tour in 1960 as well as a general overview of the African countries that gained their independence in 1960. It is believed that by considering the “zeitgeist” as presented in these newspapers it may help to explore the diversity or similarities within a particular sector of society. The study is therefore essentially a literary analysis of source material in the public domain.

²⁶ As quoted in J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 142.

The structure of this thesis will follow the arrangement mentioned above, where contextualization is necessary before analysis of the newspaper articles can be done effectively. Chapter 2 includes a literature overview and a description of the methodology to be used in this study. Chapter 3 further expands on the methodology so as to provide adequate background of the press industry and South African history against which the newspaper analysis can be understood. The newspaper analysis of Macmillan's tour through Africa is discussed in Chapter 4 and the analysis of the newspaper articles relating to his tour and speech in the Union of South Africa are discussed in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 explores how the specific dates of independence of the 17 countries that gained their independence during the year of 1960, as they were portrayed in the selected newspapers. In Chapter 7, an overview of the themes and trends that became evident through the analysis of the newspaper articles is presented.

The media portrayal of Africa to white South African citizens is thus not only interesting but also relevant and important to gaining insights about that makeup of a specific society. Jonathan Rose pointed out that

Media history may be the single most important chapter of human history. If we want to understand wars, revolutions, religions, and intellectual movements, then we must ultimately confront the question "Who communicated what to whom – and how?"²⁷

This is thus the intention of the study at hand.

²⁷ J. Rose, Review of *Social History of the Media* by Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, <<http://www.polity.co.uk/book.asp?ref=9780745644943>>, s.a. Access: 2015-03-17

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE OVERVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

When undertaking a dissertation a researcher generally acknowledges and explores the literature on the relevant topic and then also develops a methodology to be used in the study.²⁸ In the context of this study, much of the literature that relates to the topic at hand forms an integral component of the methodology that has been devised for the analysis. The first section of this chapter will therefore include a review of literature on the use of newspapers as research sources as well as other related literature. It will consider research emanating from the realm of both historical and media studies reflecting on the cross-disciplinary nature of the study. The second part of this chapter will focus on the methodology that has been devised for this study based on some of the aforementioned research.

2.1 LITERATURE OVERVIEW

Throughout the modern age historians have acknowledged that newspapers have specific historical value.²⁹ It is generally agreed that the most relevant social and political views are the ones that make it to the pages of the newspapers.³⁰ Since their inception in the seventeenth century, newspapers were believed to be produced mostly for the purpose of influencing the opinions of the readers in a certain political or ideological direction.³¹ John Tosh, for one, underlines the pivotal role of newspapers and their historical value. He refers to the press as the most “important published primary source” and notes the intrinsic historical value that they have. He claims that newspapers, like “most publications...are rather intended to inform, influence, mislead or entertain contemporaries” pointing to the multi-layered functionality of this medium.³²

²⁸ N. Bak, *Completing Your Thesis: A Practical Guide*, p. 17.

²⁹ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 97.

³⁰ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 97.

³¹ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, pp. 97-98.

³² J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 96.

Newspapers are a recording of the central ideas of a particular time and often encapsulate the “zeitgeist”.³³ As will be seen below, sources on content analysis from the domain of media studies also emphasize this influential role of newspapers. Another important aspect considered by Tosh regarding sources is that of internal criticism. The idea of internal criticism is that “the historian requires... a command of the historical context that will show what the words actually refer to”.³⁴ It is a particularly useful tool in order to understand the circumstance under which the sources were created and one that is equally applicable to the study of newspapers. In order to obtain this context Tosh asks questions about a primary source such as “Is it reliable?” and “What influenced the author?”.³⁵ This is also one of the valuable strengths that postmodernism has brought to the discipline of history. Tosh suggests that the insights gained from the postmodern influence in terms of historical practice is that the historian must first understand texts in context, not only in terms of intertextuality, but that texts must be interpreted in the “full context of their time”.³⁶

It is through this lens of context that the technique of internal criticism looks at the content and meaning of sources. Historians cannot use sources effectively if they cannot gauge how accurate they are or understand what is actually meant by the sources. Thus questioning or interrogating the nature of the source is a way of understanding what the implied meaning of the sources is. Joseph Baumgartner rightly mentions that newspapers are in no way exempt from the inaccuracies that can be found in other primary sources and should not be viewed as a document of historical fact, but should rather be approached by the historian “with all his critical instincts on ‘full alert’”.³⁷

³³ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 97.

³⁴ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, pp. 126-127.

³⁵ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, pp. 127-129.

³⁶ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 204.

³⁷ J. Baumgartner, Newspapers as historical sources, *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 9(3), 1981, p. 258.

Examples of scholars who have worked on newspapers by using them as primary source material include the research of Les Switzer,³⁸ Henriëtte J. Lubbe,³⁹ Saul Dubow⁴⁰ and François Jaques.⁴¹ In different historical contexts they have looked at and used newspapers and the South African press, by focusing on a certain publication or specific theme relevant to a specific time. Switzer's studies of the press in South Africa usually deal with the subaltern or what is termed the alternative press.⁴² In his article on the analysis of the publication *Bantu World*, he states that "cultural texts are ...a manifestation of the encounter between the forces of dominance and resistance".⁴³ It is the latter of these two "forces" that he chooses to focus on. He also conducted an in-depth analysis of *Imvo*⁴⁴ which provides insights that can be used in the multi-press analysis undertaken in this study.

Specifically in these two case studies, Switzer masterfully weaves together different aspects into one concrete article. He shows how various elements, such as the background of the newspapers themselves, the editors and their specific influences, the social standing of the audience, community and culture can be woven into one significant history. In his article 'South Africa's subaltern press: A case study in reading a cultural text',⁴⁵ Switzer provides an overview of how he goes about conducting content analysis. This specific text provides valuable insights about key concepts in the study of cultural texts as well as how community and cultures fit into the context of press

³⁸ L. Switzer, The ambiguities of protest in South Africa: rural politics and the press during the 1920s, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23(1), 1990, pp. 87-109.

³⁹ H.J. Lubbe, 'Swart gevaar' in beeld: visuele propaganda in *Die Burger* gedurende die parlementêre verkiesingstryd van 1928 tot 1929, *Kleio* xxvi, 1994, pp. 27-44; H.J. Lubbe, The myth of 'black peril': *Die Burger* and the 1929 Election, *South African Historical Journal* 37(1), 1997, pp. 107-132.

⁴⁰ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 'Wind of Change' speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, pp. 1087-1114.

⁴¹ F. Jaques, The decolonization of French-speaking territories in Africa as reflected in the South African press, *Journal of European Studies* 36(1), 2006, pp. 31-41.

⁴² L. Switzer, South Africa's subaltern press: A case study in reading a cultural text, *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 19(1), 1998, pp. 66-87.

⁴³ L. Switzer, *Bantu World* and the origins of a captive African commercial press in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14(3), 1988-04, p. 351.

⁴⁴ L. Switzer, The ambiguities of protest in South Africa: rural politics and the press during the 1920s, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23(1), 1990, pp. 87-109.

⁴⁵ L. Switzer, South Africa's subaltern press: a case study in reading a cultural text, *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 19(1), 1998, pp. 66-87.

organisations. These valuable perceptions from Switzer's texts will be included in the methodology of this study.

Lubbe on the other hand has written on one mainstream newspaper specifically relating the South African white minority. She explores the myth of the 'Black peril' as it was portrayed in the newspaper *Die Burger* prior to the 1929 election. She argues that the so called 'crises' of the racial issues as perceived by the white population were created by the Pact government and then propagated to the press in order to gain support for the NP during the 1929 elections.⁴⁶ In order to provide proof for the use of propaganda, she uses newspaper content and compares it to other primary source documents. She uses a similar approach to that of Switzer by focusing on various aspects of one publication. By using information on the background of the publication, the political context of the 1929 election campaign and the content of the newspaper articles she explains why the "Black peril" can be perceived as propaganda. In an earlier article, she explored the same topic by looking at the cartoons published in the *Die Burger*. Since the same topic can be approached by looking at both these media, a study that integrates both newspaper articles as well as cartoons is viable, if not necessary, in order to gain better insight into the research subject.⁴⁷ Thus this study will look at written newspaper articles, editorials and readers letters, photographs and cartoons as contributing to the media portrayal of African independence during 1960.

Saul Dubow uses the press in his study of Macmillan's "wind of change" speech. The specific section on this provides a range of insights and generally reflects on the newspapers that were available in order to make a brief analysis of the media reflection on this event.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ H.J. Lubbe, The myth of 'black peril': *Die Burger* and the 1929 election, *South African Historical Journal* 37(1), 1997, p. 132.

⁴⁷ H.J. Lubbe, 'Swart gevaar' in beeld: visuele propaganda in *Die Burger* gedurende die parlementêre verkiesingstryd van 1928 tot 1929, *Kleio* xxvi, 1994, pp. 27-44.

⁴⁸ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 'Wind of Change' speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, p. 1093.

François Jaques wrote an article with a similar topic as that of this research dissertation. His study examined the decolonisation of French-speaking territories in Africa as reflected in the South African press.⁴⁹ His research examines how the granting of independence to French territories by General de Gaulle was commented on in the South African press. He makes use of newspapers such as *Die Burger*, *Die Transvaler*, *The Star* and the *Rand Daily Mail* and reaches certain significant conclusions regarding the general representations that could be found in them during the period of 1960-1962. The article specifically focuses more on themes such as how these newspapers portrayed General de Gaulle than on the decolonisation itself and concludes that “the South Africa press in general saluted a great leader in the person of de Gaulle”.⁵⁰ From the historian’s perspective, the South African historical context and background are not taken into account in order to reach some of these conclusions. However, this article does illustrate that it is indeed viable to investigate the themes of decolonisation in Africa, as portrayed in the South African press. However his work lacks cross-spectrum analyses which need to take into account the situation in South Africa during the 1960s, as well as the very unique cultural divisions in the press industry. It appears as a slight oversimplification to merely divide the “South African press” into the “Afrikaans-speaking press” and the “English-speaking press”.⁵¹ Following on from this it can also be asserted that a solid methodological basis that provides reasons why certain publications were chosen and what methods were used to choose certain newspaper articles will be a good starting point in taking this already viable research topic and developing it further.

As mentioned, oftentimes these newspaper studies select a specific newspaper or publication for analysis, or choose to explore the ties that existed between the media and government. If a comparative analysis is done, the comparison is usually made

⁴⁹ F. Jaques, The decolonization of French-speaking territories in African as reflected in the South African press, *Journal of European Studies* 36(1), 2006, pp. 31-41.

⁵⁰ F. Jaques, The decolonization of French-speaking territories in African as reflected in the South African press, *Journal of European Studies* 36(1), 2006, p. 36.

⁵¹ F. Jaques, The decolonization of French-speaking territories in African as reflected in the South African press, *Journal of European Studies* 36(1), 2006, p. 37.

between newspapers and other documents.⁵² Not very often, however, does it appear that a comparative content analysis of newspaper articles is conducted using multiple South African newspapers or publications. In the South African context it seems that an extensive amount of research was done on the black and alternative press during the last years of apartheid, whereas the white press is yet to be intensively re-examined.⁵³ Moreover, Stephen Harold Riggins points out that topics of ethnic minority media have generally been neglected. He draws specific attention to the nature of minority media with the question: “What better strategy could there be for ensuring minority survival than the development of minorities of their own media conveying their own point of view in their own language?”⁵⁴ In a sense this characterises much regarding the white South African press and in particular the animosity between the South African English and Afrikaans press specifically in 1960. It can be argued that both these groups felt a certain level of threat to their own nationalistic grouping in South Africa, revealing signs of the “struggle for survival” during a time of increasing political unrest in South Africa.⁵⁵ In the case of South Africa we have a rather heterogeneous situation. South African whites might have been an ethnic minority when looking at population figures, but in terms of government and control in the mid twentieth century they were the majority. However the white group was not monolithic. There was a generally perceived division between the Afrikaans and English press and society, and both these individual minority groups had their own nationalistic tendencies. Although the apartheid policy made no distinction between whites from different backgrounds, the long political and cultural rivalry within the privileged minority group cannot be discounted.

⁵² L. Switzer, *Bantu World* and the origins of a captive African commercial press in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14(3), 1988, pp. 351-370.

⁵³ L. Switzer, *Bantu World* and the origins of a captive African commercial press in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14(3), 1988, pp. 351-370.

L. Switzer, The ambiguities of protest in South Africa: rural politics and the press during the 1920s, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23(1), 1990, pp. 87-109 ; L. Switzer, South Africa's subaltern press: a case study in reading a cultural text, *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 19(1), 1998, pp. 66-87 ; L. Switzer, (ed.) *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s*. Cambridge, 1997.

K. G. Tomaselli & P. E. Low (eds.) *The Alternative Press in South Africa*. Chicago, 1991.

⁵⁴ S. H. Riggins (ed.), *Ethnic Minority Media: An International Perspective* (Vol. 13), p. 3.

⁵⁵ M. Broughton, *Press & Politics of South Africa*, p. 102.

Researchers such as Adrian Bingham acknowledge that newspapers are an integral part of historical research, and yet recent studies done in Britain show that newspapers are rarely used as a “significant source” in this research.⁵⁶ As mentioned, the subject of using newspapers as a historical source is acknowledged by various historians in books on methodology, but it is often only relegated to a few pages or paragraphs.⁵⁷ Newspapers are often used and acknowledged as sources, however they are not often the main focus of analysis or the catalyst for historical discovery. Some academic research articles do give insight into how researchers may approach newspapers,⁵⁸ while others often dwell on subjects tangential to their research potential such as the digitization of newspapers and the challenges this brings.⁵⁹ In an article on the “place” of the newspaper, Icko Iben points out that various scholars confirm that the job of the historian is not to judge newspapers as being good or bad, or comment on whether they are up to standard. Rather, as J. F. Rhodes also mentions, it is the historian’s task to study newspapers’ “influence upon their environment and their importance as contemporary and universal news agencies of the past”.⁶⁰ Pinpointing the exact influence of a newspaper remains elusive, but studying newspapers as influential tools within society is viable and also of great importance.

As is evident, this notion of the powerful influence of newspapers, propaganda and the use of the media as a tool has been around for some time. As early as the eighteenth century Napoleon Bonaparte was quoted as having said that “Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets”.⁶¹ However, as to the extent that the media influences readers, studies have shown that newspapers almost never persuade

⁵⁶A. Bingham, The digitization of newspaper archives: opportunities and challenges for historians, *Twentieth Century British History* 21(2), 2010, pp. 225-226.

⁵⁷ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, pp. 96 – 97.

⁵⁸ J. Baumgartner, Newspapers as historical sources, *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 9(3), 1981, p. 258.

⁵⁹ See articles by: A. Bingham, The digitization of newspaper archives: opportunities and challenges for historians, *Twentieth Century British History* 21(2), 2010, pp. 225-231 ; L. Bogart, Newspapers in transition, *The Wilson Quarterly*, 1982, pp. 58-70 ; R. Franzosi , Computer-assisted content analysis of newspapers, *Quality and Quantity* 29(2), 1995, pp. 157-172.

⁶⁰ I. Iben, The place of the newspaper, *Library Trends* 4, 1955, p. 140.

⁶¹As quoted in I. Benson, *The Opinion Makers*, p. 39.

people into political choices. Robert Andersen claims that there is a difference between the “informational” and “persuasive” role of the media. He says that readers are often influenced by the media because they are “well informed” rather than being influenced by the media because they are being “persuaded”.⁶² This shows that the media is indeed a powerful tool. It might not always influence readers through outright propaganda, but it does influence how they think about the world that they live in. Thus readers draw their own conclusions based on what they read. In the light of this it is important to remember that what they read is still a biased and sometimes opinionated source. Therefore the question of “what people are given to read” and how certain concepts are portrayed to them is very important.

Roberto Franzosi’s article “The press as a source of socio-historical data” is a study that focuses specifically on newspapers as historical sources. The article focuses on the validity of the press and errors in sample selection. The article does not however give specific insight into how to approach newspapers as a subjective source, although it does acknowledge the fact that newspapers are “biased” sources of information. In the article Franzosi addresses some of the criticism against the use of newspapers as sources and the challenges that comes with it, and poses an important question: “Are we analysing patterns of historical events or patterns of news reporting?”⁶³ The article refers to this question as a “serious and damaging” one and consequently discusses the value of newspapers as sources of information for historical inquiry.⁶⁴ In answer to this question in the context of this dissertation it will be an analysis of the patterns of news reporting as a historical event. Thus, the concept of the nature of news reporting and the concept of historical information will not be separated, but rather combined in this study into the nature of newspapers in a historical context.

⁶² R. Andersen, Do newspapers enlighten preferences? Personal ideology, party choice and the electoral cycle: The United Kingdom, 1992-1997, *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 36(3), 2003, p. 616.

⁶³ R. Franzosi, The press as a source of socio-historical data, *Historical Methods* 20(1), 1987, p. 6.

⁶⁴ R. Franzosi, The press as a source of socio-historical data, *Historical Methods* 20(1), 1987, p. 6.

What is clear from this is that although the value of newspapers as primary sources in research is widely acknowledged, the discipline of history in itself may not have enough methodological substance to sustain a newspaper content analysis research study. Therefore the contributions of historians will be combined with those from the discipline of media studies.

In her book *Doing media research – An introduction*, Susanna Priest gives an overview of the general research strategies used in media studies. Most of the research approaches from this discipline are audience-orientated and generally focus on determining the extent of media influence, which is not specifically applicable to the type of historical enquiry conducted in this research dissertation. Another difference with regards to a media studies approach is that the researcher ‘creates’ evidence by means of interviews or observing audiences, whereas a historian has to use the primary sources that are available. Priest does however make specific reference to research studies that are structured on the basis of content analysis.⁶⁵ Her section on content analysis proved to be very helpful in the structuring of a research strategy. She concludes that although this type of research “can say little or nothing about influences or effects on people, we need to be able to produce accurate characterizations of media content...”⁶⁶ This is exactly what this historical inquiry into the South African press media is based on. Although Priest’s book provides useful information, content analysis does not seem to be a research method that is highly regarded within the field of media studies. Despite the criticism of this method there is a case to be made for its application to newspaper analysis.

Another prominent source in the field of media studies is that of Graeme Burton entitled *More Than Meets the Eye: An Introduction to Media Studies*, which also focuses more on audience based media research. So it is not particularly surprising that not much attention is given to content analysis, since Burton labels it as “essentially divorced from

⁶⁵ S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, p. 83.

⁶⁶ S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, p. 84.

the audience”.⁶⁷ He gives very little thought to the method of content analysis of texts and his discussions thereof presents the idea that content analysis is the measuring of media content, either through the number of times certain concepts are used or the number of pages devoted to a subject. Words, nonetheless, should not just be measured in quantitative or numerical terms. Words carry meaning and can thus be interpreted in different ways providing a qualitative dimension. Valid deductions can just as well be made from the manner that words are used as from how frequently they are used. This echoes the earlier quoted comment by Cobb regarding the importance of listening to the very wording of the document.⁶⁸

There are also authors from the field of historical study who feel that content analysis is of no value. James D. Startt and William D. Sloan specifically mention that “By itself, content analysis is inadequate to provide the research material necessary in historical study”.⁶⁹ However dismissive this statement may be, the argument for content analysis can also be shaped and strengthened by criticism. Startt and Sloan furthermore state that content analysis only has the function of “describing content”.⁷⁰ Although there might be several arguments to support this statement, attention must be drawn to the fact that this is not content “description” but content “analysis”. It would seem that their view on content analysis has more to do with quantitative than qualitative content analysis. Although they do not make reference to which specific version of the methodology they are referring to, they very much support the structure of this study by saying that in order to successfully use newspapers as historical sources, the historian “must acquire a workable knowledge of their characteristics at a particular time in the past”.⁷¹ They further mention that besides a good idea of the background of the newspaper, the historian must also have a good knowledge of the general history and *zeitgeist* of the time in question.⁷²

⁶⁷ G. Burton, *More Than Meets the Eye: An Introduction to Media Studies*, p. 268.

⁶⁸ As quoted in J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 142.

⁶⁹ J. D. Startt & W. D. Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*, p. 59.

⁷⁰ J. D. Startt & W. D. Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*, p. 60.

⁷¹ J. D. Startt & W. D. Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*, p. 17.

⁷² J. D. Startt & W. D. Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*, p. 117.

It is thus apparent that criticism of qualitative content analysis is fairly prevalent, however there is relatively little information on how exactly to use this research method, specifically when conducting research on specific media, such as newspapers. A. McKee says that “we have a very odd lacuna at the heart of cultural studies of the media, and yet we do not have a straightforward published guide as to what it is and how to do it”.⁷³ It would seem that there exists only scattered pieces of information on how one should go about conducting an in-depth media content research study. Even within this framework of criticism as well as the absence of distinct guidelines, there are several studies that have proven that a qualitative content analysis of the media is a viable research topic and one that should be advanced.⁷⁴

These positive approaches to the value of content analysis are not only theoretical, but have successfully been applied to research. One such researcher who applied content analysis to newspapers in an explorative study is David R. Wilcox. In his research entitled *Propaganda, the press and Conflict: The Gulf War and Kosovo* he uses content analysis as a means of identifying propaganda in newspapers.⁷⁵ His research shows that some concepts, such as the identification of the use of propaganda, or the identification of the media portrayal of perceptions of a specific topic within a publication can not rely on audience responses, but can rather only be conducted by means of content analysis or similar research methods. The identification of propaganda in a publication, for instance, must rely on the study of the content of newspaper articles. It is not to say that unsubstantiated assumptions about the audience can be made by use of content analysis, but rather that the portrayal of certain topics in the media can stand separated from how they are received or interpreted.

⁷³ As quoted in J. Macnamara, Media content analysis: its uses; benefits and best practice methodology, *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal* 6(1), 2005, p. 15.

⁷⁴ J. Macnamara, Media content analysis: its uses; benefits and best practice methodology, *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal* 6(1), 2005, p. 15.

⁷⁵ D.R. Wilcox, *Propaganda, the Press and Conflict: The Gulf War and Kosovo*. London, 2005.

This does not mean the audience is not at all relevant, but just shows that audience response does not always have to be an integral part of a study. Bingham says that although the audience response might not always be available to include in such a study, that analysing media content is still very valuable to historians. He says that

even if we leave to one side the issue of 'impact and influence', analysing media content is still very valuable in terms of understanding how key public and political figures understood events and framed them for a public audience - seeing what they wanted others to believe.⁷⁶

Propaganda, whether it influences or not, is still propaganda and conveys a specific message that the author intended the audience to receive. It is however necessary to get an idea of who the intended audience was. The people or group that the author was writing for does have an impact on the content of the text. Writing with a specific audience in mind means that the author is making certain assumptions about the audience such as what their prior knowledge or point of view on a certain topic might be. This means that the author will write using a certain type of language or maybe even use certain terminology that the audience might find acceptable. The newspaper industry is after all an industry that needs to sell information in order to survive. This means that the author will have to keep in mind in what style the audience will want to receive their information.

There are however those scholars who directly acknowledge the value of media content analysis and mention that it is a valuable research method and does much more than just “describe content”. Michael Lewis-Beck states that content analysis is an indispensable method for those who must make sense of historical documents and newspapers.⁷⁷ Even though content analysis is a scientific method he reminds us that “lest we forget... content analysis is still ‘in part an art’”.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Written information, A. Bingham, adrian.bingham@sheffield.ac.uk, 2013-11-15.

⁷⁷ R.P Weber (ed.), *Basic Content Analysis*, p. 5.

⁷⁸ R.P Weber (ed.), *Basic Content Analysis*, p. 6.

Using the abovementioned critique to strengthen the argument, we should perhaps consider that content analysis has been given a somewhat one-sided definition that does not correlate with the multiple ways of implementing the method. What can be confirmed after exploring these various opinions on qualitative content analysis is the following: the random selection of newspaper articles and the analysing of the content will in fact do nothing more than describe the content of those articles. There must be some type of comparison of information from different sources, be it other historical documents, or be it articles from other publications. Only when comparison and adequate historical background and context form part of the methodological approach can meaningful interpretations and deductions be made.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

With this information from the discipline of media studies and examples from the discipline of history, a possible basis for the study of newspapers can be formulated. The methodology of this study will thus be derived from the discipline of media studies and modelled for the specific aim of this history research study. One of the features for this methodology is that notion which is derived from the discipline of historical study, that adequate context is very important prior to undertaking a research study of the past.

Given the central concern with content analysis a definition needs to be drafted for the purpose of this study. This definition assumes that there is not always a need for a separation between qualitative and quantitative methods, and that elements of both these techniques can be combined in content analysis.

Content analysis essentially consists of two methods of approaching content. Firstly, it can be a typical numerical assessment where the content of the document is assessed according to the absence or frequency of the appearance of topics in order to draw a

conclusion.⁷⁹ Secondly, it can also be the interpretation of the meaning of words and phrases or the symbolic depictions found in a document. The strength of content analysis relies on the interpretation of content by means of comparison. Since these methods, or even the combination of these methods, rely heavily on interpretation and intuition, content analysis should always include as a component of the method a contextual study which will assist the researcher in making informed deductions.

Thus, for the purpose of this study, newspaper content analysis is defined as the analysis of the content of newspaper articles and the comparison of this content between a variety of newspapers. In order to make meaningful deductions this form of content analysis can include both quantitative and qualitative methods and must be conducted in conjunction with a thorough background study of the media industry as well as the general historical context of that specific time. The selection of the publications will be supported by examining the circulation figures and will use the dates of selected historical events in order to narrow the focus for the collection of the newspaper articles.

The structuring of the methodology of this research will be primarily based on the approach followed in media content analysis. Priest states that “Content analysis is the **systematic** study of what is **actually** contained in media messages” (emphasis added).⁸⁰ She explains that it aims to organize media material by means of grouping media messages into specific categories, or to search for and identify certain characteristics within them in order to reach a conclusion.⁸¹ This, for example, means to look at newspaper articles in the context of similar articles found in other newspaper publications instead of approaching them within the context of the single newspaper they were printed in. In this way attention can be drawn to article-related questions such

⁷⁹ S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, p. 84.

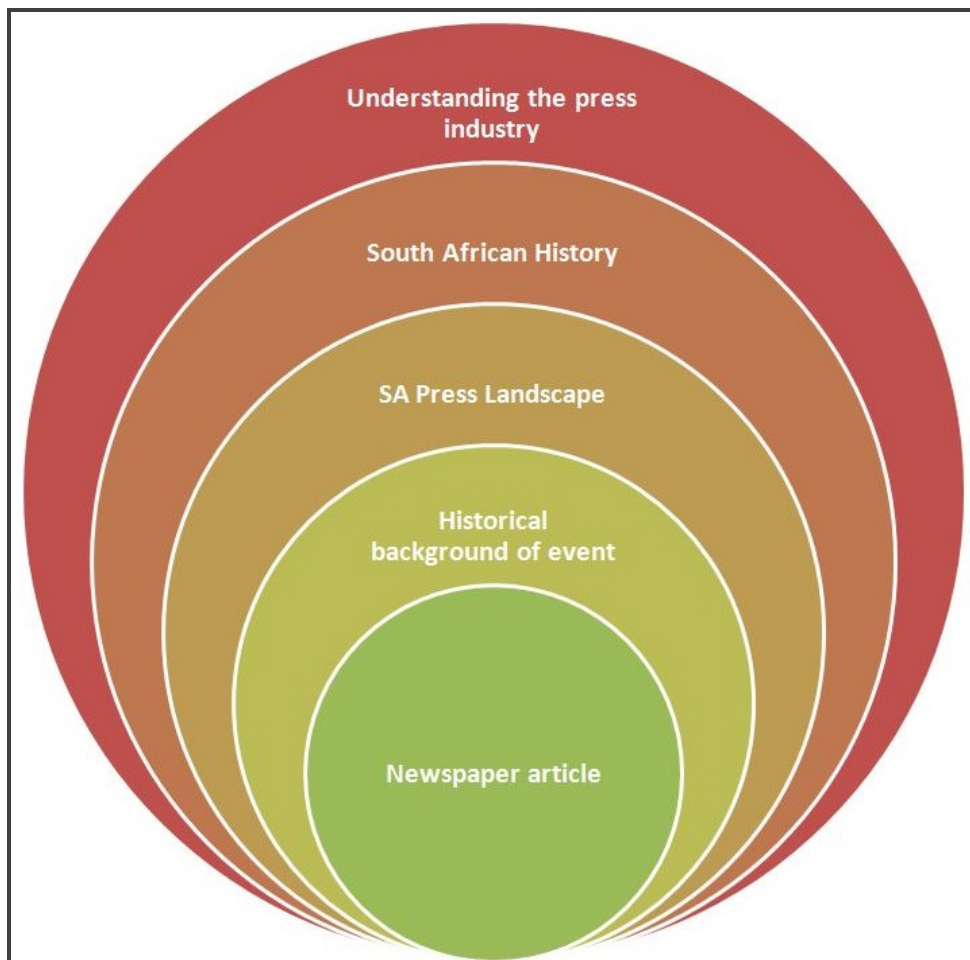
⁸⁰ S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, p. 84.

⁸¹ S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, p. 84.

as: “How much space was given to a specific subject?” or “Were certain aspects over emphasised or left out completely?”⁸²

A historical content analysis of the media may have some success when it is approached from a qualitative angle by examining “what is actually being said” and combining it with certain quantitative elements by also asking “how often is this mentioned?” When integrating the method of internal criticism from the discipline of history, it is important for the historian to understand the background and context in which their sources were created. I have identified and visually presented the different spheres of influence as portrayed in the diagram below (Diagram 1).

Diagram 1: Structure of the proposed methodology



⁸² S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, p. 84.

This is an attempt to show how various spheres of influence need to be acknowledged and unpacked in order to conduct an informed analysis of a newspaper article. A similar circular approach to research was followed by Professor Charles van Onselen, who used an outward spiral approach for conducting interviews when writing up oral evidence.⁸³ Even though the topic of his research is not directly related, the idea of “realms” that range from more distant and closer to the subject of study, is a methodology that is also useful for the purpose of this study.

Thus in order to analyse the newspaper articles, the following five-levelled approach has been devised for this study. These spheres will briefly be discussed in this section and further unpacked and examined in Chapter 3. The “historical background of events” will be discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 respectively preceding the newspaper analysis of Macmillan’s tour, his “wind of change” speech and African independence in 1960. The first sphere, “Understanding the press industry”, includes general theories and factors that may influence the way that we think about the press. There are various elements and facets that contribute to the press being both an industry and institution. The press is therefore a multifaceted entity that needs to be understood before it can be examined. Firstly, the theoretical background to understanding the press will be examined since it exists within and communicates with a specific society. The role and function of the media within society and whether the press has any authority within this context must be unpacked. Secondly the different elements contained in and used to create media messages will have to be explored. The use of picture, repetition of phrases and terms within newspaper texts are in fact the tools that the news reporter uses to successfully convey the story in a particular way, and thus needs to be understood. Roberto Franzosi states that many scholars

see newspapers and mass media as both an integral part of the ideological apparatus of capitalist societies and one of the main agencies

⁸³ C. van Onselen, The reconstruction of a rural life from oral testimony: critical notes on the methodology employed in the study of a black South African sharecropper, *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 20(3), 1993, p. 500.

for the reproduction of these societies through their interpretation, packaging, and distribution of reality throughout society.⁸⁴

It is therefore important that the study of the media and media-related topics need to take into account the very intricate nature of this industry. The process of interpreting a single article is not as simple as reading and identifying trends within that specific newspaper article. There are a range of influences that need to be considered when approaching newspaper articles and identifying trends.

The second sphere of influence that will be discussed is that of the historical context of South Africa during this period. In addition, the ideas of internal criticism as presented by Tosh, and the interpretative skills that are imperative for content analysis makes it clear that a structured background is needed before the text analysis can be done. The apartheid ideology that formed an integral part of all aspects of South African society at this time is key to understanding the context of the 1960s within which these newspaper articles were written. Events such as the Sharpeville Massacre in March 1960,⁸⁵ and the National Party's hunger for a republic culminating in the referendum in October 1960⁸⁶ will give insight into the influences that determined the nature of the newspaper reports. Switzer rightly mentions that "what a story means will take shape within the boundaries of a given social time in a given social space".⁸⁷ It is thus imperative to know these boundaries in order to understand the context of these newspaper articles and images.

The third sphere of the diagram refers to the South African press landscape as well as the nature of the newspapers used in this study. This section will attempt to use relevant elements as identified in the first sphere of the diagram, and apply them to the South African press. For example, the hierarchical structures that make up an industry will also have to be discussed within the specific South African context. It will also explore the close relationship that the South African government and the press have

⁸⁴ R. Franzosi, The press as a source of socio-historical data, *Historical Methods* 20(1), 1987, p. 6.

⁸⁵ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 129.

⁸⁶ B.J Liebenberg & S.B Spies (eds.), *South Africa in the 20th Century*, p. 370.

⁸⁷ L. Switzer, South Africa's subaltern press: a case study in reading a cultural text, *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 19(1), 1998, p. 69.

shared and thus show how general South African history can give insightful information regarding the press industry in the country. There were several laws passed that had an impact on what newspapers could publish and it is imperative to understand and take them into account before the content of the articles can be analysed. It is very clear that several newspapers have been awarded labels by those who write about the press. For example, Gordon Jackson divides the South African press into the “anti-apartheid English press” and the “pro-government Afrikaans papers”.⁸⁸ Under this sphere these labels will be explored and interrogated. These stereotypical labels, while not hermetically sealed, do add to the understanding of the press landscape in South Africa and must be acknowledged.

The final sphere that needs to be discussed before the analysis of the newspaper texts can commence is that of the “Historical background of events”. As mentioned above, these will be included in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 preceding the events and topics to be examined to provide context. Once all these spheres have been unpacked, the actual newspaper articles can be analysed. In other words, understanding the general functionality of the press and the components of newspaper texts, as well as an understanding of the press in South Africa during the apartheid era, will give adequate context in order to understand the selected newspaper articles and what they portray.

The aim of the layered circle diagram is not to provide an in-depth explanation of theories regarding the press, or to aimlessly debate the definitions of propaganda, but rather to add depth to the understanding of how the press functioned. Through the research conducted for these spheres of influence, the researcher will have a better understanding of the components of the newspaper media, and therefore be better equipped to understand the newspaper articles within their specific context.

A method discussed by Ina Bertrand and Peter Hughes in their book *Media research methods: audiences, institutions, texts* identifies a list of topics or categories for identification in the newspaper articles.⁸⁹ They agree that establishing categories is an

⁸⁸ G.S. Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press*, p. 5.

⁸⁹ I. Bertrand & W.P.T Hughes, *Media Research Methods: Audiences, Institutions, Texts*, p. 199.

indispensable component of any content analysis. Priest also refers to the method of categories as one that is used in content analysis.⁹⁰ However, the trouble with identifying categories before analysis begins is that it may lead or distort the research. Some of the key texts about South African media studies might be overshadowed by the very apartheid ideology which they try to explain, thus it is understandable to rather follow the approach of being led by the articles in order to identify these categories. If such a list of categories to help with the content analysis of articles is compiled, the list should be structured in a way that asks open-ended questions of the articles, and does not search for categories that may not be relevant to the specific topic of the article. The article must “speak for itself”, and not be read with the intent of supporting a certain hypothesis or to fit into a presupposed category. A similar method that relies more on the specific content of the newspaper articles, as opposed to pre-determined categories, is the method of “ranked categories” as suggested by Priest. This method involves awarding a “tone” to every article. This entails assessing if the article is “neutral”, “positive” or “negative” towards a specific event or person in order to make a better comparison between the articles.⁹¹

When analysing the newspaper articles this method of “ranked categories” can thus also be used.⁹² Table 1 shows a list of leading questions that have been formulated and can be “asked” of the newspaper article. These questions are formulated in such a manner that it extracts meaning from the text rather than reading meaning into it. This list of questions below may initially be used to interpret the text and will prompt the researcher to consider certain aspects of the article, but will not necessarily be reflected upon or directly incorporated into the chapters that comment on the analysis of the newspaper articles.

⁹⁰ S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, p. 87.

⁹¹ S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, pp. 85-86.

⁹² S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, pp. 85-86.

Table 1: List of specific applicable questions for content analysis

Language use	Is it moderate, negative or positive?
Terminology	What stereotypical or racial terms are used?
Placement in newspapers	Where within the newspaper is the article placed and is there any significance attached to this?
Headings and Subtitles	Is the headline striking or misleading? Does the subtitle explain the article or reflect on the main ideas?
Content	What is the general tone of the article?
Repetition	Are the facts repeated and assumptions added to repeated facts?
Photographs	Does the article have accompanying photographs and do they evoke any emotions or portray a specific idea?
Captions	What description is added to the photograph in the caption? Does it explain the photograph, or does it interpret the photograph?
Cartoon	What commentary, impression or political jibe is being relayed?
Author	Is there a specific author that could add meaning to the content of the article?
Type	Is it an editorial, article or reader's letter?

It is suggested that a content analysis “borrows much from survey research” where a smaller sample is deemed to be representative of a larger group which the sample is selected from.⁹³ Similarly in this research a number of newspapers will be selected and then be used to represent the white press in South Africa. Since the white-owned and distributed press in South Africa has been divided into the English-language and

⁹³ S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, p. 86.

Afrikaans-language press by more than one researcher⁹⁴ as well as by the newspapers themselves,⁹⁵ an equal number of newspapers has been selected from both these groups. This report will thus make use of three English and three Afrikaans newspapers. In order to be representative of the variety of newspapers available for use, two daily newspapers and one weekly publication has been chosen for each group. Since the aim of the research report is to conclude how certain events were portrayed to readers, it is therefore logical to select the newspapers based on circulation numbers and readership numbers. Morris Broughton mentions that the circulation numbers of newspapers is regarded as private⁹⁶ and are therefore not easily attainable. However, circulation numbers from the “Annual Media Product Survey” are available from as early as 1975,⁹⁷ but locating circulation numbers from earlier years has proved to be a difficult task, if not impossible. Broughton makes mention of the circulation figures from an “Audit Bureau of Circulation” booklet from 1959.⁹⁸ This has been the circulation numbers closest in date to 1960 that have been attainable. According to these figures the Afrikaans dailies with the largest readership were *Die Vaderland* and *Die Transvaler*. As far as the weeklies go, the *Dagbreek & Sondag Nuus* has the highest circulation numbers. The microfilm for this specific publication was however not available from the National Library of South Africa or from the UNISA library. Therefore the weekly Afrikaans newspaper with the second-largest circulation number, *Die Burger’s* weekly publication, was chosen. The English dailies with the largest circulation numbers were the *Rand Daily Mail* and *The Star*. The English weekly with the largest circulation numbers was the *Sunday Times*. It is clear that they have not been selected with a specific research outcome in mind.

⁹⁴ G.S. Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press*, p. 5.

⁹⁵ Anonym, “Politics on the air”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-04-26, p. 10 ; B. Coetzee, “Persleuns moet nek-om gedraai word”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-08-02, p. 8.

⁹⁶ M. Broughton, *Press & Politics of South Africa*, p. 305.

⁹⁷ South African Advertising Research Foundation, Annual Media Product Survey, Readership in Sunday and weekly newspapers for total white population. 1975.

⁹⁸ M. Broughton, *Press & Politics of South Africa*, pp. 304-306.

Table 2: Readership and information for selected newspapers⁹⁹

Newspaper	Language	Circulation	Occurrence
<i>Sunday Times</i>	English	309,298	Weekly
<i>The Star</i>	English	170,894	Daily
<i>Rand Daily Mail</i>	English	114, 142	Daily
<i>Die Burger (weekend)*</i>	Afrikaans	59,876	Weekly
<i>Die Vaderland</i>	Afrikaans	47,571	Daily
<i>Die Transvaler</i>	Afrikaans	40,811	Daily

2.3 DATA COLLECTION

All of the newspapers that were examined were available on microfilm from either the National Library of South Africa or the UNISA library. Within the spectrum of African independence in 1960 the topics selected for analysis are Harold Macmillan's "wind of change" tour through Africa; his speech in South Africa and a general look at the specific dates of African independence during the year of 1960. Because these topics are all events, the scope of the newspaper articles could be narrowed down to specific dates. More information on these dates will be given at the beginning of the chapters on the abovementioned topics. The newspaper articles were not just selected from the newspaper, but any article in the newspaper that related to the specific topic within the chosen timeframe was documented. By examining the newspaper in its entirety in search of the newspaper articles, a general sense of the news topics at that time could be formed. In order to accommodate an international readership, some phrases from the Afrikaans newspapers to be analysed have been translated into English. These

⁹⁹ M. Broughton, *Press & Politics of South Africa*, pp. 304-306.

translations have been approached with the utmost caution, so as to not change the meaning of the quotes during the translation process. It is also relevant to note that some of the articles might seem repetitive since one source news agency, such as SAPA or Reuters, was used on occasion.

CHAPTER 3: MEDIA CONTEXT AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter the first three spheres referred to in Chapter 2, will be examined in more detail. The contention is that through an understanding of these spheres a greater insight can be acquired so as to contextualize the media before actually conducting the analysis of the specific newspaper articles. Firstly this chapter will examine societal structure and the existence of the press within society in general. Secondly, the specific South African society and historical context within which this study will take place will be examined, in order to lastly also examine the specific South African media landscape relevant to this study.

3.1 UNDERSTANDING THE PRESS INDUSTRY

There are several concepts and ideas that have influenced the way that we think about history and society as well as language and the media. The media as it is studied in this research dissertation must be understood as an element of the society within which it is created. Therefore, it is relevant to understand the functions and composition of societal structures, in order to understand how the media fits into a specific society. Essentially, societal hierarchy can not be detached from concepts such as government, propaganda and the function of the media within a society. The media however has a multi-faceted nature in terms of serving the government, serving society and serving its own economic interests. Thus the press industry should not just theoretically be examined from the top down, but the way that news is created and constructed within the media structures must also be explored from the bottom up.

The first chapter in their book, *The Press in South Africa*, by Keyan Tomaselli, Ruth Tomaselli and Johan Muller is entitled 'A conceptual framework for media analysis'.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ K. Tomaselli *et al.*, *The Press in South Africa*, p. 5.

Their description of this book is also that it may serve as a guide for media analysis in South Africa since “so little material exists on the South African media”.¹⁰¹ In this first chapter they take account of several theories and ideologies as background to understanding how the media functions in society. For the purposes of this research, a brief overview of some of these ideas regarding societal structures and ideologies will be examined with a particular focus on Marxism.

Tosh describes Marxism as being one of the “best theories” to be used for societal analysis and acknowledges that it has been very influential.¹⁰² Of note is that Tosh mentions that Marx himself said that “his theory was a guide to study, not a substitute for it”.¹⁰³ Marx’s theory on societal structure will thus provide a theoretical basis for analysis and comparison. While defining Marxism is complex, for the purposes of this study it will briefly be outlined only as it relates to societal structure. Put simply, Marxism argues that a capitalist society functions as a hierarchical structure that is based on the ownership of the means of production by some, the lack of ownership by others and the relationships that exist between the different classes. Thus the ownership and control of various aspects of that society is in the hands of, and portrays the ideas of, the minority which owns the means of production.¹⁰⁴ These ruling class’s ideas are those which benefit the ruling class economically.¹⁰⁵ These ruling class ideas, also known as the ‘dominant ideology’, would thus be supportive of the specific societal structure, in order to ensure that the status quo is maintained.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ K. Tomaselli *et al.*, *The Press in South Africa*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰² J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 223.

¹⁰³ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 232.

¹⁰⁴ E.O. Wright & L. Perrone, Marxist class categories and income inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 1977, p. 33.

¹⁰⁵ K. Marx & F. Engels, The ruling class and ruling ideas, in K.M. Douglas & G.M. Durham (eds.), *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ K. Tomaselli *et al.*, *The Press in South Africa*, p. 10.

In essence:

The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.¹⁰⁷

Numerous other theoreticians have further examined this Marxist view of capitalist societies. According to Althusser the status quo is enforced by means of repressive state apparatuses, such as the military and police forces, as well as by ideological state apparatuses such as the media, school systems and the laws of a society. He adds that private institutions may also function as state apparatuses since they can reinforce the dominant ideology.¹⁰⁸ It then follows that there is a very close theoretical relationship between the dominant ideology and the press. In line with this Antoni Gramsci says that “the press is the most dynamic part of ideological structure”.¹⁰⁹ This brief overview of some aspects of social theory has brought to light several theoretical elements that fit into the society and media relationship. The concept of ideology, how ideology repeats itself through media institutions and therefore also leads to propaganda are some of these elements central to the discussion. “Dominant ideas” or ideology is an inseparable element of understanding any society. The difficult part is translating ideology into something tangible that can be identified or examined. If historians acknowledge that the context of a specific time is an integral part of any historical study, then the ideology and societal structures of that given society or time are key to understanding the historical context.

Douglas Kellner and Meenakshi Durham explain that ideologies appear naturally and seem to be a functional part of society. Ideology does not always present itself as an

¹⁰⁷ K. Marx & F. Engels, The ruling class and ruling ideas, in K.M. Douglas & G.M. Durham (eds.), *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ K. Tomaselli *et al.*, *The Press in South Africa*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁹ A. Gramsci, History of the subaltern classes..., in K.M. Douglas & G.M. Durham (eds.), *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords*, p. 16.

oppressive forced hierarchical system. In order to support their opinion of the natural characteristics of ideology they say that “in a competitive and atomistic capitalist society, it appears natural to assert that human beings are primarily self-interested and competitive by nature, just as in a communist society it is natural to assert that people are cooperative by nature”.¹¹⁰

On explaining this concept Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller also indicate that more than one ideology can exist at a specific point in time. They claim that for the idea of ideology to be of use it must take into account that “different ideologies... co-exist, compete and clash” in a society.¹¹¹ There are however also opposing ideologies and ideas that are different from the dominant culture or government ideologies. In a study that relies on the context of a society, the ideas of those who are in political power as well as the dominant opposing ideas need to be taken into account. Thus some ideas that play a role within a society can be seen as forced ideology and others can be seen as spontaneous or even opposing ideologies, all of which repeat themselves in several ways to form the ‘rules’ according to which specific sections of a society functions.

One of the main forums where ideologies repeat themselves, be it consciously or subconsciously, is in the media. At this point the themes of societal structure and the ideologies of a specific society as discussed above form the necessary background to explore how these ideas and structures are repeated in the media. Certain sections of the media can portray the ‘dominant ideology’ because they are part of the ruling class and therefore repeat the dominant ideas, primarily because they own the means to do so. Alternatively, other sectors of the media might support different ideas than that of the government, because the owners of the means of production might not be a politically or ideologically homogeneous group, such as is the case in South Africa during 1960.

¹¹⁰ K.M. Douglas & G.M. Durham, *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords*, p. xiv.

¹¹¹ K. Tomaselli *et al.*, *The Press in South Africa*, p. 10.

In this context, Marina Heck reminds us that ideology is not always forced into media messages and thus the case of the relationship between media and ideology can be much more complex. She quotes Eliseo Veron in order to support this complexity: “Ideology is not a particular type of message... but it is one of many levels of organization of the messages...”.¹¹² It is thus relatively difficult to pinpoint the exact ideological influences within media messages, but the government structures, dominant ideologies and relationships must at the very least be taken into account.

The media can therefore not solely be described as an “ideological apparatus” and is shaped by the society that it is produced for. Especially in the case of South Africa, the largest section of the press industry, the English press, was seen as a thorn in the side of the government, even though they were part of the “dominant” white minority. Thus the media might also portray ‘alternative’ ideologies because in a capitalist society selling newspapers means profit, and sensational media messages sell more newspapers. It can however also be argued that readers would buy a specific newspaper, not necessarily because of a sensationalist portrayal, but because the newspaper upholds their own views, be they conservative or liberal. Unless there is a very direct government control of the media, media messages will contain diversified ideological elements. As much as the media is an integrated aspect of society, it is an aspect from which money can be made and which has existed as an industry for centuries. Thus, media messages may actually in some cases be supportive of the ideas of those who buy and read them, rather than those who own the means to produce them.

It is generally agreed that the media as both **industry** and **institution** forms a very complex organization. The media is more of an industry than a societal information structure.¹¹³ Industries are focused on profit. As an industry, the press “sells” news, and

¹¹² As quoted in M. Heck, The ideological dimension of media messages, in S. Hall, *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79*, p. 123.

¹¹³ J.H. MacManus, *Detecting Bull: How to Identify Bias and Junk Journalism in Print, Broadcast and on the Wild Web*, p. 81.

in turn makes a profit from providing readers with information. As much as editors might leave out stories for political or ideological reasons, others might leave them out for monetary reasons. In the same sense, highlighting or overemphasizing stories may also occur because sensationalism mostly sells more copies of a newspaper. There might be more than one possible explanation for news selection and representation. John Macmanus states that “the press... is caught between its desire to please and extend its audience and its desire to give a picture of events and people as they really are”.¹¹⁴ He mentions that the self interest of the press is always a conflicting aspect in the production of any newspaper and that profit more often conflicts with serving the community than it coincides with reporting the truth. In this conflict he concludes that it is mostly “profit making” that wins over “public understanding”.¹¹⁵

Since the press media has these various relationships with the political, economic and social aspects of the society it exists in, it can be seen as an institution in its own right since it has become one of the “major public spaces”.¹¹⁶ Altheide and Snow make the point that “mass media have risen to a dominant position in the institutional network of society”.¹¹⁷ Contained within it are components that both shape and reflect on a specific society. The press also has a certain obligation to its readers: If it is not morally or ethically driven and accountable it will not maintain a readership. The exact nature of the relationship between the newspapers and their readers can be discussed at length, but an exact definition thereof remains elusive. The media remains so intertwined in a specific society that Altheide and Snow claims that “urban society cannot be understood apart from the media”.¹¹⁸ These discussions on the nature of the media system, as well as its relationship with society are helpful for understanding why and for whom the media functions, but not necessarily how these various elements filter through into

¹¹⁴ As quoted in J.H. MacManus, *Detecting Bull: How to Identify Bias and Junk Journalism in Print, Broadcast and on the Wild Web*, p. 80.

¹¹⁵ J.H. MacManus, *Detecting Bull: How to Identify Bias and Junk Journalism in Print, Broadcast and on the Wild Web*, p. 81.

¹¹⁶ D. Deacon, *Researching communications: a practical guide to methods in media and cultural analysis*, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ D.L Altheide & R.P. Snow, *Media Logic*, p. 236.

¹¹⁸ D.L Altheide & R.P. Snow, *Media Logic*, p. 327.

newspaper articles. Because of the varied nature of the media, even more so in the South African context, bias exists in these newspapers for numerous reasons.

We can however never fully identify all these levels of bias and the extent to which they operate. Approaching the newspaper articles as biased sources of information and understanding the possible reason for their bias within a specific society may help us to understand the influences and why events are reported on in a specific way. Franzosi states that “it has been argued that newspapers differ widely in their reporting practices and news coverage and that, in any case, news is biased and selective”.¹¹⁹ What is selected for a report as well as the manner in which the reporting is done can be influenced by politics, economic factors, society as well as the personal bias of the reporter or author in the press. In any society the government has a keen interest in the media since “the most efficient way to control people has always been to control the sources of information...”.¹²⁰ Therefore bias might be contained in media text because of government relationships and influence. This will become clearly apparent in the analysis of the South African press. In the specific context of South African in 1960, the government had a much closer relationship with the press than occasional agenda-setting.

Also, in terms of “opposing” ideologies”, personal ideas influence the articles published in a specific newspaper. There is no doubt that the editorial policy of a newspaper, and oftentimes the editors, influence what types of articles are printed in a newspaper edition. Gordon W. Allport and Janet M. Faden’s research shows that most articles selected for publication support the editorial policy, as do readers letters selected for publication.¹²¹ As mentioned, bias also filters through for financial gain. This implies presenting what the audience wants to hear, choosing sensationalism, ideology or politics over the truth, being influenced by what advertisers want and also having an

¹¹⁹ R. Franzosi, The press as a source of socio-historical data, *Historical Methods* 20(1), 1987, p. 6.

¹²⁰ J.H. MacManus, *Detecting Bull: How to Identify Bias and Junk Journalism in Print, Broadcast and on the Wild Web*, p. 16.

¹²¹ G.W. Allport and J.M. Faden, The psychology of newspapers: five tentative laws, *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 4(4), 1940, p. 692.

agenda setting dictated by those with corporate and government interests.¹²² In some cases, the bias or slant might be very blatant and thus regarded as propaganda.

David Willcox defines propaganda as “the conscious or unconscious attempt by the propagandist to advance their cause through the manipulation of the opinion, perception and behavior of a targeted group”.¹²³ Marjorie van de Water offers several “earmarks” of propaganda. She says that propaganda appeals to emotion, uses slogans or catchphrases, often conceals its sources, urges people to act in haste, uses insinuation instead of direct statements and lastly propaganda uses institutions or structures that have a central role to play in society to further an idea.¹²⁴ With these pointers it is possible to identify when the biased content of articles can be labeled as propaganda. In addition, S. Hayakawa suggests that propaganda works by recurrently connecting concepts to one another, to the extent that readers automatically associate the one concept with the other when it is heard or read.¹²⁵ For example, in the context of this study, “Africa” could automatically connect to “barbaric” or “underdeveloped”.¹²⁶ Depending on the view of the so-called “propagandists”, “independence” could very well be connected with “violence” or with “celebration”.

The abovementioned discussion refers to the general ideas of understanding and identifying bias in newspapers. There are however several forms of bias that can become apparent in individual articles. The author might consciously make use of these methods, or the authors own subjectivity might cause these factors to appear in writing subconsciously. These methods include language use, the adding or leaving out of certain aspects of an event, opinions contained in the articles, placement in the newspaper, the use of titles and subtitles, as well as the various levels of selection that media material has to go through before it is published.

¹²² J.H. MacManus, *Detecting Bull: How to Identify Bias and Junk Journalism in Print, Broadcast and on the Wild Web*, p. 88.

¹²³ D.R. Willcox, *Propaganda, the Press and Conflict: The Gulf War and Kosovo*, p. 21.

¹²⁴ M. Van de Water, Propaganda. *The Science News-Letter*, 1938, pp. 234-235.

¹²⁵ S.I. Hayakawa, General semantics and propaganda. *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 3(2), 1939, p. 208.

¹²⁶ D. Brooks, “The real Africa”, *New York Times*, 2014-05-09, p. 27.

As to the latter, Roberto Franzosi's states that the "selection of news is not random – it reflects the intention, will and interests of ... (specific) groups".¹²⁷ Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller also pay specific attention to the selection process in newspaper production.¹²⁸ Newspaper structures allow for multiple levels of selection and it thus makes for a very complex selection process that underlies every newspaper publication. At the first level journalists select information to include in an article. At the second level, editors then select from these articles to determine which articles will be published. So, some events are underplayed and others overplayed. An editor may select from an array of written reports, in such a manner that the combination of a selection of texts may paint a particular or tainted picture. At the third level, newspaper readers also partake in some sort of a selection process by choosing what newspapers and what articles within the newspaper they read. At another level within this kind of research, I believe that the researcher also participates in the selection process. Certain publications are selected based on their respective ideological standpoints and the relevant articles are singled out from a publication's selection. The entire process is fraught with layers of choice and preference.

In their article "The Psychology of Newspapers", Allport and Faden identify "Five Tentative Laws" that came to the fore during their study of newspapers. One of the principles which they identify which is relevant to this study is that the field of influence is "well structured".¹²⁹ They suggest that newspapers mostly select stories or articles that are in line with editorial policy and reject those that are not. Also the readers' letters in newspapers more often than not conform to this editorial policy.¹³⁰ They also point out that the placement of articles might be structured so that articles that are in line with editorial policy appear to be more prominent than others.¹³¹

¹²⁷ R. Franzosi, The press as a source of socio-historical data, *Historical Methods* 20(1), 1987, p. 6.

¹²⁸ K. Tomaselli *et al.*, *The Press in South Africa*, p. 26.

¹²⁹ G.W. Allport and J.M. Faden, The psychology of newspapers: five tentative laws, *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 4(4), 1940, p. 692.

¹³⁰ G.W. Allport and J.M. Faden, The psychology of newspapers: five tentative laws, *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 4(4), 1940, pp. 691-692.

¹³¹ G.W. Allport and J.M. Faden, The psychology of newspapers: five tentative laws, *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 4(4), 1940, pp. 691-695.

In his articles on the subaltern press in South Africa, Switzer begins his study by explaining theories of language deconstruction.¹³² Although a study focusing on large volumes of newspaper articles does not necessarily have to include an in-depth analysis of language theory, language as a communication tool is central to any study of the media. Franzosi describes language as a “tool of media manipulation” and points to small things such as the use of adjectives, phrases and synonyms to manipulate information.¹³³ Language and the use of language is a topic that has been studied and researched very extensively. Jacques Derrida’s work on deconstructionalism is a good example of the extremes that the study of language and communication has gone to. Language is important for this research study and will be considered since it is an integral tool in the hands of the journalist, but should not be overanalysed. However misleading headlines or subjective language use can subtly alter the portrayal of a news event.

Franzosi points out that repetition in news reporting is also a relevant issue, because it “skeletonises” the facts. He mentions that the efficiency of content analysis can be improved when understanding this important mechanism. This theory relies on the fact that most articles are made up of repeated facts. Although different angles are thrown into articles, the main summary is skeletonised and repeated throughout a number of articles. This can help with the interpretation of newspaper articles since the facts that are most important to the editor and reporters will be the facts that are repeated in other articles as well.¹³⁴ In terms of what to look out for when searching for specific representations in the media, Franzosi says that although different newspapers generally agree on the “facts” when writing about an event, bias and varying interpretations are usually to be found in the way the articles portray the reasons why things happen or the way people act the way they do.¹³⁵ Thus, the use of these “facts”

¹³² L. Switzer, South Africa’s subaltern press: a case study in reading a cultural text, *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 19(1), 1998, p. 67.

¹³³ R. Franzosi, The press as a source of socio-historical data, *Historical Methods* 20(1), 1987, p. 7.

¹³⁴ R. Franzosi, Computer-assisted content analysis of newspapers, *Quality and Quantity* 29, 1995, p. 158.

¹³⁵ R. Franzosi, The press as a source of socio-historical data, *Historical Methods* 20(1), 1987, p. 7.

as well as the selection of “facts” contained in different articles that are reporting on the same event become a mechanism by which bias can be identified and interpreted.

Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen also point out another aspect of the study of newspapers: that the layout of a newspaper may also contain specific meaning.¹³⁶ Although the authors acknowledge that they have not made any comprehensive analysis of this newspaper mechanism, the idea is nonetheless an important one.¹³⁷ The placement of an article, whether in terms of the page number or in relation to other articles and photos may also contribute to the way that an event is portrayed. Articles published with large headlines or on the first number of pages will attract more attention than those placed in another section of the newspaper. Zillmann, Knobloch and Yu also point out that pictures and photographs play an enormous role in determining what newspaper articles readers choose to read. They say that the “incorporation of photographs in news texts draws attention to the texts and ultimately fosters more extensive reading of these texts”.¹³⁸ On the other hand, cartoons also attract attention since they provide a summary of top news events, a sort of a “mini-narrative” or critical aside on current events.¹³⁹

It is also however valuable to remember what Guy Cook says about discourse analysis when using these specific mechanisms for media analysis:

It is not concerned with language (placement; pictures; structure) alone. It also examines the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and why; in what kind of society and situation; through what medium...¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ G. Kress and T. Van Leeuwen, Front pages: (the critical) analysis of newspaper layout, in A. Bell and P. Garrett (eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse*, p. 188.

¹³⁷ G. Kress and T. Van Leeuwen, Front pages: (the critical) analysis of newspaper layout, in A. Bell and P. Garrett (eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse*, p. 216.

¹³⁸ D. Zillmann *et al.*, Effects of photographs on the selective reading of news reports, *Media Psychology* 3(4), 2001, p. 320.

¹³⁹ J. Greenberg, Framing and temporality in political cartoons: a critical analysis of visual news discourse, *Canadian Review of Sociology* 39(2), 2002, p. 182.

¹⁴⁰ As quoted in A. Bell and P. Garrett (eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse*, p. 3.

The historical and societal context as will be discussed in the next section is thus a very integral part of this study.

3.2 SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

In order to understand the context of South Africa in 1960, a brief look at the social divides in South Africa preceding this year, is necessary. This overview will only include a selection of key sources and is heavily based on one of the most recent general histories by Robert Ross. Several schisms based on the foundation of heritage, race and language have defined the history of South Africa. One of the first divides in South Africa is probably that of the appropriation of land by and the subsequent institution of slavery in the Cape Colony under Dutch rule.¹⁴¹ During the early years of the 1800s after the Dutch East India Company period, the Cape colony was claimed as a British colony. Under British rule, tensions rose between the then British and the mainly Dutch descendants (later the Afrikaners), to the extent that the Afrikaner Boers moved into the northern interior of the country from as early as the early nineteenth century, and subsequently away from British rule.¹⁴² On this route into the interior there were some cases of cooperation between the Boers and the indigenous African communities they encountered, but multiple and widespread conflicts occurred such as those with the Ndebele and Zulu people.¹⁴³ By the mid 1800s the Afrikaners or Voortrekkers had established independent 'states' of their own in the interior of South Africa.¹⁴⁴ The discovery of diamonds in 1867 and later of gold in 1886 resulted in more divisions between the people of the country. Land where valuable minerals had been discovered was claimed or annexed by the Europeans.¹⁴⁵ The mineral revolution in South Africa led to labour being supplied by the Africans and several unfair labour practices as well as the migration labour system which was based on racial division and thus also lead to

¹⁴¹ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, pp. 22- 23.

¹⁴² R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 39.

¹⁴³ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁴ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 49.

¹⁴⁵ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 54.

racial discrimination. This conquest for the minerals of South Africa resulted in multiple conflicts between the Boer, British and the indigenous communities.¹⁴⁶ The South African War that started in 1899 as a conflict mainly over the control of mineral-rich areas was a war essentially fought between the British and the Boers.¹⁴⁷ By 1902 the British had obtained their victory by destroying countless farms and disrupting numerous families. This destruction did not however only affect the Boers, but all those living in the South African interior suffered serious loss and deprivations.¹⁴⁸

By the end of the war, South Africa was rigidly divided. The British colonial authority had fought an expensive war and hoped to have crushed Afrikaner nationalism. If anything the post-war era actually fuelled the fire of Afrikaner nationalism.¹⁴⁹ The black Africans, who had also been devastated by the war remained in the same position as wage labourers without receiving much better treatment than before.¹⁵⁰ By 1907 the Afrikaners were beginning to obtain political victories against the post-War British administration and by 1910 the Union of South Africa was established,¹⁵¹ a mere eight years after the end of the South African War. Leonard Thompson mentions that during this time “the racial question” referred to the existing gap between Afrikaans and English-speaking white south Africans.¹⁵² With the establishment of the Union also came the further infringement on the rights of “non-whites” in South Africa, which included all black or mixed-race Africans as well as Asian migrants. The 1913 Land Act was one such key piece of legislation that greatly limited the land ownership of black Africans, thus reserving only seven percent of the land to the majority of the population.¹⁵³

After 1910, Afrikaner politicians intensified their efforts to establish political control and promote Afrikaans culture and language. In general, the white population would

¹⁴⁶ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, pp. 55-56.

¹⁴⁷ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 71.

¹⁴⁸ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 73.

¹⁴⁹ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p. 145.

¹⁵⁰ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p. 144.

¹⁵¹ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 79.

¹⁵² L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p. 157.

¹⁵³ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p. 163.

dominate the politics as well as the economic structures for most of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁴ On other fronts, they consolidated their power by restricting “non-whites” from voting. The true political victory for the Afrikaners was the outcome of the 1948 election.¹⁵⁵ Even though the election was very close,¹⁵⁶ it was still a nationalist Afrikaner victory which ushered in and introduced the policy of apartheid for close on half a century.

For most Afrikaners, the 1948 election was a major victory, for numerous white English-speaking South Africans it was a disappointment, and for most members of the other racial groups in South Africa it was a devastating loss.¹⁵⁷ Black, Indian and coloured groups had been resisting and protesting against segregation for decades by the time the NP came to power. For organisations such as the South African Native National Congress (later changing its name to African National Congress/ANC) established in 1912,¹⁵⁸ the battle against an increasingly segregated society escalated in difficulty. The idea of apartheid was already a part of the National Party campaign for the 1948 election, but what the term exactly entailed was not even yet clear to the party leaders.¹⁵⁹ What was apparent however was what they wanted to achieve: establish a growing economy in which Afrikaner could prosper; implement and find a solution to the ‘native problem’; protect Afrikaner culture and heritage; and resolve the poor-white problem.¹⁶⁰ The years that followed showed increasing white domination of political, social and economic facets of the country. Although this did not occur without international and local criticism, there ensued a successful implementation of the strategy of apartheid. Multiple apartheid laws were passed in order to restrict and control the people of South Africa. Some of these laws were based on and extended

¹⁵⁴ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p. 155.

¹⁵⁵ D.M. Scher, The consolidation of the apartheid state, in F. Pretorius (ed.), *A History of South Africa*, p. 328.

¹⁵⁶ R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, p. 115.

¹⁵⁷ D.M. Scher, The consolidation of the apartheid state, in F. Pretorius (ed.), *A History of South Africa*, p. 328.

¹⁵⁸ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p. 264.

¹⁵⁹ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 115.

¹⁶⁰ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 302.

the segregationist legislation of the first decades of the twentieth century.¹⁶¹ Table 3 includes a list of some of the prominent laws.

Table 3: Key segregation and apartheid legislation

Name of the Act	Title of the Act	Brief description
Natives Land Act	Act No. 27 of 1913	Africans could only own land inside the native reserves, which included 7,3 % of the country. ¹⁶²
Native Administration Act	Act No. 38 of 1927	Formalised the use of chiefs for administration purposes in the reserves. ¹⁶³
Natives Trust and Land Act	Act No. 18 of 1936	Provided more land to be purchased for the reserves, and the natives reserves would amount to 13.7% of the total land area of the country. ¹⁶⁴
Representation of Natives Act	Act No.12 of 1936	African voters in the Cape were put on a separate voters roll for political representation. ¹⁶⁵
Development Trust and Land Act	Act No. 18 of 1936	The 1913 Act would be changed to enlarge the reserves to 13.6 % of the land. ¹⁶⁶
Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act	Act No.55 of 1949	Prohibited marriages between people of different races. ¹⁶⁷
Population Registration Act	Act No. 30 f 1950	All citizens had to be identified and registered as belonging to one of four racial groups. ¹⁶⁸
Immorality Amendment Act	Act No.21 of 1950	Extended the original Act which prohibited sexual relations between people of “European” descent and “Natives”. This amendment thus prohibited relations between any person of European descent and any Non-European person. ¹⁶⁹
Group Areas Act	Act No. 41 of 1950	Different urban areas were allocated for separate occupation and residence and use by different racial groups. ¹⁷⁰
Separate Registration of Voters	Act No.46 of 1951	Coloureds voters were removed from the voters roll. ¹⁷¹
Abolition of Passes and Documents Act	Act No. 67 of 1952	Africans were required to carry a registration books at all times, containing their employment and residential information. ¹⁷²

¹⁶¹ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p. 144.

¹⁶² S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 260.

¹⁶³ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 95.

¹⁶⁴ D.M. Scher, The consolidation of the apartheid state, in F. Pretorius (ed.), *A History of South Africa*, p. 277.

¹⁶⁵ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 278.

¹⁶⁶ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 278.

¹⁶⁷ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 119.

¹⁶⁸ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p. 190.

¹⁶⁹ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 334.

¹⁷⁰ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 334.

¹⁷¹ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 335.

Bantu Education Act	Act No. 47 of 1953	Education system was segregated and the education of black schools was state controlled. ¹⁷³
Reservation of Separate Amenities Act	Act No. 49 of 1953	Public places and facilities were divided and reserved for separate groups. ¹⁷⁴

The resistance to these draconian laws became all the more structured. The Defiance Campaign of 1952 was a “civil disobedience campaign” aimed at committing minor offences and getting a great number of people arrested so as to create an administrative headache for the NP government.¹⁷⁵ These first attempts of protest leading up to 1960 were seen as relatively “peaceful protests”.¹⁷⁶

During this time South Africa experienced relative economic growth¹⁷⁷ and the National Party maintained and gained support. Besides the general white electoral support for racial segregation, the growing Cold War environment and the looming ‘threat’ of communism was fuel to the fire of white minority rule in South Africa. As is evident from the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950¹⁷⁸, the NP government viewed communist thoughts and actions as a serious threat to the country, or they viewed it as a means to motivate the policy of apartheid.¹⁷⁹ At this time, for many citizens living in Western democratic countries during the mid twentieth century communism was perceived to be a serious threat to their freedom and lifestyles. In addition more repressive laws that had far-reaching effects on the citizens of South Africa were introduced at this time. An example of one such devastating piece of legislation was the Bantu Education Act of 1953, introduced by Hendrik Verwoerd.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷² R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p.199.

¹⁷³ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 334.

¹⁷⁴ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 335.

¹⁷⁵ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 346.

¹⁷⁶ S.J. Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, p. 346.

¹⁷⁷ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 131.

¹⁷⁸ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 116.

¹⁷⁹ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 116.

¹⁸⁰ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p. 196.

Because of this Act, and many others, Verwoerd would be known as “the father of apartheid” and came into office as the Prime Minister of South Africa in 1958.¹⁸¹ In his new role as Prime Minister he introduced the Bantu Self Government Bill in 1959 which would force Africans to live in reserves that would later become “self governed”.¹⁸² It is important to note that self-governance was a change in the original plan that the “African reserves would never be granted independence”.¹⁸³ Keith Breckenridge gives some reasons for Verwoerd’s change of mind concerning self-governance of the reserves. He argues that it is possible that the political climate of decolonisation in Africa might have contributed to the new policy, probably as a means of promoting decolonisation on the surface whilst still enforcing apartheid. He stated that it was probably a means to “subcontract problems of control to weakly-regulated African subordinates in fictionally independent states...”¹⁸⁴

By the end of 1959, Africans were growing increasingly restless about the violation of their basic rights as well as the pass laws. There was a violent protest in Cato Manor in 1959 and the PAC launched a national campaign against pass laws at the beginning of 1960.¹⁸⁵ This led to the protest action and burning of pass books by members of the ANC and PAC in front of a police station in Sharpeville in March 1960. This resulted in the killing of 69 African civilians by police officers at Sharpeville on 21 March. Another PAC protest was held in Cape Town nine days later. The government reaction to these protests was the announcement of a nationwide “state of emergency” situation on 30 March¹⁸⁶ and to ban the ANC and PAC on 8 April 1960. One day later an attempt was made on Verwoerd’s life.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸¹ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 133.

¹⁸² K. Breckenridge, Verwoerd's bureau of proof: total information in the making of apartheid, *History Workshop Journal* 59(1), 2005, p. 103.

¹⁸³ K. Breckenridge, Verwoerd's bureau of proof: total information in the making of apartheid, *History Workshop Journal* 59(1), 2005, p. 103.

¹⁸⁴ K. Breckenridge, Verwoerd's bureau of proof: total information in the making of apartheid, *History Workshop Journal* 59(1), 2005, pp. 103 – 104.

¹⁸⁵ K. Breckenridge, Verwoerd's bureau of proof: total information in the making of apartheid, *History Workshop Journal* 59(1), 2005, p. 103.

¹⁸⁶ H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners: 'n Biografie*, p. 472.

¹⁸⁷ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. Ross p129-131

For members of the ANC and the PAC, it was clear that the time of peaceful protest was over, and both these parties established a military wing of their own.¹⁸⁸ The international community also seemed to be sharpening its critique of South Africa's racial policies and spoke out against apartheid during this time.¹⁸⁹ In June 1960, rioting and black-on-white violence in the Belgian Congo in the wake of the country's independence created more controversy with regards to race relations and self-governance, and left more questions to be answered about settler societies in Africa.¹⁹⁰

In order to fully understand the context of South Africa within Africa it is perhaps valuable to construct a timeline of events relevant to this study that occurred during 1960. Those events that are highlighted, are the ones that occurred on the continent in general, whereas the others specifically relate to South Africa.

Table 4: Timeline of key events in Africa and South Africa during 1960

Date	Event
1 Jan 1960	Independence of Cameroon
6 Jan – 5 Feb 1960	Macmillan's tour of Africa
3 Feb 1960	Wind of change speech delivered to the Union of South Africa Parliament
21 March 1960	Sharpeville Massacre and shootings at Langa ¹⁹¹
30 March 1960	State of Emergency in South Africa
8 April 1960	Unlawful Organisation Act- Act 34 of 1960 The ANC and PAC declared unlawful organizations.
9 April 1960	Attempted assassination of Verwoerd
27 April 1960	Independence of Togo
20 June 1960	Independence of Mali and Senegal

¹⁸⁸ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. Ross p. 131; The underground military wing established by the ANC would be known as Umkhonto We Sizwe and the underground military wing established by the PAC would be known as Poqo.

¹⁸⁹ H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners: 'n Biografie*, p. 474.

¹⁹⁰ H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners: 'n Biografie*, p. 474.

¹⁹¹ *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17450.

26 June 1960	Independence of Madagascar
30 June 1960	Independence of Democratic Republic of the Congo
1 July 1960	Independence of Somalia
1 Aug 1960	Independence of Benin
3 Aug 1960	Independence of Niger
5 Aug 1960	Independence of Burkina Faso
7 Aug 1960	Independence of Cote d'Ivoire
11 Aug 1960	Independence of Chad
13 Aug 1960	Independence of Central African Republic
15 Aug 1960	Independence of Republic of the Congo
17 Aug 1960	Independence of Gabon
1 Oct 1960	Independence of Nigeria
5 Oct 1960	White voters only referendum held on South Africa's proposed transition to a republic
28 Nov 1960	Independence of Mauritania

An overview of the year 1960 as provided in a source such as *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* shows that internal affairs combined with increasing external pressures on South Africa were already playing a big role in the country during this year. This source shows the impact that South Africa's internal affairs were having on their international relations. Multiple reports of boycotts and trade relations being broken off can be found in relation to South Africa.¹⁹² In spite of the threatening boycotts by international role players, the assassination attempt on Verwoerd's life and continuous riots and anti-pass campaigns during this year, there was not much that would have stopped Verwoerd from making sure that South Africa would be a republic.¹⁹³ B. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies connect Verwoerd's vigour to establish a republic to his idea that "a republic would promote South Africa's independence, foster white unity and provide the

¹⁹² *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17371.

¹⁹³ B.J. Liebenberg & S.B. Spies (eds.), *South Africa in the 20th Century*, p. 364.

framework for a satisfactory solution to the racial question”.¹⁹⁴ They also note that Verwoerd was well aware of the challenges that needed to be overcome if a majority vote in favour of a republic was to be obtained.¹⁹⁵ Various factors had an impact on this specific referendum and how the white population, which would have to vote on the idea, might have reacted to the looming change in the Union. Macmillan’s “wind of change” speech (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5) would give some of the English-speaking South African’s the idea that Britain was in fact dissociating itself from South Africa.¹⁹⁶ Shortly afterwards, the internal rioting, protests and government reactions at Cato Manor, Langa and Sharpeville would however bring Verwoerd under sharp critique.¹⁹⁷ The situation in the Congo would also further complicate matters as the fear of similar attacks in South Africa emerged amongst the white population.¹⁹⁸ International pressures and pressures from newly independent Africa states further complicated the matters.¹⁹⁹ When the possibility of a referendum was announced in April 1960 and also when the date of referendum was confirmed in August 1960, the outcome of the referendum remained uncertain amid both opposition and support for the republic effort.²⁰⁰ Eventually the referendum count indicated that the majority of the white South African electoral population voted in favour of a Republic, but only with a majority vote of 52 percent.²⁰¹

What is clear is that 1960 was a very eventful year for South Africans. For most of the white population of South Africa the future on the African continent seemed unclear. For most of the non-white population it witnessed intensified oppression and state control of most aspects of their lives, since growing resistance and African nationalism were regarded as an ‘emergency situation’ by the state. The various nationalistic aspirations as well as international interest in South Africa made for very uncertain times for South Africa’s diverse population and its role in Africa.

¹⁹⁴ B.J. Liebenberg & S.B. Spies (eds.), *South Africa in the 20th Century*, p. 364.

¹⁹⁵ B.J. Liebenberg & S.B. Spies (eds.), *South Africa in the 20th Century*, p. 365.

¹⁹⁶ B.J. Liebenberg & S.B. Spies (eds.), *South Africa in the 20th Century*, p. 368.

¹⁹⁷ T. Cameron & S.B. Spies (eds.), *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, p. 287.

¹⁹⁸ B.J. Liebenberg & S.B. Spies (eds.), *South Africa in the 20th Century*, p. 370.

¹⁹⁹ T. Cameron & S.B. Spies (eds.), *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, p. 287.

²⁰⁰ T. Cameron & S.B. Spies (eds.), *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, p. 287.

²⁰¹ *Keesing’s Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17741.

3.3 THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS LANDSCAPE

The last general sphere to be examined is the overview of the South African press industry during the year of 1960. This subsection will briefly examine the press industry's history, as well as the laws that either limited or shaped the press industry at this time.

As can be seen from the historical overview of South Africa, much of the first part of the twentieth century was tainted by a struggle for political hegemony between first the Boer and Brit, and later thus the Afrikaans- and English-speaking citizens. Although this struggle for identity and control played out on various platforms, it also took shape in the form of a language battle that shaped much of the press industry. The notion that there was a battle between the English and Afrikaans press is not something examined and determined in hindsight, but something that was reported on by the contemporary newspapers themselves. On several occasions the two sectors would refer to this division and also state their differences.²⁰² This will also become apparent in the chapters of this research where the media analysis is conducted.

Ron Krabill writes that during the 1960s, although television was already a well-established form of mass media in a large number of countries, television was still not permitted in South Africa.²⁰³ He mentions that a large number of South Africans were receiving their information via radio but that the most influential medium, specifically concerning the more educated classes of South Africans, was definitely newspapers.²⁰⁴ Thus most of the opinions on the events occurring in Africa would have depended heavily on how they were represented in these newspapers.

²⁰² Anonym, "Politics on the air", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-04-26, p. 10; B. Coetzee, "Persleuns moet nek-om gedraai word", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-08-02, p. 8.

²⁰³ R. Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid*, p. 45; Also see C. Bevan, *Putting up screens: a history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976*, M.A. dissertation, U.P., 2008.

²⁰⁴ R. Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid*, p. 45.

Jackson describes the South African press industry as being “marked by distinct and often hostile ethnic political and linguistic cleavages”.²⁰⁵ Having already established the distinct nationalisms of the ruling white electorate between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, it is clear that this divide would have established itself in the news media as well. For as far as the society was divided between black and white citizens, the white minority “top structure” was also divided. It must however be remembered that this divide was more of a cultural or nationalist nature, and that every white citizen in South Africa at the time would have benefited from the apartheid system, except for those who openly opposed it and were targeted by the government.

The struggle between these two sections of print media showed numerous advantages and setbacks for both language groups. The Afrikaans press was viewed as part of the ruling National Party and thus of the “politically victorious group”. The English newspapers however had the largest circulation numbers for numerous years. Aubrey Sussens, a staff member of the *Rand Daily Mail*, wrote in 1961 that

These (Afrikaans) newspapers are for the most part purely party organs, controlled by Cabinet Ministers, and they have always followed the party line with meticulous care. They have always envied the enormous circulation of the English papers and it would clearly be in their interest if these rivals could somehow be crippled.²⁰⁶

This antagonistic relationship had also become clear from the National Party’s reaction to the English section of the press. Harvey Tyson said that “Every Nationalist speech from every political platform across the country devoted much of its content to the evils- and the dangers- of the *Engelse pers*, the English press.”²⁰⁷

Even though Elaine Potter states that Afrikaner and English tensions were much more of an issue prior to the National Party’s rule and that “after 1948 this issue was to a

²⁰⁵ G.S. Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press*, p. 15.

²⁰⁶ A. Sussens, *The English press under apartheid*, *Nieman Reports*, 1961, p. 8.

²⁰⁷ H. Tyson, *Editors Under Fire*, p. 11.

certain extent settled and the focus shifted to the policies on race”,²⁰⁸ this is a gross simplification of the nationalist struggles that took place well into the 1960’s and also played out in the press. Sussens mentions that journalists visiting South Africa prior to 1961 often noticed the subjectivity of the newspapers towards party politics.²⁰⁹ Thus, to summarise, the press industry of South Africa for the greater part of the twentieth century is inseparable from the nationalistic struggles in the country. Krabill says that

the Afrikaans press earned a reputation as the more conservative of the two, often playing the role of government envoy, whereas the English press adopted a more liberal stance as the ‘fourth estate’ often challenging the government but almost always avoiding too forceful a conflict.²¹⁰

One element of the Afrikaans press that is not debatable is the close relationship that existed between the NP government and the Afrikaans press. William Hachten says that the Afrikaans press was in its very roots a political tool aimed at bringing “the Afrikaners to political domination” after their loss of territory during the South African War.²¹¹ To point out the diversities of the newspaper industry in South Africa, Hachten stresses the difference in the nature of the two sectors of the industry by saying that

the Afrikaans press was a creation of Afrikaner political aspirations, established by the National Party to spread its message and strengthen its power base. Unlike virtually all the English papers, not a single nationalist newspaper began as a commercial venture.²¹²

Because of this political origin and function of the Afrikaans press, the idea was thus created that it was “the duty of the press to support government...”²¹³ Sebastiaan Kleu, a sub-editor of *Die Burger*, explained this “duty” by saying that nationalist Afrikaans

²⁰⁸ E. Potter, *The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers*, p. 20.

²⁰⁹ A. Sussens, *The English press under apartheid*, *Nieman Reports*, 1961, p. 8.

²¹⁰ R. Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid*, p. 46.

²¹¹ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 93.

²¹² W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 179.

²¹³ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 93.

newspapers received a similar hostility as other “Afrikaner aspiration” and that the Afrikaner journalist could thus “hardly be expected to stand aside in barren ‘objectivity’; it was the most natural thing for him to join the national movement”.²¹⁴ He also mentions that because of this general “nationalism” amongst Afrikaners, that “the Afrikaans newspaper which chose to oppose this broad Afrikaner movement, failed one after the other.”²¹⁵

This nationalist support was not just the purpose of the Afrikaans press, but also filtered through to the practice as was evident in the fact that numerous editors and newspaper men were members or leaders of the National Party.²¹⁶ This close relationship between the National Party and Afrikaans newspapers was not a spontaneous relationship and Hachten points out that “senior Afrikaans newsmen were chosen, not for their journalistic experience but for their ability to provide political leadership.”²¹⁷ Frene Ginwala supports this idea of unquestioning loyalty to the National Party with the generalized statement that:

all the Afrikaans newspapers in South Africa are pro-government and pro-apartheid. They are the newspapers of the Nationalist Party and have ministers sitting on their Boards of Directors.²¹⁸

According to Hachten the Afrikaans newspapers grew more questioning as Afrikaner dominance established itself and no longer needed their support. He says that after the establishment of a Republic “the Afrikaner’s political dominance could not be challenged and their papers moved from uncritical support of the party line to a more independent position”.²¹⁹ During the year 1960 though, the relationship between the ruling National

²¹⁴ S.J. Kleu, *The Afrikaans press, Nieman Reports*, 1960, p. 10.

²¹⁵ S.J. Kleu, *The Afrikaans press, Nieman Reports*, 1960, p. 10.

²¹⁶ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 93.

²¹⁷ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 179.

²¹⁸ F. Ginwala, *The press in South Africa, Index on Press Censorship* 2(3), 1973, p. 30.

²¹⁹ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 182.

Party and the press was similar to that of a “master and servant” relationship and “practically all the Afrikaans newspapers do support the governing National Party”.²²⁰

Jackson indicates that at the time the National Party won the election in 1948, the English newspapers dominated the news media landscape in South Africa.²²¹ Hachten takes an even deeper look at this press history by saying that newspapers in South Africa have always identified or supported the dominant white language group and have also been part of the ongoing battle between these various white cultural groups. He further mentions that those who were not in power had then used the media as a platform to strongly voice the opinions of their own group.²²²

It is thus no surprise that the relationship between the NP government and the English newspapers was generally a very hostile one. As noted in the section on the history of South Africa the relationship between Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans had been unstable for years and remained relatively chequered. This criticism of the NP by the English-language newspapers can be summarised as a dislike and continuous disapproval of the National Party government. As Sussens mentioned, visiting journalists were struck by the subjectivity of the South African press, but also that of the English press. According to Kleu this hostility towards the Afrikaner Nationalist Party meant that “the English press reflects a feeling of frustration of a group that no longer holds the reigns”.²²³ This was a feeling of mutual dislike since as indicated earlier it was “seldom that a minister... makes a speech that does not contain an attack on the English press”.²²⁴

Most reports point to different characteristics in the reporting styles of the two language groups. Some writers such as Elaine Potter say that the English-language press gave recognition to all groups and was one of the racially non-exclusive institutions in

²²⁰ S.J. Kleu, *The Afrikaans press*, *Nieman Reports*, 1960, p. 10.

²²¹ G.S. Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press*, p. 17.

²²² W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 21.

²²³ S.J. Kleu, *The Afrikaans press*, *Nieman Reports*, 1960, p. 10.

²²⁴ A. Sussens, *The English press under apartheid*, *Nieman Reports*, 1961, p. 8.

society.²²⁵ Others labelled it as the official opposition to the NP²²⁶ or labelled the English newspapers as more liberal.²²⁷ The English-language press in its entirety has received countless praises, such as that of Helen Suzman:

Throughout more than four decades that apartheid was imposed on the citizens of South Africa, the English-language press, to its everlasting credit, kept up its sustained and vigorous opposition, through leading articles, editorial comment and contributions from political and other correspondents. Apart from fearlessly criticising discriminatory laws and racist practises, they exposed corruption and incompetence on the part of government officials... without hesitation.²²⁸

It is easy when reading praises such as this by political activists to juxtapose the two press language groups as the “correct” English press and the “incorrect” Afrikaans press. What Ivor Benson, former *Rand Daily Mail* editor, reminds us of is that the English press should not be “the perfect example” within the newspaper industry.²²⁹ In his book *The Opinion Makers* written in 1960, he was already bringing to light some of the questionable techniques used by the English-language newspapers in order to oppose the NP government. The English newspapers were also subjective but they just had another cause to support than the Afrikaans newspapers. Thus it is important to remember that all the newspapers should be approached as subjective sources of information with their own agenda.

This contrasts with Hachten’s view that it was “the English journalistic viewpoint that its responsibility [was] to the people of South Africa to report fully and without bias the news they have a right to know...”²³⁰ On the other hand Adam Clymer, a reporter from Norfolk in Virginia, wrote an analysis of the South African press for the *Nieman Reports* in 1960 and concluded that

²²⁵ E. Potter, *The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers*, pp. 206-207.

²²⁶ A. Sussens, *The English press under apartheid*, *Nieman Reports*, 1961, p. 8.

²²⁷ R. Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid*, p. 46.

²²⁸ H. Tyson, *Editors Under Fire*, p. 408.

²²⁹ I. Benson, *The Opinion Makers*, p. 53.

²³⁰ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 95.

the papers printed in each language have supported unhesitatingly the corresponding parties and makes little attempt at fairness or balance.²³¹

Thus there are several labels that have been ascribed to these newspapers that supposedly encapsulate the nature of their news reporting. As regards the Afrikaans press *Die Transvaler* was described as “the nationalist’s most rabid organ”.²³² This is not surprising since Hendrik Verwoerd was at one stage the editor of this publication.²³³ According to Dirk Richard, some animosity had existed between *Die Transvaler* and another Afrikaans daily *Die Vaderland* lasting up to 1947.²³⁴ Needless to say, that since *Die Transvaler* had always been the mouthpiece for the National Party, *Die Vaderland* assumed the role of the “other” Afrikaner nationalist newspaper. *Die Burger*, also at one stage under the editorial supervision of NP minister DF Malan, who later also became prime minister,²³⁵ was regarded by some as the Afrikaans publication that was asserting a measure of independence as early as 1924.²³⁶ Interestingly from time to time a small number of English columns appeared in this Afrikaans paper. This might have been in order to appeal to a larger audience for financial or political reasons, but Sussens already noted in 1961 regarding the NP-supporting Afrikaans press “one notable exception has been *Die Burger*, one-time chief organ of the Nationalist Party, which no longer toes in line obediently”.²³⁷

As far as the *Rand Daily Mail* is concerned, this was the English newspaper about which the most has probably been written in terms of the nature and reporting style. B. Pogrund describes that this publications “is acknowledged as being the most liberal and outspoken”²³⁸ and in 1966 it had received an international award for “contributions to human freedom and justice and the betterment of citizens of South Africa.”²³⁹ In 1960,

²³¹ A. Clymer, *The divided press of South Africa*, *Nieman Reports*, 1960, p. 13.

²³² A. Clymer, *The divided press of South Africa*, *Nieman Reports*, 1960, p. 14.

²³³ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 179.

²³⁴ D. Richard, *Moedswilig die Uwe: Persoonlikhede uit die Noorde*, p. 44.

²³⁵ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 179.

²³⁶ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 180.

²³⁷ A. Sussens, *The English press under apartheid*, *Nieman Reports*, 1961, p. 9.

²³⁸ B. Pogrund, *The South African press*, *Index on Press Censorship* 5(3), 1976, p. 14.

²³⁹ D.J. Potgieter *et al.* (eds.), *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa* (Vol. 9), p. 240.

however, A. Clymer's analysis was that the *Rand Daily Mail* was "probably the worst offender" in terms of showing balance towards the reporting on political parties.²⁴⁰

Similar to *Die Burger*, the other English daily *The Star* frequently published a column called "An Afrikaner's diary", possibly also to appeal to a wider audience. *The Star* was also financially driven and was the "the biggest and most financially successful daily". Hachten however describes that its reporting style was moderate and it oftentimes tried to reassure its white readership.²⁴¹ The English weekly, the *Sunday Times*, although belonging to the same group as the *Rand Daily Mail*, reported that it supported a different political party and "generally had policies different from" the *Rand Daily Mail*.²⁴²

As regards the legislative parameters regarding the press, although there were no severe restrictions placed on the press by 1960, some laws had already been passed which did to some extent limit the media. First, the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 made it illegal to publish anything that advocated or defended communism and further made it illegal to publish anything said or written by banned persons or organizations.²⁴³ The understanding of the term "communism" was very broad and could be defined by the government in any way it chose.²⁴⁴ This was the first act with which the NP limited the freedom of the press and it basically provided them with a platform from which they could ban anything that was believed to contribute to the furthering of communism. With the passing of this legislation, several newspapers were also banned as being communist mouthpieces.²⁴⁵

Second, the Riotous Assemblies Act passed in 1956 made it an offence for anyone to "promote hostility amongst black and white".²⁴⁶ Thus attendance of a prohibited assembly as well as commentary or mention of what happened at the assembly was

²⁴⁰ A. Clymer, *The divided press of South Africa*, *Nieman Reports*, 1960, p. 14.

²⁴¹ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 18.

²⁴² E. Potter, *The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers*, p. 63.

²⁴³ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 114.

²⁴⁴ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 114.

²⁴⁵ B. Pogrund, *The South African press*, *Index on Press Censorship* 5(3), 1976, p. 11.

²⁴⁶ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 117.

illegal, especially if the government found it to promote hostility between white and black people.²⁴⁷ This Act further stated that newspapers may also not publish stories that might “distress” the population.²⁴⁸ Third, in 1957 the Defence Act²⁴⁹ (Act 44 of 1957) further prohibited journalists from publishing information that related to the South African military or naval forces.²⁵⁰

Fourth and fifth, the Police Act of 1958 and the Prisons Act of 1959 further infringed on the right to print information regarding prisons based on “hear-say” stories from ex-prisoners, if these stories were not be confirmed by the prison. Thus as long as the prison denied any allegations, these allegations were deemed untrue.²⁵¹ After the Sharpeville shooting in March 1960, the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960²⁵² was passed, within a month of the incident. This Act banned the ANC and the PAC and as a result nothing relating to them could be published.²⁵³ It must be noted however that few of these acts had a direct effect on the reporting of events that occurred elsewhere on the continent, but pointed to a press system that was under surveillance.

Excluding the Unlawful Organizations Act, there were no acts that directly legislated against news reportage of events in Africa. The government had tried to control the press with these laws, and had already established the Press Commission in 1950 tasked to investigate reporting on South Africa both internally and internationally. The Commission was also tasked with investigating control over the media, but only compiled and present its report in 1962.²⁵⁴ The report had no major impact and no direct government control was enforced.

²⁴⁷ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 117.

²⁴⁸ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 117.

²⁴⁹ G.S. Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press*, p. 111.

²⁵⁰ G.S. Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press*, p. 111.

²⁵¹ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 118.

²⁵² W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 116.

²⁵³ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 116.

²⁵⁴ G.S. Jackson, *Breaking Story: The South African Press*, p. 18.

In 1976, after the passing of several laws to further infringe the rights of newspapers, Benjamin Pogrund said:

The press is free and yet unfree. It is a press choked by restrictions imposed by the Afrikaner Nationalist government yet it enjoys an extraordinary degree of freedom. It is often a courageous press; it is also often cowardly.²⁵⁵

Perhaps this specific view put forward by Pogrund is the best and most balanced in understanding the press under the apartheid government. As the editor of a newspaper during that time, he said that there are only certain specific things that the press was directed not to do, but that the rest was open to interpretation. When the government thought that a newspaper had interpreted the boundaries of the law too liberally, only then was action taken. The Afrikaans newspapers ruled and guided under these same laws and restrictions did however not face prosecution in the same way as the English press and were seldom reprimanded when quoting from a banned pamphlet for example.²⁵⁶ In the same sense several newspaper editors have compared editing a newspaper in South Africa under NP rule to “walking blindfold though a minefield”.²⁵⁷

Hachten mentioned that since freedom in South Africa mainly only existed for white South Africans, that numerous white English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans did not think that their freedom, and thus freedom of expression, had been limited. He also mentions that the “freedom” that the press did have was more freedom to comment on events but not freedom to access the documents of information surrounding these events.²⁵⁸ Thus, by 1960, specifically during the beginning of the year when Macmillan visited the Union of South Africa, the press still enjoyed a considerable or relative amount of freedom. It is thus all the more valuable to see and understand press attitudes towards African affairs, whilst it still enjoyed the substantial freedom to do so.

²⁵⁵ B. Pogrund, *The South African press, Index on Press Censorship* 5(3), 1976, p. 10.

²⁵⁶ B. Pogrund, *The South African press, Index on Press Censorship* 5(3), 1976, pp. 13- 14.

²⁵⁷ F. Ginwala, *The press in South Africa, Index on Press Censorship* 2(3), 1973, p. 27.

²⁵⁸ W. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 105.

CHAPTER 4: MACMILLAN IN AFRICA

4.1 ANTICIPATING MACMILLAN

This chapter will examine Harold Macmillan's tour through the eyes of white South African newspapers. In line with the methodology discussed in Chapter 3 the selected newspapers were examined in order to find reports on Macmillan's trip. All the newspapers were examined for the dates of 1 January 1960 until approximately 8 February, a few days after Macmillan had left the continent. The newspaper article analysis and the structure of this chapter follows the chronology of Macmillan's tour. The purpose is thus to examine how the events during Macmillan's tour were reported on and interpreted in the South African newspapers.

British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, wanted to visit the African continent during 1960, the "year of Africa", to "see for himself". Towards the end of 1959 the historic tour was planned to the Commonwealth regions in Africa. Macmillan was invited to be a guest of Ghana, the Nigerian Federation, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as well as the Union of South Africa.²⁵⁹ Although the tour was originally planned around visiting the countries in the order of their seniority as Commonwealth members, the practicality of "zigzagging" over the continent resulted in the aforementioned order being adapted for the sequence of the tour.²⁶⁰ It is important to note that the tour was planned on invitation of these countries and their respective leaders,²⁶¹ and that Macmillan was therefore a "guest" of these countries and not in charge of the itineraries set up for him by each country. In the same vein, the tour was not supposed to be political in nature, since Macmillan planned to "observe" and have "casual conversations" with these

²⁵⁹ *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17267.

²⁶⁰ C. Baker, Macmillan's 'Wind of Change' tour, 1960, *South African Historical Journal* 38(1), 1998, p. 173.

²⁶¹ *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17267.

leaders in Africa. He himself admitted that he was in no way interested in political conversations and revelations on his so-called “see for myself” tour.²⁶²

In hindsight, however, the political effects of the tour cannot be overlooked and its significance at the time drew much media attention. Several of the South African newspapers anticipated the arrival of Macmillan even before he set foot on the continent. *Die Transvaler* reported that an “enthusiastic and great welcome” awaited Macmillan in Ghana and that in Rhodesia people of all racial groups welcomed his arrival.²⁶³ Further reference is not made in this newspaper before his arrival, and thus leaves an impression of Africans from all races awaiting the British Prime Minister’s arrival. On the day of his arrival *Die Transvaler* reported on his tour to Africa describing the continent as one that was in the “grip of nationalism and racial struggle”.²⁶⁴

On the topic of nationalism in Africa *Die Vaderland* published a cartoon (Figure 1) depicting Macmillan running across the African continent with a bucket of water to where a pot of “black nationalism” was boiling over.²⁶⁵ Under the heading “Welcome, Mr. Macmillan” an opinion piece in *Die Vaderland* describes the trip as an opportunity for Macmillan to gather information on the “complex white-black patterns of modern Africa”.²⁶⁶ *Die Vaderland* anticipated that his tour would be of “great importance” for the continent and was a clear sign that he wanted “black and white in Africa to get along”.²⁶⁷ This connection of African nationalism to white and black relationship in Africa would form a central aspect of the reportage on Macmillan’s tour, mainly in the Afrikaans newspapers. Another article in *Die Vaderland* stated that Macmillan was here to “retrieve the information for himself” and already indicated the propagated belief in the “survival of the white man in Africa” even before the Prime Minister’s arrival on the continent. The article portrays the first president of independent Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, as an “autocratic” ruler and an “embarrassment” for the Commonwealth, and

²⁶² Anonym, “Brittanje sal baie aandag aan Afrika gee”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04, p. 2.

²⁶³ Anonym, “Accra getooi vir Mac”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-04, p. 5.

²⁶⁴ Anonym, “Macmillan kuier het begin”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-06, p. 1.

²⁶⁵ Anonym, “Sendeling 1960”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04, p. 1.

²⁶⁶ Anonym, “Macmillan-besoek kan veel beteken”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04, p. 1.

²⁶⁷ Anonym, “Macmillan-besoek kan veel beteken”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04, p. 1.

also described Rhodesia as the place where a handful of whites was involved in a battle for equal political representation with a majority of “natives”.²⁶⁸ The reporter also stated that international pressures had forced many African states into independence before they were ready for it, adding that whites would not stand down on their side of the tug-of-war.²⁶⁹ What is apparent is that this mindset of the ultimate struggle for survival of the white people on the African continent existed prior to Macmillan’s arrival on the continent. As will be seen this was a view evident in most of the Afrikaans-language newspapers. The reports in *Die Vaderland* as well as the English newspapers used these articles to speculate about Macmillan’s pending tour.

The English-language press gave a more in-depth reflection on the meaning of the tour, with most of them relating their reports to the South African situation. The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that there were “tremendous receptions” being planned for Macmillan upon his arrival in the various African countries and that they would be “enthusiastic”, “magnificent” and “elaborate”.²⁷⁰ The subheading of one article in the *Rand Daily Mail* speculated that the position of the British protectorates would be discussed by Prime Ministers Verwoerd and Macmillan.²⁷¹ On the following day the *Rand Daily Mail* reported on the front page that “this tour will be a test of nerves” and compared the performance of speaking to a joint meeting of the South African Union parliament to that of someone “walking on a tightrope”.²⁷² The first report regarding the tour in *The Star* claimed that Macmillan was opposed to the boycott against South Africa, and indicated that according to other newspapers, he would also be announcing this point of view to the South African government.²⁷³ The *Sunday Times* published a cartoon (Figure 2) of Macmillan, clothed in a safari outfit, being briefed by “Monty” before his trip to Africa.²⁷⁴ Monty refers to Field Marshal Bernard Law Montgomery, who had visited South Africa

²⁶⁸ Anonym, “Brittanje sal baie aandag aan Afrika gee”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04, p. 2.

²⁶⁹ Anonym, “Welkom Mnr. Macmillan”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-05, p. 8.

²⁷⁰ Anonym, “Macmillan ready to leave”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-04, p. 1.

²⁷¹ Anonym, “Macmillan ready to leave”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-04, p. 1.

²⁷² Anonym, “This tour will be a test of nerves”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-05, p. 1.

²⁷³ Anonym, “Macmillan is opposed to boycotts”, *The Star*, 1960-01-04, p. 3.

²⁷⁴ Anonym, “Monty briefs the boss”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-03, p. 2.

towards the end of 1959.²⁷⁵ By this time apartheid was already well-entrenched and was becoming increasingly controversial in international circles, yet Montgomery returned from his tour as an apparent supporter of South Africa's racial policy.²⁷⁶ The cartoon specifically makes reference to his trip to the Union of South Africa. On a blackboard depicted in the cartoon, information and advice such as "don't talk about TV" is being given to Macmillan.²⁷⁷ This newspaper also emphasized the international importance of the tour, but more specifically the importance of the planned speech in Cape Town. Rather pointedly, the article does not use the term 'South Africa' but rather "the country of apartheid". The reporter points out the international attention that would be drawn to South Africa because of the call on various fronts for Macmillan to speak out against South Africa's policies during his visit.²⁷⁸

Some speculation about the general aspects of his tour through Africa was also raised. One article in *The Star* mentioned the pressure that was being put on Macmillan to release Hastings Banda, political detainee of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and that some speculation suggested he would be making such a recommendation in Rhodesia.²⁷⁹ Another article was a bit sceptical about the value of the tour, reporting that any talks by Macmillan to Kwame Nkrumah about some of the questionable policies in Ghana would just lead to him pointing a finger at the Union of South Africa about its colour policies.²⁸⁰ *The Star* furthermore reported that in spite of his aim to avoid controversy, Macmillan "might not have a choice". The article suggests that Macmillan's attempts to "find facts" will also be hindered by the hiding of "unpleasant facts" in South Africa and elsewhere. This reporter predicted that Macmillan would also add to this "cover-up" of the situation by saying that the domestic affairs of Commonwealth nations are their own business.²⁸¹ The *Rand Daily Mail* had a more positive approach to the tour and quoted Macmillan as saying that people must not have

²⁷⁵ Anonym, "Montgomery on tour", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1959-11-20, p. 3.

²⁷⁶ J. De Blank, "Reply to Lord Montgomery- Ruthless racialism in South Africa", *The Age*, 1960-02-02, p. 2.

²⁷⁷ Anonym, "Monty briefs the boss", *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-03, p. 2.

²⁷⁸ Anonym, "World will watch Macmillan's SA tour", *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-03, p. 3.

²⁷⁹ Anonym, "Pressure" on Macmillan to free Banda", *The Star*, 1960-01-05, p. 1.

²⁸⁰ Anonym, "Macmillan to avoid all controversy", *The Star*, 1960-01-05, p. 1.

²⁸¹ Anonym, "Macmillan to avoid all controversy", *The Star*, 1960-01-05, p. 1.

a “gloomy view” of the continent because “these are exciting days for Africa”.²⁸² A slightly more pro-Macmillan sentiment was also already apparent in this publication on 5 January where the writer of an opinion piece stated that the temptation to over-dramatize the tour must be resisted, since Macmillan was “the least melodramatic of statesmen”.²⁸³ In the face of the difficult political task that the tour entailed, the reporter stated that “in this respect he will not only be perfectly ‘correct’ in the constitutional sense, but also wise enough to realize that any departure from that would cause infinitely more harm than good”.²⁸⁴

Prior to Macmillan’s arrival *Die Transvaler* and *Die Vaderland* thus connected the tour to the black-white relationships on the African continent. Most of the English newspaper articles reported on the meaning that the tour might have for South Africa. *The Star* seemed to be more sceptical of the value of the tour and to an extent the *Sunday Times* also portrayed this image of an expected significance of the tour. The *Rand Daily Mail* however seemed to portray Macmillan and his tour of Africa in a slightly more positive light. Although these articles were just pre-emptive and thus speculative, certain patterns in reporting can already be discerned before Macmillan’s actual arrival in Ghana.

4.2 MACMILLAN IN GHANA

On 6 January 1960, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and Lady Dorothy Macmillan landed in Ghana for the commencement of their tour of Africa. Ghana had become an independent nation under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah in March 1957.²⁸⁵ The independent state was to be a member of the Commonwealth and because of the example set during its independence process, signified a “turning-point in the history of

²⁸² Anonym, “Macmillan leaves for Africa trip”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-06, p. 1.

²⁸³ Anonym, “Voyage of discovery”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-05, p. 8.

²⁸⁴ Anonym, “Voyage of discovery”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-05, p. 8.

²⁸⁵ K. Shillington, *History of Africa*, p. 380.

the continent”.²⁸⁶ Before Ghana became an independent nation, Kwame Nkrumah had been a supporter of the concept of Pan-Africanism and saw the establishment of a unified Africa as an attainable goal.²⁸⁷ Although initial resistance to Nkrumah’s rule was not serious, in July 1960 Ghana became a Republic “which enabled him to rule by decree”.²⁸⁸ By the time of Macmillan’s visit in January 1960, Ghana appeared as a newly independent nation that was facing a few challenges associated with the transition process of any new state. The Macmillans would visit Ghana from 6 to 10 January.

Upon their arrival in Ghana the *Rand Daily Mail* reported that the Macmillans were “welcomed at the brilliantly decorated Ghana airport” and that the airport was a joyous spectacle with “African and European guests”. This article provided a detailed description of all the decorations and colours presented at the airport. The report briefly mentioned one or two things that were said by Macmillan and quoted him as saying that he had come to the country “to see, to hear and to learn”. The article is entitled “Why I’m here” and ends by saying that Macmillan told the crowd that he and Nkrumah were “old friends”.²⁸⁹ *Die Vaderland* also reported that they were received festively and that the reception at the airport was colourful.²⁹⁰ This short article appeared on the front page, but later in this specific issue a more in-depth article was published on the occasion. Here *Die Vaderland* reported that some Ghanaian newspapers, identified as “Nkrumah’s newspapers”, were being “bitter” by attacking British imperialism while Macmillan was visiting the country. This report also mentioned the friendly atmosphere at the airport, but created a binary between the newspapers that were making anti-British imperialism statements and Macmillan’s claim that Africa must be given opportunities during these exciting times.²⁹¹ *The Star* also reported on Macmillan’s arrival in Accra but gave little detail on the nature of the reception. The article was more focused on the formalities and duration of the tour through Africa. Its conclusion quoted

²⁸⁶ J.D. Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa*, p. 121.

²⁸⁷ K. Shillington, *History of Africa*, p. 379.

²⁸⁸ M. Meredith, *The State of Africa*, p. 182.

²⁸⁹ Anonym, “Why I’m here – Macmillan”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-07, p. 1.

²⁹⁰ Anonym, “Macmillan feestelik ontvang”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-06, p. 1.

²⁹¹ Anonym, “Britse ryk is besig om te verbrokkel- koerante in Ghana”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-06, p. 4.

a correspondent as saying that “Britain is to make a new effort to find solutions to her African problems” and that the tour had not yet captured the public imagination to the extent that it was being welcomed by political leaders.²⁹² In contrast the *Sunday Times*, *Die Transvaler* and the Saturday edition of *Die Burger* did not specifically mention his arrival.

After his arrival more of the newspapers started analysing the importance of the tour. *The Star* published a report by Rene MacColl of the *Daily Express* in which he stated that Macmillan’s visit to Africa was “highly contentious” and that it actually had just as many potential pitfalls as his earlier trip to Moscow. He described the reception in Ghana as “pointedly cool” with no cheering crowds and added that reports in local newspapers in Accra indicated that Ghana was “not so happy”.²⁹³ He commented that Nkrumah could have easily planned a warm reception for Macmillan if he had wanted to, but despite all of this Macmillan was his “imperturbable self”.²⁹⁴ The rest of the article was also quite cynical, portraying most of the characters in a slightly negative light and ended by stating that

Mr. Macmillan is in a vortex of political passion, racial trouble, nationalist trouble, underprivileged peoples’ trouble. The stuff of which feuds and vendettas, hatreds and resentments are made.²⁹⁵

On this point the *Rand Daily Mail* again published an article on his reception in Ghana. It reported that Macmillan said that he could not understand how certain parties would think that he had received a cold reception and that he thanked Ghana for the kindness the country had shown him. Macmillan is quoted as saying that they are the “kindest, most friendly and courteous people I have met”.²⁹⁶ The reporter also stated that Macmillan reminded the people that he was not on the tour to make pacts or agreements, but also added that he had met up with four Ghanaian opposition

²⁹² Anonym, “Macmillan arrives in Africa- at Accra”, *The Star*, 1960-01-06, p. 1.

²⁹³ R. MacColl, “Africa tour gets cold start”, *The Star*, 1960-01-07, p. 17.

²⁹⁴ R. MacColl, “Africa tour gets cold start”, *The Star*, 1960-01-07, p. 17.

²⁹⁵ R. MacColl, “Africa tour gets cold start”, *The Star*, 1960-01-07, p. 17.

²⁹⁶ Anonym, “Macmillan denies he had cool reception”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-11, p. 3.

leaders.²⁹⁷ *Die Transvaler* only published a short report after Macmillan's arrival but also mentioned that Macmillan denied receiving a cold welcome in Ghana. Macmillan was quoted as saying that he received a warm welcome and that the Ghanaian people had the respect of the British people for the development and efficiency of their government.²⁹⁸

During the commencement of his visit to Ghana, several newspapers also commented on the interactions between Nkrumah and Macmillan, and even in this regard anticipated Macmillan's trip to South Africa. As an ardent Pan-Africanist with a specific vision for Africa, it was expected that Nkrumah would say something about the racial policies of South Africa. *Die Vaderland* reported on the talks that Macmillan and Nkrumah were having. It quoted a Ghanaian minister as saying that he wished that Macmillan would see the absence of racial discrimination in Ghana so as to be able to give advice to South Africa on how it should approach its "black brothers".²⁹⁹ *Die Vaderland* reported on Macmillan's request to speak to opposition leaders in Ghana and commented that it was pleasing to see that Macmillan was willing to scout out every corner of Africa that has "remained dark". This reporter added that they were sure that the entire Union would be accessible to Macmillan.³⁰⁰ The newspaper also published an article on what Nkrumah had said during a press conference about Macmillan's visit to the Union of South Africa. Apparently Nkrumah was glad that Macmillan was going and he hoped that the South African government would give him an opportunity to see the "other side of the picture" of South Africa, and thus not just restrict him to the official view of the country.³⁰¹ It is interesting that this Afrikaans newspaper noted the international attention that Macmillan's tour would bring to the Union of South Africa, as if it had the fullest confidence that nothing would be hidden from Macmillan during his tour.

²⁹⁷ Anonym, "Macmillan denies he had cool reception", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-11, p. 3.

²⁹⁸ Anonym, "Warm in Ghana ontvang; nie koel", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-11, p. 7.

²⁹⁹ Anonym, "Twee premiers beraadslaag in Accra", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-07, p. 3.

³⁰⁰ Anonym, "Gee hom die sleutel", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-07, p. 10.

³⁰¹ Anonym, "Dit is goed dat Mac SA besoek", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-08, p. 5.

The Star published a photograph of Nkrumah and Macmillan together and reported on a similar picture that was printed in the *Ghana Evening News*. The article stated that Nkrumah would be frank in his talks with Macmillan and that the *Ghana Evening News* had said that this type of picture - that showed Nkrumah as a successful leader - was one that “imperialists hate to see”.³⁰² *Die Transvaler* reported on Ghana, but more specifically on Nkrumah and his ideal of a unity of African states. Macmillan was briefly mentioned when Nkrumah was quoted as saying that he would make arrangements for leaders of other countries that desire independence to meet Macmillan.³⁰³

Some of the articles also mentioned the more informal aspects of the tour. The *Rand Daily Mail* reported on the interactions that Macmillan had with some of the local people with a report which focused on the “big welcome” that he and his wife received in Accra when visiting a market place. The article reported that the African women of the market “spread their robes on the ground for them to walk on” and that this was a very high mark of respect. It claimed that this was a “warm welcome” in stark contrast to the quiet reception that they had received on their arrival. During the tour of the marketplace the Macmillans were said to have received several gifts. The article reported that Macmillan spoke to the African women and “he even put his arm affectionately round the shoulders of some of them” and that the women remarked that his actions were proof of Ghana’s independence.³⁰⁴ This image of multiracial interaction was an image that would again come to the fore during the *Rand Daily Mail*’s later reports on the tour.

The Star published a picture of Macmillan sitting on a cedar chair with a caption that the “natives” were about to carry him to the beach³⁰⁵ as did the *Rand Daily Mail* with the caption: “Premier gets a boost”.³⁰⁶ The report in *Die Transvaler* a few days after Macmillan’s arrival focused on the duration of the visit to Ghana and other mundane aspects of the tour which was characteristic of its reporting style.³⁰⁷ Both *Die Vaderland*

³⁰² Anonym, “Macmillan where “cauldron boiled”, *The Star*, 1960-01-07, p. 1.

³⁰³ Anonym, “Politieke kongres vir Afrika state”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-08, p. 7.

³⁰⁴ Anonym, “A big welcome for Macmillan”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-08, p. 2.

³⁰⁵ Anonym, “Mr. Macmillan chaired”, *The Star*, 1960-01-08, p. 1.

³⁰⁶ Anonym, “Premier gets a boost”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-15, p. 2.

³⁰⁷ Anonym, “Mac (met oopnek hemp) besoek Ghana-skemas”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-09, p. 5.

and the *Rand Daily Mail* reported on the Macmillans visiting the Volta River dam scheme, pointing out that this was one of the development projects in Ghana. The *Rand Daily Mail* then abruptly shifted to mentioning that thousands of people would be hearing his speech on 19 January in Salisbury.³⁰⁸ Although all of these newspapers reported on uneventful aspects of the tour, the only newspaper that commented on his speech at the Governor-General's banquet in Ghana was the *Sunday Times*. It quoted him as saying that Africans were helping to shape the destiny of the world, and that the "wind of change was blowing right through Africa".³⁰⁹ The use of what was to become an renowned phrase obviously did not make as much of an impact the first time it was used, as only one newspaper reported on it.

Although Macmillan was the British Prime Minister and would no doubt attract attention during his visit to Ghana, Lady Dorothy Macmillan and her interaction with the "native children" also received some attention. *Die Vaderland* reported on how Lady Macmillan "won Accra's heart" by picking up a 10-year-old "native" girl in a market square. The girl apparently did not want to go back to her mother but wanted to remain in the arms of the "good lady".³¹⁰ The *Rand Daily Mail* published a picture of Lady Dorothy with a Ghanaian child sitting on her lap during a visit to one of Ghana's childrens' homes. The title mentioned that the London newspaper *The Daily Herald* originally ran the picture accompanied with the question of whether the picture would be seen in South Africa. *The Daily Herald* also added that it was a picture that would not be "popular with the whites of race conscious South Africa".³¹¹ *The Rand Daily Mail* itself did not make any further comments on the picture, but might have published the picture as a type of rebuttal to the commentary that said it would not be published in South Africa. A short article printed about this picture a day later responded to the original *Daily Herald* article by stating that "overseas readers may like to know that South Africans do occasionally see pictures of black children in their newspapers" and that it would be a sad day when South Africans could not bear to see photographs of white and black people side by

³⁰⁸ Anonym, "Mr. Mac sees the big dam scheme", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-09, p. 1.

³⁰⁹ Anonym, "Africa – 'a new force' says Mac", *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-10, p. 1.

³¹⁰ Anonym, "Lacy Dorothy wen Accra se hart", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-08, p. 5.

³¹¹ Anonym, "Picture that raised a question", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-11, p. 9.

side.³¹² *Die Burger* also commented on this picture of Lady Dorothy with the Ghanaian boy and what *The Daily Herald* had said about the picture, but ironically did not publish the picture itself. Interestingly the translation of the subtitle in *Die Burger* was also not a direct translation as the phrase “popular with the whites of race conscious South Africa” was translated for publication in *Die Burger* as “supporters of the colour bar in South Africa”.³¹³

It is possible that the relative interest and reporting of Macmillan’s visit to Ghana in the South African press could be related to the fact that both Ghana and South Africa were both independent members of the Commonwealth. The South African government could easily therefore have seen Ghana as competition or as a threat. Numerous South African newspapers thus focused specifically on aspects that also had an impact or made some reference to South Africa itself. Also in Nigeria this focus on events relating to South Africa would become evident.

4.3 MACMILLAN IN NIGERIA

After their trip to Ghana, the Macmillans travelled to Nigeria where they would stay from 11 to 17 January 1960. According to Martin Meredith, Nigeria’s road to independence had been made specifically difficult by the various cultural groups and resulting rivalries that formed between the three major regions of the country.³¹⁴ The process towards Nigeria’s independence started quite early on, but reaching an agreement and subsequent constitution that would suit the diverse leadership of the regions would prove to be a difficult and time-consuming task. Between 1954 and 1957 the Western and Eastern regions of Nigeria had managed to develop to the point of self-governance, but had to wait another two years for Northern Nigeria to also reach this level.³¹⁵ The ultimate plan for Nigeria was a federal solution under which it would become an

³¹² Anonym, “That picture”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-12, p. 8.

³¹³ Anonym, “Dit kan nie in SA gebeur nie”, *Die Burger*, 1960-01-09, p. 1.

³¹⁴ M. Meredith, *The State of Africa*, p. 75.

³¹⁵ M. Meredith, *The State of Africa*, p. 77.

independent nation in October 1960.³¹⁶ Macmillan's visit to the country thus occurs at a time when its independence, under the leadership of Abubakar Balewa, was already on the cards.

Before the Macmillans' arrival in Nigeria, *Die Vaderland* predicted that a "cool reception" awaited them. The report claimed that very few people were aware or cared that the British Prime Minister would be visiting their country. Contradicting what they had previously reported, the article claimed that the reception in Ghana had been cool and less than 2000 people had greeted him at the airport and that almost no one had waited along the route that they took through Accra. The report on the possible "cold reception" in Nigeria was based on speculation made by political observers in Lagos. They predicted a cold reception because Balewa had not been invited to a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers because the country was not an independent nation yet.³¹⁷

After the Macmillans' arrival in Nigeria, numerous newspapers reported on the warm welcome that they had received. *Die Transvaler* published a portrait photograph of Macmillan on the front page. The subscript stated that "thousands upon thousands of natives lined the streets to cheer for the Prime Minister" during his visit to Nigeria.³¹⁸ The *Rand Daily Mail* also reported that there was a "great Lagos welcome for Macmillan". It refers to thousands of people greeting Macmillan upon his arrival and adds that there was a "flutter of Union Jacks". The article included a couple of compliments that were exchanged between Macmillan and Balewa and thus tended to portray a good-natured relationship between Nigeria and the British Prime Minister.³¹⁹

The Star newspaper also reported on the warm nature of the welcome, caustically stating that "loyal Nigeria" showed Ghana how to welcome Macmillan. The article also commented that Balewa was just as "right wing and conservative" as Macmillan was. It also reported that some sectors of the Ghanaian press had been unpleasant during

³¹⁶ K. Shillington, *History of Africa*, p. 380.

³¹⁷ Anonym, "Koel ontvangs vir Mac verwag in Nigerië", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-11, p. 9.

³¹⁸ Photograph of Harold Macmillan- no title, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-12, p. 1.

³¹⁹ Anonym, "Great Lagos welcome for Macmillan", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-12, p. 9.

Macmillan's visit and that there had been crude insults made about Britain and the Queen. In stark contrast, the article also stated that Macmillan saw the Union Jack in Nigeria being waved by both Igbo and Yoruba families. The report was in essence anti-Ghana and pro-Nigeria, in that the former was portrayed as an independent nation, doing as they pleased and the latter was portrayed as a loyal nation that followed the rules that had been set out for them.³²⁰ The *Rand Daily Mail* reported on Macmillan's pledge of Britain's continuing support for "underdeveloped countries" whilst addressing the Nigerian parliament. The reporter mentioned that, except for the absence of European clothing, the State opening of parliament was "almost identical to that of the British parliament, but... more colourful".³²¹ Similar to the article published in *The Star*, this article gave the impression of a "loyal Nigeria". The English newspaper thus specifically made reference to the presence of Union Jacks and by connecting this to loyalty, created the image that loyalty towards Britain was a desirable aspect of an independent Commonwealth member.

Despite the general pro-Nigerian sentiments regarding this "loyal country" in the article published in *The Star*, the article ended with a section that stated that "Nigeria is not without its problems" which include poverty and underdevelopment.³²² Similarly, *The Star* also took a negative stance towards the visit prior to Macmillan's arrival by stating that "Macmillan will see Nigeria (and poverty) today".³²³ The article content mentioned how Nigeria was comparatively poorer than other countries in Africa and that with the pending independence of Nigeria there would be several problems. The reporter then described some of the political difficulties and divisions that the country was facing at that moment and concluded by saying that "Macmillan, however, is reported to be at ease and optimistic about the situation in Nigeria".³²⁴

Several newspapers mentioned Macmillan briefly in reference to a statement that was made regarding South Africa. *The Star* reported that Balewa had said that South Africa

³²⁰ Anonym, "Loyal Nigeria shows Ghana how to greet 'Mr. MacAfrica'", *The Star*, 1960-01-12, p. 1.

³²¹ Anonym, "U.K. policy is to save peace", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-14, p. 9.

³²² Anonym, "Loyal Nigeria shows Ghana how to greet 'Mr. MacAfrica'", *The Star*, 1960-01-12, p. 1.

³²³ Anonym, "Macmillan will see Nigeria (and poverty) today", *The Star*, 1960-01-11, p. 1.

³²⁴ Anonym, "Macmillan will see Nigeria (and poverty) today", *The Star*, 1960-01-11, p. 1.

should leave the Commonwealth if it did not change its racial policy. Macmillan was only mentioned in terms of Balewa agreeing with his description of the Commonwealth being 'a sort of a club without rigid rules' and that he would be asked to give advice to Nigeria regarding its constitutional changes for independence during his visit.³²⁵ The *Rand Daily Mail* also only briefly mentioned Macmillan in an article regarding Balewa's negative comments about South Africa's racial policies, saying that he took a swipe at another member of the Commonwealth only hours after presenting Mr. Macmillan to the Nigerian parliament.³²⁶ *Die Transvaler* referred to Macmillan in passing in an article that also reported that Balewa had said that South Africa would have to leave the Commonwealth if its racial policy was not amended.³²⁷ *Die Vaderland* and the *Rand Daily Mail* however mentioned that Macmillan had indicated that if he had anything to say about apartheid, it would be said within the Union of South Africa.³²⁸ This happened during the proceedings of a press conference, and the *Rand Daily Mail* specifically stated that Macmillan's response was that it was not in the nature of the Commonwealth to discuss the internal affairs of other Commonwealth countries.³²⁹

Two newspapers reported on a protest that had occurred during Macmillan's visit to Nigeria. *Die Vaderland* reported that Macmillan's hearty welcome upon arrival in the city was not experienced when he visited a University in Ibadan. Here students stood with banners which apparently called for the release of Hastings Banda from prison, and the "native" students apparently shouted "freedom" repeatedly. The report ended by mentioning that a student organization had requested that action be taken against the apartheid policy of South Africa.³³⁰ *The Star* also reported on the 300 students and their placards asking for the release of Banda and the expulsion of South Africa from

³²⁵ Anonym, "South Africa should mend ways- or leave Commonwealth", *The Star*, 1960-01-13, p. 1.

³²⁶ Anonym, "Nigeria does not want union of African states", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-14, p. 9.

³²⁷ Anonym, "SA moet uit Statebond, sê Nigerië", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-14, p. 8.

³²⁸ Anonym, "Koel ontvangs vir Mac verwag in Nigerië", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-11, p. 9.

³²⁹ Anonym, "U.K. policy is to save peace", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-14, p. 9.

³³⁰ Anonym, "Mac moes behoorlik koes", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-15, p. 3.

the Commonwealth.³³¹ The inclusion or exclusion of these negative feelings towards South Africa was thus not specifically reserved for the English or Afrikaans newspapers.

The Star newspaper briefly mentioned that Macmillan had a meeting with the Sarduana of Sokoto in the Northern Muslim regions of Nigeria.³³² It also found it newsworthy to mention that Macmillan had turned down an opportunity to visit the Ikoyi Club in Lagos and rather decided to go to the Island Club. The Ikoyi Club was a predominantly European club, whereas the Island Club had a mainly African membership. The article also mentioned that Macmillan had visited an African woman who had received a new house and described how they had strolled hand-in-hand through her garden as he examined the re-housing scheme.³³³ It was mostly the English newspapers that reported on this type of multi-racial interaction. Interestingly *Die Burger* and the *Sunday Times* did not report about anything regarding Macmillan's trip to Nigeria.

The news reports on the two northern African territories, Ghana and Nigeria, were not as rigorous and detailed as those regarding the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. One possible explanation was that it was probably much more difficult to send a South African reporter to west Africa, than to the Federation. In addition, as will be further explained, the political proximity also explains this discrepancy and keen interest that the newspapers showed towards Macmillan's visit to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

4.4 MACMILLAN IN THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

Macmillan's trip to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (from here on referred to as the Federation) was of much more importance to South Africans in general. This was not only because it was closer to the Union geographically, but also because it was

³³¹ Anonym, "Nigeria sees Macmillan on television", *The Star*, 1960-01-15, p. 17.

³³² Anonym, "Mr. Mac meets the Sarduana", *The Star*, 1960-01-16, p. 1.

³³³ Anonym, "Macmillan turns down snob club to meet "people", *The Star*, 1960-01-13, p. 4.

closer in political style and faced similar challenges. For one, the Federation also had a large number of white citizens. Shillington argues that the settlers in areas such as Southern Rhodesia “dominated the African majority with South-African-style segregationist legislation”.³³⁴ In order to secure their position, the settlers suggested that a federation be formed between Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, since they would not tolerate an amalgamation of these territories. Regardless of the vehement protest by African leaders against this, the Federation came into being in 1953. Protest against the Federation was inevitable. The increasing African nationalism also led to intensified fears and a state of emergency was declared in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1959. Several anti-federation leaders and nationalist leaders were detained, amongst them Dr. Hastings Banda. An inquiry into the emergency situation and the use of police force did much to undermine the credibility of the Federation’s leadership.³³⁵ Already upon the establishment of the Federation there had been talks about examining the plausibility of the Federation, and in 1959 the Monckton Commission was tasked with such an investigation. The Commission was initially supposed to be administrative in its inquiry, but because of the rising political consciousness and protest, also had to consider these issues.³³⁶ It is in the aftermath of these circumstances that Macmillan would visit the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from 18 to 26 January 1960. On some occasions comments made by Macmillan challenged the purpose of the anticipated report from the Monckton Commission, which would also have to make recommendations regarding the future of the Federation. This created some confusion amongst those who were influenced by these events, specifically Roy Welensky, the then Prime Minister of the Federation.³³⁷

There was one very controversial aspect that occurred during Macmillan’s visit to Nigeria that was not reported on by any of the selected newspapers when it happened.

³³⁴ K. Shillington, *History of Africa*, p. 400.

³³⁵ J.D. Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa*, pp. 166-167.

³³⁶ Anonym, “The Monckton Commission”, *The Tablet*, 1959-11-28, p. 2; A. Cohen, “Voice and Vision”-The federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland’s public relations campaign in Britain: 1960-1963, *Historia* 54(2), 2009, p. 118.

³³⁷ Anonym, “Roy v. Mac in stormy talks tomorrow”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-17, pp. 1 & 20.

During a press conference in Lagos on 13 January, Macmillan made a statement which was interpreted by different parties in various ways. The newspapers would however only comment on this statement shortly before Macmillan's arrival in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Welensky was very anxious for Macmillan to explain the statement which appeared to claim that the "people of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would decide whether or not they wished to stay in the Federation".³³⁸ The *Rand Daily Mail* was one the first to report on the statement that Macmillan had made in Lagos. One article commented on how Macmillan was being praised for his "Nyasa pledge" and the statements that he had made on the territory's future. It stated that "his words will not be lost to the people of Central Africa".³³⁹ The *Sunday Times* predicted that the talks between Welensky and Macmillan were likely to be "stormy" and claimed that Macmillan's statement in Lagos had been interpreted as a "major obstacle" in terms of the planned constitutional changes within the Federation.³⁴⁰

Die Vaderland published an article regarding the anticipation of Macmillan's arrival in the Federation, in light of his Lagos statement. Columnist Dirk Richard directly related this anticipation to white aspirations within the Federation referring to the "uncertainty and nervousness with which whites" were awaiting his arrival.³⁴¹ He mentioned that the whites in Southern Rhodesia were looking to Macmillan in order to get some certainty regarding the future of their existence in Africa. The reporter used this situation as part of the general discussion regarding white societies in Africa by saying that "the feeling is strong that there is currently much at stake for the white man".³⁴²

Dirk Richard published another article in *Die Vaderland* on the ambiguous statement entitled "Mac's indistinct statement raises concern" and further mentioned how whites in Rhodesia wanted surety about the Federation's future plans. Even though Macmillan's visit was probably of importance to citizens of all racial groups within the "uncertain bounds" of the Federation, this article referred the talks that Macmillan would have with

³³⁸ *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17267.

³³⁹ Anonym, "Macmillan praised on Nyasa pledge", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-18, p. 3.

³⁴⁰ Anonym, "Roy v. Mac in stormy talks tomorrow", *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-17, pp. 1 & 20.

³⁴¹ D. Richard, "Besorgde Federasie wag op Macmillan", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-18, p. 1.

³⁴² D. Richard, "Besorgde Federasie wag op Macmillan", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-18, p. 1.

leaders of the Federation as conversations “that held much importance for the Federation and its white citizens”.³⁴³ The concerns of the white citizens in Rhodesia were not limited to the Afrikaans press. John Worrall, representative for the *Rand Daily Mail* in the Federation reported that “dissatisfaction with the Federation is even spreading among whites”.³⁴⁴ The reporter was of the opinion that a reason for Macmillan’s visit to the Federation was so that he could understand the problem, “gauge the seriousness of the disease” of the opposition against the Federation and differentiate between fact and propaganda. Macmillan’s visit, he said, would be valuable to Rhodesia and that “he may be a calming influence”.³⁴⁵ The article was essentially pro-federation and stated that “even proof of the economic benefits of Federation cannot remove the fear of continued domination by “white” Southern Rhodesia”.³⁴⁶

The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that Macmillan’s planned speech in Salisbury would be boycotted by Africans. This was because the cinema theatre which would be used as a venue for the speech made by Macmillan would only be “multi-racial for one hour”.³⁴⁷ The Africans reportedly said that they would not participate in giving Macmillan a false impression that there were no racial barriers in Rhodesia.³⁴⁸ *Die Vaderland* and *Die Transvaler* also reported on this, the latter stating that members of a new “native organization” were insinuating that Macmillan would be given a false impression of the racial divisions in Rhodesia and Nyasaland.³⁴⁹ These racial frictions were thus well noted by different newspapers and both *Die Vaderland* and the *Sunday Times* pointed out that Macmillan’s visit to the Federation will be his “first glimpse of a multi-racial state with a dominant white minority”.³⁵⁰ On this point, *Die Vaderland* made the point that the

³⁴³ D. Richard, “Duistere uitlating van Mac wek sorg”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-19, p. 9.

³⁴⁴ J. Worrall, “More whites weigh in against Federation”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-18, p. 8.

³⁴⁵ J. Worrall, “More whites weigh in against Federation”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-18, p. 8.

³⁴⁶ J. Worrall, “More whites weigh in against Federation”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-18, p. 8.

³⁴⁷ Anonym, “Storm over Macmillan”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-14, p. 5.

³⁴⁸ Anonym, “Storm over Macmillan”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-14, p. 5.

³⁴⁹ D. Richard, “Duistere uitlating van Mac wek sorg”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-19, p. 9; Anonym, “Sê Macmillan kry rat voor oë”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-14, p. 5.

³⁵⁰ Anonym, “Mr. And Mrs. Macafrica”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-17, p. 20.

white man in Africa was the only thing keeping Africa from being lost in the struggle against communism.³⁵¹

These racial tensions also showed themselves upon Macmillan's arrival in the Federation. *The Star* reported that Macmillan had received a lively welcome "when angry Europeans fought with Native demonstrators at the airport".³⁵² According to this newspaper a crowd of people "mobbed Mr. Macmillan's car" and the reporter vividly described the scuffle that took place between the black protestors and white people present.³⁵³ *The Star* would on occasion report on events in a more sensational way or with more dramatic word use than the other newspapers. *Die Vaderland* also reported that his arrival in the Federation was apparently not met with much enthusiasm. The reporter mentioned "non-whites" holding various protest banners at the airport when Macmillan arrived, as well as two whites seizing and tearing up one of the banners. Five "Bantus" were reportedly involved in the incident. The reporter also mentioned how white and black all stood jumbled together at the airport.³⁵⁴ It is significant that this did not attract as much attention and debate as did the "cold" welcomes in the other countries. This might also have been because there was so much anticipation regarding the Lagos statement. *Die Transvaler* however reported that thousands of people cheered for the Macmillans as they arrived at Salisbury,³⁵⁵ as did the *Rand Daily Mail* which reported that a "Great Rhodesian Crowd" welcomed Macmillan upon his arrival and that "blacks and whites" waited at the airport for three hours. This reporter specifically mentioned that the crowd of more or less 1000 people was multiracial and that they greeted the Prime Minister with "tumultuous cheering".³⁵⁶ An article published on the same page mentioned the incident where "African Nationalist demonstrators" held up banners as Macmillan's car drove past, but that a group of "Europeans" seized

³⁵¹ D. Richard, "Besorgde Federasie wag op Macmillan", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-18, p. 1.

³⁵² Anonym, "Premier gets down to business", *The Star*, 1960-01-19, p. 1.

³⁵³ Anonym, "Premier gets down to business", *The Star*, 1960-01-19, p. 1.

³⁵⁴ D. Richard, "Duistere uitlating van Mac wek sorg", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-19, p. 9.

³⁵⁵ Anonym, "Macmillan in Federasie", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-19, p. 1.

³⁵⁶ Anonym, "Great Rhodesian crowd welcomes Macmillan", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-19, p. 9.

the banners from the “Africans” and tore them up. Through all this, the reporter said, “Mr. Macmillan smiled at the incident”.³⁵⁷

By the time Macmillan was to give his speech in Salisbury, more than enough time had passed since the press conference in Lagos for him to revisit his original statement. He then quoted his original words, as they had been tape recorded in Lagos and declared that the point was that Britain would not remove its support from any of the territories until they were able to attain full independence and when all the people had agreed to it. Shortly after Macmillan had given his speech *The Star* reported that Macmillan gave assurance to the Nyasa people and claimed that his Lagos statement had been “misunderstood”. The assurance is that the Nyasa people would have British protection “until they are ready”, regardless of what the Monckton Commission’s findings and recommendations might be.³⁵⁸ He was also quoted as saying that he hopes for “good relations” between the Federation and Britain and that the Federation “with the full consent of the peoples of all its three territories will add its strength and influence to our Commonwealth association”.³⁵⁹ This interpretation of the speech dominated the articles in *The Star* on 19 January. Another article summarised Macmillan’s Salisbury speech as having calmed the fears of the “natives” that they would be forced into a situation in which they would lose British protection. They would not however be allowed to leave the Federation. This delay in independence for any of the territories in the Federation, according to the columnist, meant that “a breathing space will have its advantages in encouraging wiser counsels and ushering in a sorely needed period of reflection and stability”.³⁶⁰ *The Star* also reported that Macmillan had received a “tremendous ovation” and focused on the parts of the speech where Macmillan reminded the audience that the Federation was set up so that it would benefit all of those who lived within its borders. The article ended with a quote from Macmillan at the Salisbury meeting that if

³⁵⁷ Anonym, “U.K. premier sees scuffle at airport”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-19, p. 9.

³⁵⁸ Anonym, “Macmillan give assurance to Nyasa’s”, *The Star*, 1960-01-19, p. 1.

³⁵⁹ Anonym, “Macmillan give assurance to Nyasa’s”, *The Star*, 1960-01-19, p. 1.

³⁶⁰ Anonym, “Macmillan’s assurances”, *The Star*, 1960-01-20, p. 12.

the Federation was a success it would be “a new society which will serve as an example of pure and enduring partnership to all the world”.³⁶¹

One day after reporting that his Salisbury speech received a standing ovation, *The Star* said that the speech was in fact a “masterpiece of non-commitment” and that it had left both Rhodesians and Britons baffled. The subheading of this article stated that the speech had showed “Macmillan at his evasive, ambiguous best”.³⁶² This article quoted from various British newspapers regarding their opinions on the Salisbury speech. Some said that “if the Southern Rhodesians know where they stand after his... speech, they are better men than I am” and also described the speech as “a lot of words in which he said nothing”.³⁶³ On the other hand, the article quoted additional British newspapers as claiming that it was “a shallow appraisal and... wrong” to say that the speech was empty. These newspapers reasoned that Macmillan did in fact commit himself to several aspects of the Federation’s future during his speech.³⁶⁴

The *Rand Daily Mail* presented another interpretation of the speech and stated that Welensky sat “beaming” as Macmillan announced that “the Federation would continue with the full support of the British government”.³⁶⁵ Macmillan apparently made it clear in his speech that the purpose of the enquiry of the Monckton Commission was not to destroy the Federation. The article also mentioned that Welensky declared that “the people of the Federation, both black and white, and they alone” would be able to solve their problems. The reporter also pointed out that almost no Africans were present during this particular assembly because of a boycott against the use of a venue that was usually racially exclusive.³⁶⁶

In an article entitled “Cautious” the *Rand Daily Mail* again commented on the different meanings the speech could have had for the different citizens by stating that the assurance from Macmillan of British support for the Federation would be “comforting to

³⁶¹ Anonym, “Break-up ‘would be treachery’”, *The Star*, 1960-01-19, p. 1.

³⁶² Anonym, “Speech ‘A masterpiece of non-commitment’”, *The Star*, 1960-01-20, p. 1.

³⁶³ Anonym, “Speech ‘A masterpiece of non-commitment’”, *The Star*, 1960-01-20, p. 1.

³⁶⁴ Anonym, “Speech ‘A masterpiece of non-commitment’”, *The Star*, 1960-01-20, p. 1.

³⁶⁵ Anonym, “Sir Roy beams as Macmillan makes his promise”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-20, p. 9.

³⁶⁶ Anonym, “Sir Roy beams as Macmillan makes his promise”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-20, p. 9.

some of the Europeans... and to almost none of the Africans”.³⁶⁷ It noted that Macmillan said Britain would continue support “as long as the people desired it”, but that the absence of Africans at this event, as well as the actions of the African nationalists, made it clear that they “do not desire federation”.³⁶⁸ The reporter noted that although reports said that Welensky sat smiling during the talk, Macmillan’s statement was very open-ended and could very well lead to the succession of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland “the moment they think they can stand on their own feet”.³⁶⁹ The most noteworthy aspect of the reporting on the Salisbury speech was that the “assurance” that Macmillan gave was perceived as ambiguous. Newspapers could thus have reported on whether it was good for Africans or for the white citizens. Neither *Die Transvaler* nor *Die Vaderland*, which were concerned with the future of the white population in Rhodesia, reported on the Salisbury speech at all.

On 21 January 1960 *The Star* published a photograph on the front page showing Harold Macmillan and Lady Dorothy boarding a plane for their trip to Lusaka.³⁷⁰ On the same day an event occurred in South Africa that would divert a great deal of media attention away from the focus on Macmillan. A section of a mine in Clydesdale, close to Coalbrook, had collapsed and subsequently trapped almost 440 men underground.³⁷¹ The Coalbrook mine disaster was described as one of the “worst mine disasters” in South African history.³⁷² Only on 1 February would workers be able to drill a hole deep enough to reach the section where the men were presumably trapped. On 4 February it was confirmed that there had been no survivors during the incident.³⁷³ It is needless to say that the days between 21 January and 4 February were filled with tension and received much media attention. During this time on many occasions the front pages of the newspapers were shared between Macmillan and the Coalbrook disaster.

³⁶⁷ Anonym, “Cautious”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-21, p. 8.

³⁶⁸ Anonym, “Cautious”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-21, p. 8.

³⁶⁹ Anonym, “Cautious”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-21, p. 8.

³⁷⁰ Anonym, “The Macmillan’s boarding plane”, *The Star*, 1960-01-21, p. 1.

³⁷¹ T. Cameron & S.B. Spies (eds.), *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, p. 286.

³⁷² T. Cameron & S.B. Spies (eds.), *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, p. 286.

³⁷³ *Keesing’s Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17313.

Macmillan's trip to Northern Rhodesia would however prove to be quite eventful and also attracted more media attention than might have been expected. During a trip to Ndola, a bomb was found in the basement of a hotel where Macmillan would be having lunch. An entry in *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* described it as a "crude gelignite bomb" that was of little threat to the Prime Minister who would be having lunch three floors above the room where it was discovered.³⁷⁴ Both *Die Vaderland* and *Die Transvaler* reported on the Ndola hotel bomb, giving detailed specifications but omitted to indicate that Macmillan was never in any danger.³⁷⁵ While *Die Vaderland* mentioned that the bomb was found by a "native", *Die Transvaler* chose to juxtaposition its report next to a paragraph on the demonstrations that took place outside the hotel.³⁷⁶ *Die Burger* on the other hand gave a detailed description of the bomb, but also mentioned that Macmillan was not "actually" in any danger.³⁷⁷ *Die Transvaler* later reported on the front page that the "bomb incident" as well as the Coalbrook mine disaster were two of the events that were most widely reported on in the press that day.³⁷⁸ In the same publication another lengthy article was published relating to the bomb incident. The article reported that three "natives" were stopped and questioned when they tried to enter a church in Livingstone where Macmillan would be attending a church service. When the men were not willing to open the briefcases that they were carrying for inspection, they turned around and left. According to the reporter security measures were increased after the discovery of the Ndola bomb. Here *Die Transvaler* gave more detail on the bomb in Ndola and mentioned that an employee of the hotel had found the bomb, but that police would have discovered it had he not come across it.³⁷⁹ The *Rand Daily Mail* reported similarly on this incident.³⁸⁰

Several newspapers reported that a crowd of people were protesting outside the hotel in Ndola and that Macmillan had apparently received a "cold welcome" elsewhere in

³⁷⁴ *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17268.

³⁷⁵ Anonym, "Bom ontdek by Macmillan se eetplek", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-23, p. 3.

³⁷⁶ Anonym, "Macmillan-toer: bom in hotel gevind", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-23, p. 7.

³⁷⁷ Anonym, "Gevaarlike bom in Macmillan Hotel gevind", *Die Burger*, 1960-01-23, p. 1; Anonym, "Macmillan-toer: bom in hotel gevind", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-23, p. 7.

³⁷⁸ Anonym, "Bom en mynramp groot nuus", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-25, p. 1.

³⁷⁹ Anonym, "Verdagtes voorgekeer by Macmillan", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-25, p. 7.

³⁸⁰ Anonym, "Macmillan: 3 men in church incident", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-25, p. 1.

Northern Rhodesia. *The Star* reported that Macmillan received a “cool reception” in the Northern Rhodesia towns upon his arrival and observers and members of the press had apparently remarked on the “half-hearted – almost indifferent atmosphere”.³⁸¹ The reporter stated that the “native” people came out of their houses to look at the convoy driving past, but that only the children cheered.³⁸² The *Rand Daily Mail* mentioned a crowd shouting “Africa” and “One man, one vote” when Macmillan arrived at Livingstone, but that he was given “a series of rousing cheers” after his interaction with the crowd.³⁸³ A counter picture of the “protests” appeared in *The Star* a few days later. This picture entitled “Natives greet Macmillan” showed a crowd of people holding up banners that displayed the words “African National Congress N.R – we welcome our minister”. The newspaper describes it as a dramatic picture of Macmillan’s arrival in Livingstone.³⁸⁴ The article ended by saying that upon his arrival in Livingstone he was met by a multi-racial crowd. It indicated that the “natives” in the crowd shouted “Africa” and “One man, one vote” but that they were not unfriendly.³⁸⁵

Die Transvaler commented on the bomb that was found in the Ndola hotel and mentioned that about 1000 people protested outside the hotel with banners asking “Where is your democracy?” and “Your friends shoot natives in cold blood”.³⁸⁶ According to *Die Burger* the biggest protest against Macmillan during his trip was in Ndola. The report stated that 1000 “Natives” were present and that their shouts for “freedom” overpowered the cheers of the “white crowd”. The “natives” also displayed posters that said “to hell with Welensky” and “Where is your democracy?”.³⁸⁷ *The Star* also reported on the demonstrations outside the hotel in Ndola. Here it was estimated that a crowd of 500 “natives” “many of them whom appeared to be drunk” shouted outside the hotel where Macmillan was having lunch. The report further explained how

³⁸¹ Anonym, “N.R. town gives Macmillan cool reception”, *The Star*, 1960-01-22, p. 9.

³⁸² Anonym, “N.R. town gives Macmillan cool reception”, *The Star*, 1960-01-22, p. 9.

³⁸³ Anonym, “Macmillan: 3 men in church incident”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-25, p. 1.

³⁸⁴ Anonym, “Natives greet Macmillan”, *The Star*, 1960-01-25, p. 3.

³⁸⁵ Anonym, “Verdagtes voorgekeer by Macmillan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-25, p. 7.

³⁸⁶ Anonym, “Macmillan-toer: bom in hotel gevind”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-23, p. 7.

³⁸⁷ Anonym, “Gevaarlike bom in Macmillan Hotel gevind”, *Die Burger*, 1960-01-23, p. 1.

continued booing and whistling led to some of the “ringleaders” being taken away by the police, but no indication of what the demonstration was about was given.³⁸⁸

Die Transvaler and the *Rand Daily Mail* reported on the “protests” during the last stretch of Macmillan’s trip to the Federation. In an article entitled “Hostile black crowd tell Macmillan off”, *Die Transvaler* reported on the “non-white” crowd that was present upon Macmillan’s arrival in Blantyre and commented that it was the most hostile crowd to date to meet Macmillan during his tour. The crowd responded to the police presence by telling reporters that this was proof that they were living in a “police state”. The banners that the crowd held up reportedly said “To the hot place with the Federation” (actually “to hell with the Federation”) and “Africa must be free now”.³⁸⁹ The *Rand Daily Mail* similarly reported on the “hostile nationalist demonstration” in Blantyre, with people displaying placards that said “to hell with the Federation” and “Africa must be free now”.³⁹⁰

At this point *Die Vaderland* published an article that summarized all of the political protests that Macmillan had to endure during his tour through Africa and made mention of the protests in the Federation. A student protest in Northern Rhodesia was labelled as the second-largest during Macmillan’s tour of Africa. The protest in front of the Savoy Hotel was described as “natives” expressing their dissatisfaction with both the “Federation and the white man” by displaying banners that read “Is bloodshed the answer to democracy?” and “We want secession”.³⁹¹ The reporter commented that the protests were weak at the beginning, but grew in size as the party travelled further into “dark Africa”. Mention was also made of “native women” in Lusaka holding a banner asking Macmillan to “save us from white suppression”.³⁹² To summarize, the reporter claimed that the presence of big white banners amongst coal black faces would be a familiar sight for Macmillan.³⁹³ At this time the *Rand Daily Mail* also published a

³⁸⁸ Anonym, “Demonstration as Macmillan lunches: over 50 arrests”, *The Star*, 1960-01-26, p. 3.

³⁸⁹ Anonym, “Vyandige swart skare jou Macmillan uit”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-26, p. 3.

³⁹⁰ Anonym, “Mr. Macmillan wins over N.R. tribal leaders”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-26, p. 9.

³⁹¹ Anonym, “Macmillan sal geen vreemde gesig sien”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-23, pp. 1 & 3.

³⁹² Anonym, “Macmillan sal geen vreemde gesig sien”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-23, pp. 1 & 3.

³⁹³ Anonym, “Macmillan sal geen vreemde gesig sien”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-23, pp. 1 & 3.

reflection on the protests during Macmillan's tour, stating that even though there had been some demonstrations during the tour, they were "largely good natured". The crowds at Ndola were reported to be "smiling broadly" while hoisting their placards, which lead the reporter to believe that the demonstrations were directed at Welensky, and not at Macmillan. The bomb found in the hotel at Ndola was, according to the reporter, also just a stunt to attract attention as a "foolish form" of demonstration against the authorities.³⁹⁴

On the last day of Macmillan's visit to the Federation, Richard wrote an article in *Die Vaderland* about Macmillan's time in the Federation. He mentioned that he could not believe that the beautiful country of Rhodesia could cause the amount of controversy that seemed to be leading to the decline of the white man's existence in the area. The full force of black nationalism, he said, had already showed itself during the tour.³⁹⁵ Richard said that during a conference regarding the future of the Federation, the black representatives had "already" outnumbered the white representatives. He quoted one of the white speakers at the conference as saying that it would take the next ten years to teach those "who are only one step removed from dark Africa"³⁹⁶ and prepare them for independence, to which the response of the black representatives was that they wanted independence immediately. The reporter also mentioned that various black leaders of local organizations were happy that Macmillan listened to what they had to say and that they were sure that secession would be granted soon.³⁹⁷

The Star reported that Macmillan had the "Federation in a quandary".³⁹⁸ The report stated that there was still some uncertainty about the future of the Federation and its various territories and that they would hopefully be answered at a press conference that Macmillan would be having that evening. The majority of the article focused on the possibilities of what would happen if the Federation were to break up. The one option,

³⁹⁴ Anonym, "Macmillan on tour", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-25, p. 8.

³⁹⁵ D. Richard, "Njassaland moet summier onafhanklik word", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-26, p. 2.

³⁹⁶ D. Richard, "Njassaland moet summier onafhanklik word", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-26, p. 2.

³⁹⁷ D. Richard, "Njassaland moet summier onafhanklik word", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-26, p. 2.

³⁹⁸ Anonym, "Macmillanism" has Federation in a quandary", *The Star*, 1960-01-26, p. 11.

according to the reporter, would be “some kind of tie-up with South Africa”.³⁹⁹ That option, the article claimed, would probably only be on the Union’s terms such as establishing Afrikaans as a second language, implementing its racial policy and establishing some areas of Rhodesia as “Native reserves”.⁴⁰⁰ The reporter further implied that the Union government would not dare to jeopardize its political victories and would therefore implement some sort of ‘representative voting’ if it were granted political control over another territory. The alternative, according to the reporter, would be that un-federated Southern Rhodesia would have to rely on its own farmlands, but that “going it alone” did not seem like a very viable option. The article ended by saying that Macmillan must have been aware of how unlikely it was that Northern and Southern Rhodesia would split up.⁴⁰¹

The *Rand Daily Mail*, however, ended its reporting on Macmillan’s trip to the Federation on a seemingly positive note by reporting that Macmillan had won over the tribal leaders of Northern Rhodesia.⁴⁰² His appeal that they should not boycott the Monckton Commission had apparently worked when he received word that they would in fact advise their people to speak before the Commission. The reporter pointed out that this did not at all imply a change of heart about their feelings towards the Federation.⁴⁰³

Through the course of Macmillan’s tour, there was a definite increase in the focus on racial frictions and protests. As Macmillan’s trip neared the Union of South Africa, both English and Afrikaans newspapers started specifically noting the differences in the framework of different African societies. Already upon his arrival in the Federation, white-black relations and minority control were alluded to in the newspapers. In light of the international attention that Macmillan’s tour brought with it, South Africa could not afford a fiasco such as was portrayed in the newspapers regarding his visit to the Federation. Up to this point, *Die Transvaler*, the so-called mouthpiece of the NP, had been rather limited in its reporting on Macmillan. *Die Vaderland* had already fervently

³⁹⁹ Anonym, “Macmillanism” has Federation in a quandary”, *The Star*, 1960-01-26, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁰ Anonym, “Macmillanism” has Federation in a quandary”, *The Star*, 1960-01-26, p. 11.

⁴⁰¹ Anonym, “Macmillanism” has Federation in a quandary”, *The Star*, 1960-01-26, p. 11.

⁴⁰² Anonym, “Mr. Macmillan wins over N.R. tribal leaders”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-26, p. 9.

⁴⁰³ Anonym, “Mr. Macmillan wins over N.R. tribal leaders”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-26, p. 9.

started its campaign for the future survival of the white man on the African continent, which came into stark contrast with the *Rand Daily Mail's* continuous attempt to lift out the peaceful multiracial aspects of societies in Africa. In general, *The Star* showed a willingness to report anything that might have been left out by other newspapers, even if this meant contradicting its own reports on the following day. With Macmillan's visit to the Union of South Africa, these patterns might not have stayed the same. Even though not all of these reporters and editors supported the NP, South Africa was still in their eyes "their country" and separable from the government that ruled it. Needless to say, all eyes would have been on Macmillan as he started his "non-political, yet unavoidably so" tour of the Union of South Africa - "home" to the newspapermen who would report on his visit.

CHAPTER 5: MACMILLAN IN SOUTH AFRICA

This chapter will present an analysis of the press reports during the time that Macmillan spent in South Africa. Because there was so much written in the press, analysis will only be done on articles where some sort of political commentary or interpretation is made. Articles reporting on the tea parties and banquets that the Macmillans attended will not be considered.

As was apparent in the history of South Africa as discussed in Chapter 3, by 1960 apartheid had become an internationally recognized and contentious concept. Within British society several groups had started planning a boycott against South Africa, proposed to start in March 1960. The British Labour Party was particularly supportive of the boycott, although the boycott movement was met with some resistance within the United Kingdom itself. It had however enough support to be taken seriously by South African officials and several leaders in South Africa warned of the impact that it might have and that it could result in a counter boycott.⁴⁰⁴ Nonetheless the threat of a boycott on an international level posed a serious risk to South Africa. These uncertain circumstances thus created the backdrop against which Macmillan arrived in South Africa.

5.1 MACMILLAN PRIOR TO THE “WIND OF CHANGE” SPEECH

As indicated during his travels in Africa, the South African press had already anticipated Macmillan’s time in South Africa. Almost all of the newspapers reported on the tour itinerary when it was released, or reported on aspects of the preparations for Macmillan’s visit. Reports during Macmillan’s tour also stated that he would be able to talk with De Villiers Graaff of the United Party and Jan Steytler of the Progressive Party while he was in the Union. It was mentioned that this was a private offer made by

⁴⁰⁴ *Keesing’s Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17276.

Verwoerd and because of Macmillan's hectic schedule "it has not been possible for him to meet the parliamentary representatives of the coloured people and the natives".⁴⁰⁵ *Die Transvaler* briefly commented on this arrangement,⁴⁰⁶ as did *Die Vaderland* under the heading "Graaff and Steytler will have talks with Brit",⁴⁰⁷ yet they omitted to refer to the fact that he would not be seeing other representatives. The political aspects and implications also attracted attention. *Die Vaderland* and *Die Transvaler* specifically drew attention to the fact that Macmillan had been aware of the NP's republican ideals prior to his trip and that his visit was "one of the greatest acts of goodwill" towards South Africa.⁴⁰⁸

This "act of goodwill" by Macmillan was further established by reports on his attitude towards South Africa. *The Star* and *Die Transvaler* reported on the fact that Macmillan had said that he did not want to comment on South Africa's laws outside of the Union, if he did in fact have something to say. This was when he was asked about South Africa during a press conference on his tour.⁴⁰⁹ *The Star* reported that these conference reporters were "trying to get him to attack South Africa, but that he would not say anything outside of the Union".⁴¹⁰ To this effect *The Star* also reported on the international pressures placed on Macmillan to say something against South Africa's racial policies. In a column called "An Afrikaner's diary" published in *The Star*, the author commented that judging from the way some people thought Britain could have an influence in South Africa, it appeared that they believed South Africa was still a British colony. He stated that politicians should not tell others how to run their countries and that Verwoerd would take offence "should Macmillan criticize our policies"(emphasis added).⁴¹¹ Yet a reader's letter in *The Star* also pointed out that "Mr.

⁴⁰⁵ Anonym, "Graaff and Steytler to have private talks with Macmillan", *The Star*, 1960-01-25, p. 1.

⁴⁰⁶ Anonym, "Opposisieleiers sal Macmillan kan ontmoet", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-26, p. 5.

⁴⁰⁷ Anonym, "Graaf en Steytler sal met Brit gesels", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-26, p. 9.

⁴⁰⁸ Anonym, "So sal Republiek tot stand kom", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-21, p. 4; Anonym, "Macmillan weet al van plan", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-21, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁹ Anonym, "Apartheid- Macmillan wil niks daarvoor buite SA sê nie", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-11, p. 1.

⁴¹⁰ Anonym, "No controversy- Macmillan refuses to attack Union", *The Star*, 1960-01-11, p. 13.

⁴¹¹ J. Burger, "Busybodies who think South Africa is still a British colony", *The Star*, 1960-01-13, p. 13.

Macmillan is not coming here unacquainted with the hurtful laws which have been passed in the 11 years our present law givers have been in power”.⁴¹²

The significance of the British Prime Minister’s tour was noted by *Die Burger* and the *Rand Daily Mail*. *Die Burger* briefly mentioned that Macmillan’s visit was regarded as one of the events occurring in 1960 that would put the “searchlight on South Africa”.⁴¹³ The *Rand Daily Mail* noted the more serious implications of his visit and mentioned that this would be “Macmillan’s biggest test” since “one mention of apartheid ‘might start a crisis’”. This article predicted that an “awkward and delicate” task awaited him in the Union specifically in light of the planned boycott. The reporter quoted several anti-apartheid remarks that had been published in British newspapers and said that because of these opinions a “tricky situation” had been created.⁴¹⁴ The article also stated that Macmillan could not have stayed away from the Union during his trip to the continent, since this exclusion would also have caused an awkward situation.⁴¹⁵ The newspapers did not however seem too concerned about the possibility of Macmillan’s visit resulting in an awkward situation, and heartily welcomed the Prime Minister in their news reports on his arrival.

5.2 ARRIVAL AND FIRST DAYS IN THE UNION

In welcoming Macmillan, *Die Vaderland* published a cartoon about the event (Figure 3). The cartoon showed South Africa, represented as a young Afrikaans “voortrekker” lady, waving and saying ‘welcome’ to Macmillan.⁴¹⁶ *Die Transvaler* published a similar cartoon (Figure 4) where South Africa was represented by a young Afrikaner “voortrekker” lady saying to Macmillan: “Make yourself at home Mac, and please look

⁴¹² B. Simmonds, “Mr. Macmillan’s visit”, *The Star*, 1960-01-07, p. 6.

⁴¹³ Anonym, “The searchlight on South Africa”, *Die Burger*, 1960-01-09, p. 6.

⁴¹⁴ Anonym, “Macmillan’s biggest test”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-06, p. 9.

⁴¹⁵ Anonym, “Macmillan’s biggest test”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-06, p. 9.

⁴¹⁶ Anonym, “Macmillan se aankoms”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-27, p. 11.

around for yourself.” This might have been tongue-in-cheek to insinuate that Macmillan was “free” to look around, since the Union had nothing to hide.⁴¹⁷

The Star also published a set of photographs of Macmillan’s arrival. The subheading suggests that his attitude seemed to be “Here I am. Glad to be with you”.⁴¹⁸ Published next to the photographs was a report on his arrival. A section of the article, printed in large print, drew attention to the “Applause- and a Union Jack” upon his arrival. Besides the description of the proceedings at the airport, mention was made that a “Union Jack was waved vigorously by someone on the balcony” and that there were several shouts of “Good old Mac”.⁴¹⁹ A cartoon (Figure 5) in the *Rand Daily Mail* depicted Macmillan walking on “the red carpet of South Africa”. Crowds of people were pictured in the background and a large Union Jack could be seen being waved by someone in the crowd.⁴²⁰ *Die Transvaler* reported that upon his arrival at Libertas, where Macmillan would be residing, “Six elderly ladies were waving a large Union Jack” and shouted “This is our flag” but the reporter pointed out that “they are suspected members of UNESSA” (United English Speaking South Africans).⁴²¹ This imagery of the Union Jack was reported on in various newspapers. The English newspapers seem to have reported on this aspect more often, with the Afrikaans newspapers seemingly underplaying this aspect, if it was mentioned at all.

Die Transvaler also reported that crowds of people gathered at various points along the way to see Macmillan.⁴²² The *Rand Daily Mail* commented that “Mr. Macmillan had the crowd of well over 2,000 under the spell of his undoubted charm”.⁴²³ In line with this, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported that the actions of Macmillan, “a man of tact”, thus far spoke of “charm, courtesy and above all discretion”.⁴²⁴ The article stated that Macmillan was in Africa in the role of the “observer” and as a “guest” of the Union government and might

⁴¹⁷ Anonym, “Die besoeker kom aan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-27, p. 2.

⁴¹⁸ Anonym, “Mr. Macmillan arrives”, *The Star*, 1960-01-27, p. 1.

⁴¹⁹ Anonym, “Macmillans land at airport- early”, *The Star*, 1960-01-27, p. 1.

⁴²⁰ B. Conolly, “The Big Walk”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-29, p. 10.

⁴²¹ Anonym, “Alles vlot met Brit se aankoms in SA”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28, p. 7.

⁴²² Anonym, “Alles vlot met Brit se aankoms in SA”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28, p. 7.

⁴²³ Anonym, “The first few hectic hours of an historic occasion”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-28, p. 3.

⁴²⁴ Anonym, “Man of tact”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-29, p. 10.

not say anything that could upset the relations between the Union and Britain.⁴²⁵ In terms of British–South African relations, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported that “shouts of ‘Good old Mac’ greeted his references to the Commonwealth”. The reporter quoted Macmillan as saying that the Commonwealth was based on “a deep mutual understanding of people of different races, needs and traditions”.⁴²⁶

Other newspapers, although not specifically focusing on the Commonwealth, did make clear the international attention and commentary that would follow Macmillan’s visit to the Union. This made various newspapers speculate what Macmillan and Verwoerd would be discussing during their private conversations. An article published in *Die Transvaler* speculated what the two statesmen might discuss during their talks. The article mentioned that Macmillan’s trip to the Union of South Africa would mean a journey to a country that had to deal with “an organized and malicious campaign of misrepresentation in foreign countries”⁴²⁷ but that Macmillan had luckily not opened himself to the calls of those who had urged him to speak against South Africa. The reporter also stated that Macmillan would have ample opportunity to observe the “racial problems” during his visits to certain neighbourhoods within South Africa.⁴²⁸

The Star stated that there was one difference in South Africa relating to African nationalism and that was that South Africans had the “unfettered freedom and responsibility to shape their own destinies and to find their own solutions”.⁴²⁹ The reporter also claimed that no matter what Macmillan might think or say regarding South Africa, and even the future plans on becoming a republic, that “public opinion... is running strongly against South Africa”.⁴³⁰ On this occasion, *The Star* picked up on possible “awkward” consequences of the tour. A commentary article by J.P. Jordi stated that “Macmillan faces one of his toughest tasks” in the Union of South Africa. It asserted that Macmillan was visiting South Africa during a time when it had “never had it so bad”

⁴²⁵ Anonym, “Man of tact”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-29, p. 10.

⁴²⁶ Anonym, “Commonwealth praised”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-29, p. 1.

⁴²⁷ Anonym, “Mnr. Macmillan kom aan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-27, p. 6.

⁴²⁸ Anonym, “Mnr. Macmillan kom aan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-27, p. 6.

⁴²⁹ Anonym, “Distinguished visitor”, *The Star*, 1960-01-27, p. 14.

⁴³⁰ Anonym, “Distinguished visitor”, *The Star*, 1960-01-27, p. 14.

and that Macmillan was well aware of the complexities regarding the South African situation. He speculated that Macmillan must surely be looking over his shoulder during his visit to the Union to see how the British people were reacting. This, he wrote, was because they did not want their “National image to be tarnished by ‘awkward’ associations. And the South African one ranks high in awkwardness”.⁴³¹ The terminology used, was in reference to an earlier statement that Macmillan had made in 1957 that “most of our people have never had it so good”.⁴³² This statement was in reference to the flourishing British economy in 1957 and by using it in the article Jordi clearly juxtaposed the citizens of the two countries and their circumstances.

Because of the perceived “organized and malicious campaign of misrepresentation”, the South African government could not afford any “distortion” of the facts and disruptions such as that which Macmillan had endured during his trip to the Federation. Much media attention was thus given to possible protest actions. *The Star* reported that a party of demonstrators was not allowed to enter the premises of Jan Smuts Airport in order to attend Macmillan’s arrival.⁴³³ The *Rand Daily Mail* briefly mentioned a protest where African women held up “roughly worded” posters displaying slogans such as “Where is you pass, Baas Mac?”.⁴³⁴ Later the *Rand Daily Mail* mentioned that the ANC’s planned demonstrations for Macmillan’s arrival did not materialize.⁴³⁵ According to *Die Vaderland* and *Die Transvaler* there had been no incidents. *Die Transvaler* mentioned that there were no demonstrations by the ANC and that dozens of “white and non-white detectives” were present wherever Macmillan went during the first hours of his trip.⁴³⁶ Macmillan’s first day in the Union was reported on by *Die Vaderland* under the heading “First visit progresses quietly”, specifically making mention of the fact that there were no demonstrations during the course of the day.⁴³⁷ Both newspapers made

⁴³¹ J.P. Jordi, “Macmillan faces one of his toughest tasks”, *The Star*, 1960-01-27, p. 14.

⁴³² P. Baker, Review of *Never Had It So Good: A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* by Dominic Sandbrook, *Sunday Times* (UK), 2006-04-30, p. 48.

⁴³³ Anonym, “Macmillans land at airport- early”, *The Star*, 1960-01-27, p. 1.

⁴³⁴ Anonym, “Commonwealth praised”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-29, p. 1.

⁴³⁵ Anonym, “Lady ‘Mac’ may miss city drive”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-28, p. 1.

⁴³⁶ Anonym, “Alles vlot met Brit se aankoms in SA”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28, p. 7.

⁴³⁷ Anonym, “Eerste besoeke verloop stil”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-28, p. 5.

mention of the slogan “Republic Means Revolution” being painted on the road close to Jan Smuts Airport, but that it was painted over before Macmillan’s arrival.⁴³⁸

Some of the important issues that would frame much of Macmillan’s visit to South Africa came to the fore during the reportage on his first press conference by *The Star*, *Die Transvaler* and the *Rand Daily Mail*. *The Star* headlined its article “Mr. Macmillan makes a big impression at press talks”.⁴³⁹ It mentioned that he was asked about the future of the white race in Africa, to which he responded that he was not even sure if the future of humanity was safe in the world because it was a dangerous place.⁴⁴⁰ This was also the main question that *Die Transvaler* focused on and stated in a headline on the front page: “Question - Does the white man have a future in Africa? Entire world unsafe says Macmillan”.⁴⁴¹ Regarding this question, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported that Macmillan “tactfully sidestepped direct answers on controversial issues” and that he hoped to address the broader aspects of the future of the white man in Africa at a later stage.⁴⁴²

The aspect of the press conference that the *Rand Daily Mail* chose to focus on was regarding the Swaziland and Basutoland protectorates, reporting that Macmillan had said that the status of the protectorates would not be changed without prior consultation with the “inhabitants of the territories”.⁴⁴³ The reporter also touched on the question of talks with “non-whites” and said that “it was pointed out to Mr. Macmillan that leaders of the ANC and Liberal party were anxious to meet him”.⁴⁴⁴ *Die Transvaler* also briefly mentioned this aspect.⁴⁴⁵ With this statement it was already made apparent what Macmillan’s opinion regarding the protectorates was, even before his visit.

⁴³⁸ Anonym, “Alles vlot met Brit se aankoms in SA”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28, p. 7; Anonym, “Eerste besoeke verloop stil”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-28, p. 5.

⁴³⁹ Anonym, “Mr. Macmillan makes a big impression at press talks”, *The Star*, 1960-01-28, p. 17.

⁴⁴⁰ Anonym, “Mr. Macmillan makes a big impression at press talks”, *The Star*, 1960-01-28, p. 17.

⁴⁴¹ Anonym, “Hele wêreld is onveilig- Macmillan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28, p. 1.

⁴⁴² Anonym, “Macmillan is firm on protectorates issue”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-28, p. 1.

⁴⁴³ Anonym, “Macmillan is firm on protectorates issue”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-28, p. 1.

⁴⁴⁴ Anonym, “Macmillan is firm on protectorates issue”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-28, p. 1.

⁴⁴⁵ Anonym, “Hele wêreld is onveilig- Macmillan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28, p. 1.

From the start, the place of the white man in Africa, as well as the fact that South Africa was proving to be an embarrassment for Britain, according to some publications, came to the fore and would prove to be a recurring theme in the press until after Macmillan's departure.

5.3 VISITING THE PROTECTORATES: SWAZILAND & BASUTOLAND

Between 30 January and 1 February Macmillan paid a brief visit to Swaziland and Basutoland before heading to Cape Town.⁴⁴⁶ Prior to his visit to Swaziland, a reader's letter was published in *The Star* complaining that Macmillan's visit to Swaziland should have been in a more central place, and that Macmillan should have seen to it that the current South African public service officials in Swaziland were replaced with non-colonials.⁴⁴⁷ *The Star* also reported that the trip to Swaziland started with "Union Jacks fluttering from every available flagpole" and that thousands of school children would be present on the day, waving miniature Union Jacks. According to the reporter, the main concern with the visit was that the citizens of Swaziland would want to hear that Swaziland would not be handed over and incorporated into the Union.⁴⁴⁸ The *Sunday Times* reported that Macmillan was met by "prancing warriors" on his visit to Swaziland and said that these "prancing warriors" would be just as memorable as the calls that the people of Swaziland did not want to be incorporated into the Union of South Africa. What stands out from the article is the reporter's insistence on how dependant Swaziland was on British money. A photograph of Macmillan was also published where he could be seen holding a shield, a gift that he received from the Swazi people. The 5000 Swazi warriors were reported to be "chanting praises" for Macmillan.⁴⁴⁹

More press coverage was given to his visit to Basutoland, where an appeal was handed to Macmillan by the people of Basutoland. *Die Transvaler* reported that the main focus

⁴⁴⁶ *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17269.

⁴⁴⁷ Anonym, "Mr. Macmillan's visit to Swaziland", *The Star*, 1960-01-27, p. 8.

⁴⁴⁸ Anonym, "Swaziland ready with big welcome – and an appeal", *The Star*, 1960-01-29, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁹ Anonym, "Mac welcomed by prancing warriors", *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-31, p. 3.

of the petition was that a piece of land originally belonging to the Basotho people, but appropriated by the Boers at the end of the Second Anglo-Boer War, was to be given back to them. The petition also stated their concern about South Africa's plans to become a republic. *Die Transvaler's* disapproving opinion on the matter was clearly given in the title of the article, stating that the "Basothos want the Union's land".⁴⁵⁰ The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that the memorandum asked for a portion of land to be "returned" to Basutoland. The Basotho people also reportedly asked Macmillan to start negotiations before South Africa became a republic and claimed that the fear of South Africa becoming a republic had led to the rise of anti-South African feelings within the protectorate.⁴⁵¹ *The Star* stated that the key aspects of the memorandum were that the British representatives in the area seemed only interested in colonizing Basutoland and that South Africa's republican prospects were "very alarming indeed".⁴⁵² Important to note was that *Die Transvaler* called the document a petition, whereas the *Rand Daily Mail* and *The Star* referred to it as a memorandum. This was also in line with the opinion of *Die Transvaler* as was noted above.

5.4 MACMILLAN'S VISIT TO RURAL AREAS

As part of the planned tour itinerary, Macmillan visited some of the rural areas of South Africa. *The Star* asked: "Does the presence of British prime minister in one of South Africa's segregated tribal townships condone these policies?" The question was quoted as part of an article that appeared in the *Daily Express*, where the author, Rene MacColl mentioned that although some of these rural areas did not represent utopia, it was "preferable to the stench-ridden shanty towns" they had come to know upon visits to the rural areas in previous years. In this regard the reporter insinuated that the government had done much to improve the lifestyle of the people. *The Star* also reported that the *Daily Herald* had stated that Macmillan saw "a blot on South Africa", referring to his visit

⁴⁵⁰ Anonym, "Basoeto's wil van Unie se grond hê", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-02, p. 5.

⁴⁵¹ Anonym, "Basutoland asks for return of O.F.S 'corridor'", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-02, p. 9.

⁴⁵² Anonym, "Intrigue amid gay welcome to Macmillan", *The Star*, 1960-02-01, p. 3.

to a hospital ward where numerous children suffered from conditions related to malnutrition.⁴⁵³ *Die Transvaler* did not seem to be bothered with the question regarding Macmillan's presence in the townships and reported that Macmillan had visited Meadowlands, a "model residential town that was built by the government". Here "tens of thousands of natives" cheered for Macmillan. The reporter also mentioned that there were no demonstrators at Meadowlands because the ANC could get no support there, but that one poster was displayed that stated: "Apartheid will fail. Macmillan will not be able to help it".⁴⁵⁴ Numerous newspapers thus held the opinion that the government had "improved" the peoples' lifestyles by the building of houses and colleges.

Keesing's Contemporary Archives reported that on 29 January Macmillan visited the Turfloop area. Here he was installed as an "honorary paramount chief of all the African tribes in the Northern Transvaal".⁴⁵⁵ *Die Vaderland* described the paramount chief ceremony as one of the "most colourful events organized within South Africa for a white person".⁴⁵⁶ It was reported that Macmillan was named a "son" of the chiefs and that this was a great honour. The article also stated that things were not left to stagnate in this traditional way of life in these regions, and then referred to the college that had been recently constructed in the area by the government.⁴⁵⁷ *The Star* published a photograph of Macmillan, the "paramount chief", draped in a leopard skin.⁴⁵⁸ The accompanying article reported that he was paramount chief for the day "of all native tribes in the northern Transvaal" and that 10 000 "tribesmen" were present for the proceedings.⁴⁵⁹ A reader's letter, entitled "Big Chief at No. 10", suggested that Macmillan's paramount chief status should maybe not be "just for a day" and that he

⁴⁵³ Anonym, "'No utopia,' but Macmillan enjoyed his trip to Dube", *The Star*, 1960-01-29, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁴ Anonym, "Gelukkige bantoeskare ontvang Macmillan", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28, p.1.

⁴⁵⁵ *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17269.

⁴⁵⁶ Anonym, "'Skoonseun' van die stamme vereer", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-29, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁷ Anonym, "'Skoonseun' van die stamme vereer", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-29, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁸ Anonym, "Paramount chief Macmillan", *The Star*, 1960-01-29, p. 1.

⁴⁵⁹ Anonym, "Macmillan paramount chief for a day", *The Star*, 1960-01-29, p. 1.

might be a valuable asset when it came down to sorting out some of the “little local difficulties”.⁴⁶⁰

Die Transvaler chose to focus on another aspect of the event with an article entitled: “See for yourself- we don’t live in chains” British Prime Ministers hears out of Bantu-mouth”.⁴⁶¹ According to the reporter, the chief welcoming everyone to the event at Turfloop said that people assuming that “Bantu people” in South Africa lived in chains were wrong. The chief reportedly told Macmillan that he had now seen that they were moving toward self-government.⁴⁶² *Die Burger* also reported that “native chiefs” told Macmillan that the government was treating them well. The article mentioned the fact that Macmillan was declared as a honorary chief, but mainly focused on the fact that “Mac hears of good Government...” from one of the chiefs.⁴⁶³ *Die Transvaler* later reported its dissatisfaction with numerous newspapers, only making reference to the gifts that Macmillan received, but not mentioning the words of the chief that said they were “not living in chains”.⁴⁶⁴

A cartoon (Figure 6) relating to this event was published in the *Sunday Times* under the heading “Tourist attractions”. It depicted Macmillan taking a photograph of Verwoerd and Roy Welensky, both dressed in traditional Zulu clothing dancing the “Bantustan bop”.⁴⁶⁵ They appear to be trying hard to entertain Macmillan. The cartoon might be an insinuation that Macmillan would be receiving a one-sided view of the Union, with Verwoerd dancing around, posing as something he was not, in order to impress Macmillan. In this regard, all the interaction that Macmillan would have with African people, was organised by the Union, and thus also reflected what the Union wanted him to see.

⁴⁶⁰ Anonym, “Big Chief at No. 10”, *The Star*, 1960-01-30, p. 8.

⁴⁶¹ Anonym, “Britse premier hoor dit uit bantoe mond”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-30, p. 5.

⁴⁶² Anonym, “Britse premier hoor dit uit bantoe mond”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-30, p. 5.

⁴⁶³ Anonym, “Mac hoor van goeie regering en word opperhoof”, *Die Burger*, 1960-01-30, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁴ Anonym, “Macmillan is man met uithouvermoë”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-02, p. 7.

⁴⁶⁵ Anonym, “Tourist attractions”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-31, p. 2.

This also relates to Saul Dubow’s analysis that these specific events were “artificial” and “staged” and he describes them as an “exercise in Verwoerdian tribalism”.⁴⁶⁶

5.5 THE “TINGED TOUR” AND POLICE PRESENCE

Aligning with the interpretation of the cartoon mentioned above (Figure 6), several parties and newspapers reported on the fact that they thought Macmillan’s tour of the Union would be “tinged” or one-sided. The *Sunday Times* reported that Macmillan’s visit to Natal was only included in the programme because of “top-level pressure by the United Kingdom High Commissioner”. The trip to Natal lasted only 3.5 hours and the article stated that Macmillan “should have been given the opportunity of meeting non-Nationalists and learning their opinion”.⁴⁶⁷ A similar article in the *Rand Daily Mail* entitled “Blocking the view” commented on the little time that MacMillan was allotted to spend in the protectorates. It also commented on the fact that no arrangements had been made for Macmillan to “meet leaders of the recognized African political movements in South Africa” and that this added to the argument that he was getting a one-sided view of the Union.⁴⁶⁸ The *Rand Daily Mail* stated in a headline that “non-whites fear Macmillan bias” because he was only seeing one side of South Africa.⁴⁶⁹ The same article quoted an African leader as saying that they knew Macmillan would not be talking to “Africans” because “African opinion... is seldom consulted about anything”.⁴⁷⁰ The article had a footnote which mentioned that “no arrangements have been announced for Mr. Macmillan to meet non-white leaders”.⁴⁷¹ *Die Transvaler* retaliated to these reports by saying that they “clouded the goodwill” of the visit and referred specifically to the article from the *Natal Mercury* entitled “Today tinged visit”. The article stated rather cynically that some were not happy with the fact that nothing went wrong during his tour and that

⁴⁶⁶ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the ‘Wind of Change’ speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, p. 1093.

⁴⁶⁷ R. Rudden, “Nat. hands were forced, so Mac went to Natal”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-31, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁸ Anonym, “Blocking the view”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-01, p. 8.

⁴⁶⁹ Anonym, “Non-whites fear Macmillan bias”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-30, p. 9.

⁴⁷⁰ Anonym, “Non-whites fear Macmillan bias”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-30, p. 9.

⁴⁷¹ Anonym, “Non-whites fear Macmillan bias”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-30, p. 9.

they were just trying to gain political advantage from the situation.⁴⁷² Both the *Rand Daily Mail*⁴⁷³ and *Die Burger*⁴⁷⁴ reported that the Liberal Party wanted to meet Macmillan and that they hoped for an “inter-racial” meeting with him and that he would be able to meet the “non-white” leaders of South Africa. *Die Transvaler* again had an opposing view of the events and insinuated that Macmillan had “met people from all political parties” because he met some members of the Liberal Party, several ambassadors and the Anglican archbishop at a garden party.⁴⁷⁵

According to the *Sunday Times*, Macmillan had apparently complained about the police presence during his tour. They reported that the “complaint” that Macmillan had made during his tour of South Africa was: “Why are there so many police about?”⁴⁷⁶ The article also stated that Macmillan felt that the heavy police presence and secrecy regarding his travel route had prevented people from seeing and greeting him. The report explained that the police presence was increased to avoid something similar to the bomb incident during his trip to the Federation.⁴⁷⁷ *Die Transvaler* reported that according to a Sunday newspaper in Johannesburg, Macmillan wanted to know why there was such a heavy police presence, and had the plans not been kept secret, more people would have gathered to see him.⁴⁷⁸ According to *Die Vaderland* the British newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, had commented that Macmillan was also a victim of segregationist laws and policies due to the strict police presence and secrecy of his plans in South Africa.⁴⁷⁹ The *Rand Daily Mail*, rather than reporting on this, reflected on the situation by stating that “no South African wants to think of their country as a police state. Why do the authorities do their best to make it appear one?”⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷² Anonym, “Macmillan is man met uithouvermoë”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-01, p. 7.

⁴⁷³ Anonym, “Want to meet Macmillan”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-30, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁴ Anonym, “Liberale wil Macmillan spreek”, *Die Burger*, 1960-01-30, p. 9.

⁴⁷⁵ Anonym, “Macmillan ontmoet mense uit alle politieke partye”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-03, p. 7.

⁴⁷⁶ Anonym, “Mac complains about police”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-31, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁷ Anonym, “Mac complains about police”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-31, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁸ Anonym, “Macmillan wou van polisie weet”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-01, p. 7.

⁴⁷⁹ Anonym, “Statebond moet nou ‘n “statebont” word”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-02, p. 9.

⁴⁸⁰ Anonym, “Blocking the view”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-01, p. 8.

Because Macmillan had been a rather quiet observer at this point, *The Star* reported that according to the London *Daily Mail* “critics are anguished at the encouragement which Mr. Macmillan has seemed to give the Nationalist government”.⁴⁸¹ The *Rand Daily Mail* also reported that some people felt that the one-sided view that Macmillan was receiving indicated that “he is therefore supporting the side of apartheid”.⁴⁸² Various other critiques included that Macmillan was not being given a clear view of South Africa and that Macmillan’s response that he was a guest of the Union and had to follow its plans for the tour was just an “easy way out”.⁴⁸³ The *Rand Daily Mail* published a range of photographs of Macmillan’s trip through the Union. At the bottom of the page, a picture of an African women holding up a poster with the words “Monty closed his eyes, open yours Mac” was published. The heading given to this set of photographs said: “It’s a question of eyes. Are they open? ...or closed?”⁴⁸⁴

It is interesting to see that here *Die Transvaler* was the fervent supporter of the NP, when comments were made specifically regarding their government’s actions, whereas *Die Vaderland* did retaliate against those who insinuated that the tour was “one-sided”. In this regard, *The Star* was also rather reserved, but the *Rand Daily Mail* did not pass up the opportunity to speak of this prejudiced view that Macmillan was receiving in the Union.

5.6 GENERAL REFLECTION AND INTERACTIONS WITH VERWOERD

Shortly after Macmillan’s visit to Swaziland and Basutoland, he arrived in Cape Town where he would reside until his departure. Here he also met up with Prime Minister Verwoerd and numerous newspapers commented on the interactions that Macmillan and Verwoerd had with each other. A picture of the two statesmen shaking hands upon

⁴⁸¹ Anonym, “Macmillan rebuff for anti-Nats”, *The Star*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁸² Anonym, “Non-whites fear Macmillan bias”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-30, p. 9.

⁴⁸³ Anonym, “Macmillan rebuff for anti-Nats”, *The Star*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁴ Anonym, “The camera is still trained on this man of many parts”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-29, p. 8.

Macmillan's arrival in Cape Town was published in *Die Vaderland*.⁴⁸⁵ *Die Transvaler* also briefly reported on Macmillan's arrival in Cape Town⁴⁸⁶ but according to *The Star* Macmillan received a "wildly pro-British welcome" on his arrival in Cape Town. According to reports the crowd responded with calls of "Good old Mac" and that small Union Jacks could be seen in the crowd.⁴⁸⁷ The *Rand Daily Mail* also stated that the crowds cheered when Verwoerd claimed that this was a genuine friendship during his speech on the airport.⁴⁸⁸ *The Star* reporter cheekily noted the difference in appearance between the two Prime Ministers when they met at the airport, saying that Macmillan appeared "lean Edwardian, carelessly elegant in dress" and that Verwoerd was "stocky, precise and purposeful".⁴⁸⁹ One of the main concerns in the newspapers upon arrival was that Macmillan had said that he was specifically looking forward to the talks that he and Verwoerd would be having.⁴⁹⁰ *Die Vaderland* rhetorically asked "what they will talk about today"⁴⁹¹ while *The Star* speculated that they might discuss the protectorates and South Africa's republican status.⁴⁹²

Judging from the newspaper reports, the presence of "protesters" had increased since Macmillan's arrival in the Union of South Africa, and was thus also reported on in more detail. *Die Vaderland* mentioned that ANC members had displayed banners en-route from the airport which stated "Verwoerd supported Hitler" and "Equal rights for everyone".⁴⁹³ *The Star* described these protestors as "40 native women" and added the statement "Mac, visit Nyanga" to those displayed on the placards.⁴⁹⁴ The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that the placards displayed statements such as "Mac, we've never had it so bad".⁴⁹⁵ In line with this version of Macmillan's confrontation with the disapproval of South African circumstances, the *Rand Daily Mail* also published a picture of Macmillan

⁴⁸⁵ Anonym, "Waaroor gesels hulle vandag?", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁶ Anonym, "Macmillan kuier by Dr. Verwoerd", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁷ Anonym, "Wildly pro-British welcome at Cape", *The Star*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁸ Anonym, "Cape Town cheers Mr. Macmillan", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-02, p. 9.

⁴⁸⁹ Anonym, "Wildly pro-British welcome at Cape", *The Star*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁰ Anonym, "Macmillan kuier by Dr. Verwoerd", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁹¹ Anonym, "Waaroor gesels hulle vandag?", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁹² Anonym, "What Mr. Macmillan and Dr. Verwoerd will talk about", *The Star*, 1960-01-29, p. 25.

⁴⁹³ Anonym, "Waaroor gesels hulle vandag?", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁴ Anonym, "Wildly pro-British welcome at Cape", *The Star*, 1960-02-02, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁵ Anonym, "Cape Town cheers Mr. Macmillan", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-02, p. 9.

speaking to Archbishop Joost de Blank, an “outspoken critic of the government’s apartheid policy”.⁴⁹⁶ It is interesting to note that although various reporters quoted the protest posters, only on one or two occasions were photographs published of the protestors. This might be because of caution shown because of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

At this point during his tour of the Union, Macmillan had encountered several of the different viewpoints and difficulties within the Union. A cartoon relating to this was published in *The Star*. In this cartoon (Figure 7) Macmillan and Verwoerd are depicted walking through a South African town amongst numerous African people, and everywhere notice boards saying “Whites only” are visible. The subheading then satirically insinuates Verwoerd is busy saying to Macmillan: “One of the first differences you will notice between South Africa and the rest of Africa is that we have no Africans. That was my idea”.⁴⁹⁷ On this topic the *Sunday Times* posed the question what image of South Africa Macmillan would take with him. The reporter wondered if “the achievement of the white man and the benefits that have accrued to the non-European will not be overlooked”.⁴⁹⁸ This view that Macmillan would take with him already prompted self-reflection and commentary into the South African situation before the “wind of change” speech. A reader’s letter published in the *Rand Daily Mail* entitled “Macmillan will bring a clearer view” said that he must be saluted for his efforts in Africa and that “he will bring a clearer view to our own government of what it should do to forge democratic freedom and unity in Africa”.⁴⁹⁹ The *Sunday Times* stated that the problems in South Africa would not be fixed by “facile theorizing either from the left or the right”. This article, which was critical of Verwoerd, insinuated that he would want to break connections with Britain, even though Macmillan was a “potential friend with immense power”. The reporter claimed that overlooking the benefits of a friendship with

⁴⁹⁶ Anonym, “Joost De Blank meets Premier”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁷ Anonym, “A tourist’s guide through south Africa”, *The Star*, 1960-01-29, p. 25.

⁴⁹⁸ Anonym, “A friend in need”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-31, p. 12.

⁴⁹⁹ C.M.F. Lang, “Macmillan will bring a clearer view”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-02, p. 4.

Macmillan was the “kind of cockeyed logic one can expect from our ardent republicans”.⁵⁰⁰

Because of the amount of criticism and pressure regarding what Macmillan should or should not say during his speech to the Union parliament on the eve of the historical speech, several opinions of what he might say had been in circulation. Initially upon his arrival, *Die Transvaler* had reported that Macmillan was bringing “a message of friendship” during his visit to South Africa.⁵⁰¹ The *Rand Daily Mail* had already compared Macmillan’s planned speech to both houses of the Union parliament to “walking on a tightrope” even before his arrival, but said that he was an “old hand at dealing with delicate situations”.⁵⁰² Just before the speech, this publication stated in a headline on the front page that “Macmillan will speak frankly” during his speech. The report stated that this speech would be “the most important of his African tour” and that it would be heard by over 200,000,000 people of which the majority would be “black”. The reporter said that the Afrikaner nationalists expect Macmillan not to say anything about apartheid because it was an internal affair.⁵⁰³ Dubow was of the opinion that most thought the speech would be in line with the Union’s 50th celebration, and although some newspapers also reflected on the speculation that he would not say anything overtly political, others did note that he would possibly be speaking frankly. In line with the “unexpectedness” of the content of Macmillan’s speech, the *Sunday Times* published a cartoon (Figure 8) entitled “In sheep’s clothing”. It depicted Macmillan as a wolf dressed in sheep’s clothing, walking across the African continent toward Verwoerd in the south of Africa.⁵⁰⁴ This insinuated that Macmillan, who was supposedly not on a political tour, would in fact make some political statements.

⁵⁰⁰ Anonym, “A friend in need”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-31, p. 12.

⁵⁰¹ Anonym, “‘n Boedskap van samewerking”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28, p. 7.

⁵⁰² Anonym, “This tour will be a test of nerves”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-05, p. 1.

⁵⁰³ J.R. Neame, “Macmillan will speak frankly”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁴ Anonym, “In sheep’s clothing”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 2.

5.7 THE “WIND OF CHANGE” SPEECH

When Macmillan was given the opportunity to address both houses of the Union Parliament, many had thought that he would give a celebratory speech for the 50th anniversary of the Union’s existence. This was in fact also one of the statements that he started his speech with, along with other praises for the South African people and government.⁵⁰⁵ But, says Dubow, “all this was a lengthy prelude to Macmillan’s pragmatic recognition of the unstoppable forces of African nationalism”.⁵⁰⁶ In reference to nationalism in Africa Macmillan declared that:

The wind of change is blowing through the continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact. Our national policies must take account of it.⁵⁰⁷

Dubow’s analysis is that the idea of a wind of African nationalism was not at all a “novel” idea, and Macmillan was simply stating the facts, both for South Africa as well as for Britain in terms of its interest in Africa. Possibly the most important fact to take into account is that Macmillan’s speech never mentioned the word “apartheid” and also did not take into account the rise of African nationalism within the borders of South Africa. According to Dubow, Macmillan had taken great care not to offend white South Africa, and along with the various praises directed at the audience inside of the House of Assembly, also declared that he did not support the boycott that was being organised against the Union.⁵⁰⁸ All in all, Dubow concluded that Macmillan’s speech neither endorsed nor welcomed these changes on the African continent, but was rather just plainly acknowledging the realities that all “Western” associates on the continent had to face. As will be seen, none of the newspapers came to this conclusion, but rather

⁵⁰⁵ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the ‘Wind of Change’ speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, pp. 1097-1098.

⁵⁰⁶ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the ‘Wind of Change’ speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, p. 1098.

⁵⁰⁷ *Keesing’s Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, pp. p 17269-17270.

⁵⁰⁸ S. Dubow, Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the ‘Wind of Change’ speech, *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, p. 1099.

interpreted Macmillan's speech as an attack on either apartheid, the NP government or on South Africa.

The initial reactions to Macmillan's Union parliament speech and Verwoerd's reply were reserved. *The Star* speculated that the Afrikaner nationalists and the Afrikaans press were being very "guarded" because they did not want to say anything negative whilst Macmillan was still in the Union.⁵⁰⁹ *Die Vaderland* firstly chose to focus on the fact that "Mac disapproves of boycott against Union" and pointed this out in a headline on the front page.⁵¹⁰ *Die Burger* reported that they "never doubted that the British government disapproved of the whole plan" of boycotting South Africa and that it was just a question of whether Macmillan would confirm this during his visit or not.⁵¹¹ Although *Die Transvaler* did report on Macmillan saying that Britain's policy was one of "non racialism", the article focused more on the boycott and Macmillan's praises for South Africa.⁵¹² *Die Transvaler* also reported that Macmillan had made it very clear that the two countries had different policies on race and commented that it was a great honour to have listened to both Prime Ministers declare their views. The reporter claimed that Macmillan had made it clear that Africa's role in the world should commence by giving full political freedom to "non-whites". This was reportedly Macmillan's viewpoint because he was from Europe and saw the situation differently from those that actually lived in Africa.⁵¹³ Even though the *Sunday Times* and the *Rand Daily Mail* also made reference to this disapproval of the boycott in one or two sentences,⁵¹⁴ the Afrikaans newspapers all seemed to be underplaying the other aspects of the speech. There were however also newspapers that did not underplay the crux of Macmillan's address and chose to focus on these aspects from the outset.

One such newspaper was *The Star* with a headline for its report on the speech: "Let me be very frank". The reporter stated that "again and again Macmillan reiterated Britain's

⁵⁰⁹ Anonym, "Nat. Press is guarded", *The Star*, 1960-02-04, p. 1.

⁵¹⁰ Anonym, "Mac keur boikot teen Unie af", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁵¹¹ Anonym, "Mr. Macmillan and the boycott", *Die Burger*, 1960-02-04, p. 6.

⁵¹² Anonym, "Mac keur boikot teen Unie af", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁵¹³ Anonym, "Twee standpunte", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-04, p. 6.

⁵¹⁴ Anonym, "Twee standpunte", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-04, p. 6; Anonym, "Macmillan states differences", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-04, p. 2; Anonym, "Mac gives Verwoerd his worst setback", *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 1.

view on colour” and that Macmillan did not support the idea of “inherent racial superiority”.⁵¹⁵ This report also quoted Macmillan’s “wind of change” statement regarding African nationalism.⁵¹⁶ The *Rand Daily Mail* wrote that Macmillan’s speech “stated the differences” and the following appeared on the page in big letters: “WE REJECT IDEA THAT ONE RACE IS SUPERIOR”. The article started by pointing out that Macmillan had made it clear that he disagreed with apartheid and a large part of the article was basically a copy of the speech. Certain parts of the speech were highlighted or lifted out such as “mind your own business but mind how it affects my business too”.⁵¹⁷ These articles thus drew attention to this more critical aspect of Macmillan’s speech.

Verwoerd’s reaction and reply was also one of the aspects that attracted a fair share of the media attention. This was the angle that *Die Transvaler* chose to focus on and reported that “Verwoerd replies promptly: South Africa sees great danger in your policy.” The article focused on the several aspects of Verwoerd’s reply and mentioned that Verwoerd had said that South Africa’s aim for Africa was the same as Britain’s, if the apartheid policy was understood correctly. The article basically contained a copy of Verwoerd’s reply, but the phrase “we are the link, we are white, but we are from Africa” is highlighted. A photo of Verwoerd also appeared on this page with the caption “whites have a duty in Africa”.⁵¹⁸ *The Star* and the *Rand Daily Mail* also published a copy of Verwoerd’s reaction, and *The Star* gave it the headline “we listen, even if we differ”.⁵¹⁹ Both articles stated that Verwoerd had said that the major objectives of race relations in the two countries were the same, even if the methods differed.⁵²⁰

Some of the newspapers carried negative reports on Verwoerd’s reply. For one, the *Sunday Times* carried a headline that stated: “Mac gives Verwoerd his worst setback” implying that Macmillan’s speech had made such an impact that Africa would never be

⁵¹⁵ Anonym, “Let me be very frank says U.K. premier”, *The Star*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁵¹⁶ Anonym, “Let me be very frank says U.K. premier”, *The Star*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁵¹⁷ Anonym, “Macmillan states differences”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-04, p. 2.

⁵¹⁸ Anonym, “Sien groot gevaar in u beleid”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-04, p. 7.

⁵¹⁹ Anonym, “We listen, even if we differ – Dr. Verwoerd”, *The Star*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁵²⁰ Anonym, “Let me be very frank says U.K. premier”, *The Star*, 1960-02-03, p. 1; Anonym, “Your policy may wreck your aims”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-04, p. 2.

the same again.⁵²¹ The reporter claimed that observers agreed that the speech had been the NP's worst setback since it came to power. The article also blatantly claimed that from that point on Britain would withdraw its support of South Africa on racial issues in United Nations discussions.⁵²² The *Rand Daily Mail* wrote that Macmillan's speech had made the "heavier, less-well tailored figure of Dr. Verwoerd grow slowly pale and tense".⁵²³ Commenting on Verwoerd, the reporter stated that he gave much-needed guidance to the NP in his reply but "was obviously very angry indeed" and that "he began to stumble through his impromptu opening sentences".⁵²⁴ When listening to a recording of Macmillan and Verwoerd's speeches on this day, it is clear that Verwoerd did indeed stumble over his words slightly when he started his reply, but strengthened his speech as he continued.⁵²⁵ An initial commentary article in *Die Vaderland* specifically mentioned that both Macmillan and Verwoerd spoke well during their speeches⁵²⁶ and this newspaper also mentioned that Verwoerd was continuing to receive telegrams of approval regarding his reaction to the speech.⁵²⁷ *Die Transvaler* indicated that Verwoerd was in a difficult position having to reply to such a heavy statement without fair warning.⁵²⁸ *Die Burger* gave praise to Verwoerd's reply and argued that it was nonsense that Verwoerd was taken aback by what Macmillan had said. The reporter "Dawie", wrote that in the light of the little preparation time Verwoerd had to formulate his reply, it had been a "small masterpiece".⁵²⁹

Even though the initial interpretation and opinions regarding the speech were reserved, some more critical comments and observations were made shortly after the speech. *Die Vaderland* initially reported that Macmillan's criticism was welcomed by some of the NP members. According to this political correspondent, some of the NP members were

⁵²¹ Anonym, "Mac gives Verwoerd his worst setback", *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 1.

⁵²² Anonym, "Mac gives Verwoerd his worst setback", *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 1.

⁵²³ Anonym, "The speech that made Verwoerd pale and tense", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-04, p. 9.

⁵²⁴ Anonym, "The speech that made Verwoerd pale and tense", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-04, p. 9.

⁵²⁵ BBC Archive, "Tour of South Africa - Rt Hon Macmillan", <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/apartheid/7203.shtml>>, 2014. Access: 2015-06-01.

⁵²⁶ Anonym, "Tog 'n basis", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-04, p. 10.

⁵²⁷ Anonym, "Macmillan kritiek in NP kringe verwelkom", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-04, p. 3.

⁵²⁸ Anonym, "Sien groot gevaar in u beleid", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-04, p. 7.

⁵²⁹ Anonym, "Uit my politieke pen", *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06, p. 8.

somewhat disappointed, while others were understanding of Macmillan's statements. One NP member was quoted as saying that Macmillan had pointed out that "we do not have to rely on support from Britain when it comes to the maintaining of the white mans position in Africa. This is an issue that will have to be dealt with by ourselves".⁵³⁰ The article mentioned that some of the NP members understood that Macmillan could not lose the friendship of the newly independent African states and that he simply did not understand that South Africa's racial policy was actually beneficial for the black people in South Africa.⁵³¹ *Die Vaderland* also responded by saying that Verwoerd and Macmillan could build on the common base of the survival of Western civilization.⁵³² A small insert next to the article referred back to an article that was published earlier that month in *Die Vaderland* which had stated that they predicted that Macmillan would give in to international pressures urging him to speak out against South Africa. These international pressures, the reporter claimed, meant that Macmillan would "at one or another opportunity give his disapproval of apartheid". The commentator concluded by saying that the only aspect of Macmillan's speech that aligned with the prediction was that Macmillan mentioned that it was "difficult to agree with certain aspects of the racial policy".⁵³³ Another reporter from *Die Vaderland* focused on "race" and stated that rising nationalism would lead to more independent countries being established in Africa and that would bring the situation to the point where "non-white" races had full political independence and that their "colossal majority will want to bring the white world control to an end".⁵³⁴ *Die Vaderland* thus reacted more critically to the speech, but avoided criticizing Macmillan directly. This newspaper seems to have taken the words of the speech as one of many opinions, with which they did not necessarily agreed with. On this note, the newspaper focused on the established reactions of the threat against white people as well as the continuing spread of Western civilization. Specifically in *Die Transvaler*, the reporter stated that Macmillan probably enjoyed South Africa more after

⁵³⁰ Anonym, "Macmillan kritiek in NP kringe verwelkom", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-04, p. 3.

⁵³¹ Anonym, "Macmillan kritiek in NP kringe verwelkom", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-04, p. 3.

⁵³² Anonym, "Tog 'n basis", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-04, p. 10.

⁵³³ Anonym, "Mac keur boikot teen Unie af", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁵³⁴ Anonym, "Tog 'n basis", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-04, p. 10.

his trip through Africa because in the Union he experienced more than 300 years worth of “civilized progression”.⁵³⁵

From the outset, some newspapers did acknowledge that the speech was more than a “different opinion” or a “disapproval”, and that it was in essence a criticism against the NP’s policies. *Die Transvaler* pointed out that according to British newspapers the speech had been a “timely declaration”.⁵³⁶ Various newspapers from all over the world were quoted in this article as saying that the speech was a criticism of NP policies. The reporter also drew attention to a conservative British newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, which reminded its readership that white rights still had to be taken into account.⁵³⁷ *Die Transvaler* stated that Verwoerd’s reply had made it clear on an international platform that the whites in Africa also had rights.⁵³⁸ Similarly another article in *Die Transvaler* stated that it “must also be taken into account what the awarding of freedom to those non-whites who cannot govern themselves will have on the white population”.⁵³⁹ An opinion article mentioned that Macmillan’s speech still needed to be further examined and showed how various influential people and groups around the world thought it might be too early for independence for many of the African countries. The reporter used the Congo as an example and stated that “equality among man and man, if they are equally civilized and equally advanced, may be desirable in certain circumstances”.⁵⁴⁰ Another reporter hoped that a way could be found that white people could survive while the black people were also awarded with “what they deserve”.⁵⁴¹ *Die Transvaler* thus reacted by counterbalancing the “international opinion” of Macmillan’s speech with other “international opinions” that were more in line with the NP’s policies. This was probably an attempt to counteract the articles which reported that Macmillan’s speech would force South Africa into isolation.

⁵³⁵ N. Natte, “In die politieke gedrang”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-06, p. 4.

⁵³⁶ Anonym, “Macmillan se rede groot nuus oorsee”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-05, p. 3.

⁵³⁷ Anonym, “Macmillan se rede groot nuus oorsee”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-05, p. 3.

⁵³⁸ N. Natte, “In die politieke gedrang”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-06, p. 4.

⁵³⁹ Anonym, “Twee standpunte”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-04, p. 6.

⁵⁴⁰ Anonym, “Toepassing van beginsels”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-05, p. 8.

⁵⁴¹ Anonym, “Twee standpunte”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-04, p. 6.

The *Rand Daily Mail* initially focused on the speech itself and published various praises for a “job well done”.⁵⁴² One article stated that Macmillan had “completed a difficult task with great skill” and that those who thought he would say nothing of value during the tour were surprised at the “frank and far reaching address”.⁵⁴³ The *Rand Daily Mail* further commented favourably that “there has probably never been so polished, so adroit a speech made within those walls”⁵⁴⁴ and that the “great speech” was a “fitting climax to a historic tour”.⁵⁴⁵ One article did however weigh up the exact wording of the speech and stated that it believed Macmillan was speaking to a wider audience than what was present in the venue and that the actual message which came across was the “grave warning” that “the friendship of millions in Africa meant more to Britain than “supporting the racial policies of a handful of white men” in the Union.”⁵⁴⁶

Initially *The Star* reported that there was “comfort for all in the Brit’s speech” but that there were also different opinions about the speech. According to one article, some interpreted it that the Republic of South Africa would be accepted in the Commonwealth, whilst others thought that “his only emphasis was on the impossibility of isolation and the benefits of being in the Commonwealth”.⁵⁴⁷ *The Star* also reported on how the speech was perceived overseas and locally. According to the London *Daily Express* the event was “a head on clash of supreme drama”; the American newspapers reportedly called it a “stinging table-pounding attack on South African policy”; while on the home front the reporter felt that in the Afrikaner nationalist press a sense of “disappointment” was apparent. Another overseas newspapers, the *Daily Mail*, reportedly quoted a spokesperson for the ANC as saying that “this is a great day for us. Nothing so clear has been said before and now we feel we have important allies... we no longer feel alone”.⁵⁴⁸ Reference was also made to *The Guardian* which argued that the NP had hoped the speech would give some clarity regarding the republican plans

⁵⁴² Anonym, “A job well done”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-05, p. 8.

⁵⁴³ Anonym, “A job well done”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-05, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁴ Anonym, “The speech that made Verwoerd pale and tense”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-04, p. 9.

⁵⁴⁵ Anonym, “A ‘great’ speech”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-04, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁶ Anonym, “The speech that made Verwoerd pale and tense”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-04, p. 9.

⁵⁴⁷ Anonym, “Comfort for all in Britton’s speech”, *The Star*, 1960-02-03, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁸ Anonym, “Star stinging attack says U.S. press”, 1960-02-04, p. 1.

but instead “got a blunt admission that there were radical differences between British and South Africa racial policies”.⁵⁴⁹ *The Star* later published an opinion article entitled “South Africa’s isolation”. The reporter stated that Macmillan had said that South Africa could not rely on Britain for continued support on issues that it did not agree with. The author mentioned that Macmillan was expressing the “almost universally held view in the free world whose goodwill is vital to South Africa” and that “his speech illuminated with painful clarity the spiritual isolation into which South Africa had been steadily drifting”.⁵⁵⁰ It seems that although some of the English newspapers initially showed support for Macmillan’s perceived criticism of the NP, the realization later came about that the impact would not only affect the NP, but the entirety of South Africa would be pushed into isolation as a result.

In this regard, the newspapers soon started commenting on South Africa’s international relations. *The Star* reported that Macmillan’s speech showed the statesman “gliding superbly over some of the thinnest ice in the Commonwealth”.⁵⁵¹ The reporter stated that “the result was that his speech was not punctuated by applause although his points were obviously keenly appreciated”.⁵⁵² In this regard, the *Rand Daily Mail* also published a cartoon (Figure 9) depicting Macmillan and Verwoerd hiking together on the road of “Commonwealth relations”.⁵⁵³ Macmillan was walking upright with a small backpack while Verwoerd was struggling to carry a heavy load labelled “apartheid.”⁵⁵⁴

In a very short front-page article *The Star* reported that Macmillan had acknowledged that some of the things he said were not altogether agreeable but that he was very thankful for the extraordinary hospitality he received during his visit.⁵⁵⁵ *The Star* and *Die Transvaler* reported on the press conference that Macmillan held shortly before his departure. The article in *The Star* referred to Macmillan’s reply to the question of South Africa’s republican status and that Macmillan replied that the country would also have to

⁵⁴⁹ Anonym, “Star stinging attack says U.S. press”, 1960-02-04, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁰ Anonym, “South Africa’s isolation”, *The Star*, 1960-02-04, p. 16.

⁵⁵¹ Anonym, “Hushed silence as Macmillan skated on thin ice”, *The Star*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁵⁵² Anonym, “Hushed silence as Macmillan skated on thin ice”, *The Star*, 1960-02-03, p. 1.

⁵⁵³ B. Connolly, “The Big Walk”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-05, p. 8.

⁵⁵⁴ B. Connolly, “The Big Walk”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-05, p. 8.

⁵⁵⁵ Anonym, “Extraordinary hospitality”, *The Star*, 1960-02-05, p. 1.

get the consent of other Commonwealth members, but that he wanted to try and keep the Commonwealth intact.⁵⁵⁶ *Die Transvaler's* report on the final press conference focused on how Macmillan responded to South Africa's possible republican status within the Commonwealth.⁵⁵⁷

A separate article in *The Star* focused on the question asked at the press conference regarding who he would support if it came down to "a choice between white and black peoples aspirations". Besides arguing that it was an "unfair question" to ask, Macmillan reportedly said that his speech only looked at the broad picture and he could not possibly confirm his support for white or black if such an issue arose.⁵⁵⁸ *Die Burger* also focused on the question of what would happen if South Africa was attacked about its racial policy during a future Commonwealth meeting. Macmillan was reported to have sidestepped and answered that that could not be derived from his speech. Mention was also made of a few other questions to which Macmillan reportedly gave no definite answers. The article ended by indicating that Macmillan said that a solution would have to be found to incorporate everyone in South Africa but that he knew that the concerns in South Africa were very complicated.⁵⁵⁹

Macmillan's departure from the Union after this press conference would undoubtedly open the doors for further reflection on the speech and Macmillan's visit in general. *Die Vaderland* reported on Macmillan's departure by stating that one of the things that the Macmillans would probably not forget was the almost ten thousand people who lined the streets and cheered on route to the harbour where they would board the ship for departure. While he was walking onto the ship a crowd apparently sang "for he's a jolly good fellow". The article mentioned decorative Union flags on the harbour, as well as a "small portion of the crowd half-heartedly trying to sing 'God Save the Queen'".⁵⁶⁰ The *Rand Daily Mail* also reported that a crowd of 20, 000 gave them a tumultuous farewell. It indicated that many people reportedly waved Union Jacks and sang "for he's a jolly

⁵⁵⁶ Anonym, "Macmillan reminder on republic" *The Star*, 1960-02-05, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁷ Anonym, "Macmillan oor Republiek in die Statebond", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-06, p. 5.

⁵⁵⁸ Anonym, "Would I back the blacks against the whites? Unfair", *The Star*, 1960-02-05, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁹ Anonym, "Macmillan onbeslis oor Britse houding teenoor SA in die V.V.O", *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06, p. 7.

⁵⁶⁰ Anonym, "Oomblikke wat Mac nooit sal vergeet", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-06, p.1.

good fellow” as the Macmillans stepped on board the ship.⁵⁶¹ In a cartoon published in *Die Burger* (Figure 10), Macmillan was pictured leaving South Africa on a ship and on the shore a white South African person can be seen smiling as he holds up a banner that says: “I’ve never had it so good”. The cartoon thus used the opposite of the posters saying “We’ve never had it so bad” that were displayed during Macmillan’s visit to insinuate that a section of the South African population was glad that Macmillan was leaving.⁵⁶² An opinion article in *The Star* said that Macmillan had left on “friendly terms” and with “respect” from the people. This was because, in simple but forthright language, within the permissible limits, “he had made his views known on some of our most controversial problems” and by doing this he did not fall in line with those who said that he would be “courteous”. The reporter also believed that his words made a profound impact on “responsible” South African opinion.⁵⁶³

After Macmillan departed from the Union, several newspapers started publishing more in-depth reports and analysis on the speech. This was not specifically newspaper courtesy, but also reflected on the reactions of the politicians. *Die Transvaler* reported on the reaction to Macmillan’s speech by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eric Louw. He had reportedly said that since Macmillan had now left the Union he could freely give his opinion.⁵⁶⁴ This front-page article mentioned that Louw questioned why Macmillan would criticize the Union while he was “a guest” and that Louw doubted that the speech would have any big effect. A similar report on this statement made by Louw was published by *The Star*.⁵⁶⁵ *Die Transvaler* was more critical and gave the impression that Louw believed that Macmillan had sacrificed whites in Southern Africa for his own international political gain and because of British criticism and pressures from the British press.⁵⁶⁶ *The Star* went even further and argued that Louw had said that because of the speech, white populations in Africa must “eventually be handed over to black-control”.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶¹ Anonym, “20,000 crowd says farewell to ‘Mac’”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-06, p. 1.

⁵⁶² Anonym, Spotprent, *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06, p. 6.

⁵⁶³ Anonym, “Journey’s end”, *The Star*, 1960-02-06, p. 8.

⁵⁶⁴ Anonym, “Louw het bedenkinge oor Macmillan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-08, p. 1.

⁵⁶⁵ Anonym, “Louw attacks Macmillan: Did not act like guest”, *The Star*, 1960-02-07, p. 1.

⁵⁶⁶ Anonym, “Louw het bedenkinge oor Macmillan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-08, p. 1.

⁵⁶⁷ Anonym, “Louw attacks Macmillan: Did not act like guest”, *The Star*, 1960-02-07, p. 1.

The reporter mentioned that Louw said that the white man who had developed and built up these countries must now abdicate from their political control. The article also referred to Mr. Louw's response, specifically focusing on how he reckoned Macmillan "had no right to speak" on South Africa's internal affairs.⁵⁶⁸

Ideas regarding the fate of the whites in Africa featured prominently in the press after Louw's reaction. "Mac's speech disappoints whites" was the headline of an article in *Die Vaderland* which stated that the delayed response to the speech had reached its climax. The article reported that the speech was ultimately a "disappointment to white people" and that Macmillan had "left no doubt" that if it would come to that, he would not think twice about choosing the friendship of "black states" over that of South Africa. The article also pointed out that the *Rand Daily Mail* reported that "all of the West would rather choose the side of the Blackman than that of the white man".⁵⁶⁹ *Die Burger* reiterated this view that Britain would take the "non-white side" in the case where its aspirations clashed with those of whites in Africa. The article stated that fellow whites in Europe were "turning their backs" on the whites in Africa, who were now alone and had no friends. All these reports were contradictory since Macmillan reportedly said at his final press conference that this was not to be deduced from the speech. The reporter of the article in *Die Burger* concluded by urging all South Africans - English and Afrikaans - to stand together in the struggle for civilization. The reporter stated emphatically that "South Africa's duty now is to become a bastion of civilization on a continent of which large parts are to be handed over to backward Black rule and chaos" and therefore people must stand together.⁵⁷⁰ Another report in *Die Burger* written by the commentator "Dawie" similarly urged all of South Africa - English, Afrikaans, Black and Coloured - to work together during this time of crisis.⁵⁷¹ He also mentioned that Macmillan's words were not just a speech, but an event that black leaders in Africa would take as a "word of support for their cause".⁵⁷² This reaction to the "abandonment" of the people in South

⁵⁶⁸ Anonym, "Mac se rede stel blankes teleur", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-08, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁹ Anonym, "Mac se rede stel blankes teleur", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-08, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁰ Anonym, "An emergency for South Africa", *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06, p. 6.

⁵⁷¹ Anonym, "Uit my politieke pen", *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06, p. 8.

⁵⁷² Anonym, "Mac se rede stel blankes teleur", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-08, p. 3.

Africa also called for a reflection on South Africa itself and to an extent created a difficult situation for English-Afrikaans relations in the Union, as would be seen in *Die Vaderland*'s reaction. It essentially attacked the English press for its reaction to the racial aspect of the speech, saying that it portrayed South Africa's racial policies as the "sin only of the NP", when the implications of the speech were actually applicable to all white South Africans, not just to the NP supporters.⁵⁷³ The article further rebuked the English press for taking Macmillan's side, as if the continuing existence of whites in Africa had nothing to do with them.⁵⁷⁴

Some newspapers articles and reporters viewed the speech as an attack on the NP, and did not specifically report on it as a warning to the entire Union. *The Star* reported that Macmillan had held up a "mirror to the **National Party**" (emphasis added). It concluded that when Macmillan left the country, he left behind a lot of "unusually thoughtful South Africans".⁵⁷⁵ This reporter also mentioned that everyone was reading something different into Macmillan's speech and that although it would probably not have any immediate effects, in the long run Macmillan had shown the NP "what they looked like to the Westerners".⁵⁷⁶ Macmillan, the reporter said, mentioned these things "urbanely and affectionately" and because of his charm, the speech would probably not harm relations between Britain and South Africa.⁵⁷⁷ It furthermore reported that "Macmillan's speech sets pace against apartheid".⁵⁷⁸ *The Star* also published a cartoon (Figure 11) on these events. In the picture there is stormy weather forming which is entitled "African National Consciousness". An ostrich labelled "National policies" is standing with its head in the ground next to Verwoerd whose eyes are covered by a book entitled "Apartheid". The ostrich and Verwoerd can therefore not see the storm that is coming. Macmillan is standing next to them, trying to draw their attention to the storm. The subheading explains that Verwoerd is saying: "Now then Mr. Mac, don't try

⁵⁷³ Anonym, "Mac se rede stel blankes teleur", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-08, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁴ Anonym, "Mac se rede stel blankes teleur", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-02-08, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁵ Anonym, "Macmillan held up mirror to Nats.", *The Star*, 1960-02-06, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁶ Anonym, "Macmillan held up mirror to Nats.", *The Star*, 1960-02-06, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁷ Anonym, "Macmillan held up mirror to Nats.", *The Star*, 1960-02-06, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁸ Anonym, "Union facing hard time overseas", *The Star*, 1960-02-08, p. 1.

to tell us we don't know what we're doing".⁵⁷⁹ In line with this, various reports interpreted the speech as being more of a criticism against Verwoerd himself. The *Sunday Times* also mentioned that "taken item by item, Mr. Macmillan's address was a total rejection of just about everything that Verwoerd stands for".⁵⁸⁰ *The Star* asserted that for Verwoerd Macmillan's visit ended in "total failure" and that his prestige had suffered by that "gauche laboured reply".⁵⁸¹ About how stubborn Verwoerd's reaction to the speech was, *The Star* also mentioned that the alarming thing about the week's events was that "Dr. Verwoerd is quite unpersuaded. He is right. The world is wrong. And what is more, he will prove it!".⁵⁸² Political commentary by Stanley Uys of the *Sunday Times* said that inviting Macmillan to South Africa showed how little Verwoerd, who called himself an "expert on Africa", actually knew about the continent. He argued that Macmillan had just toured through Africa and thus spoke from experience, but that Verwoerd had tried to retaliate "with shabby, outmoded, chipped wares of the white supremacist".⁵⁸³

Some reflected that the speech was actually, by implication, aimed at the entire Union. One reporter said that that "South Africa shows all the elements of a Greek tragedy".⁵⁸⁴ The *Sunday Times* reporter Stanley Uys wrote that some members of the NP were trying to find comfort in Macmillan's words, but that most of them knew the impact that it might have internationally. He concluded that South Africa had been served notice that "its position internationally is hopeless".⁵⁸⁵ In line with those trying to find comfort in the speech, *Die Transvaler* weighed up the possible "good" and "bad" consequences of Macmillan's visit to the Union. On the positive side, the author said there would be a better understanding for South Africa and its situation within the British parliament.⁵⁸⁶ On the negative side was the continuing "bad portrayal [of South Africa] in the

⁵⁷⁹ Anonym, Cartoon, *The Star*, 1960-02-06, p. 8.

⁵⁸⁰ S. Uys, "Verwoerd: we'll go it alone!", *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 2.

⁵⁸¹ Anonym, "Came, saw, declined to be conquered", *The Star*, 1960-02-06, p. 9.

⁵⁸² S. Uys, "Verwoerd: we'll go it alone!", *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 2.

⁵⁸³ S. Uys, "Verwoerd: we'll go it alone!", *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁴ S. Uys, "Verwoerd: we'll go it alone!", *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁵ S. Uys, "UK will now end support for Union", *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 22.

⁵⁸⁶ N. Natte, "In die politieke gedrang", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-06, p. 4.

international press”.⁵⁸⁷ The article also mentioned that Macmillan’s speech would draw more rigid lines in South African party politics when it came to the passing of apartheid laws. The reporter also added that racial discrimination happened all over the world, but that because it was not on the African continent, it was overlooked.⁵⁸⁸

The *Rand Daily Mail* also reported on the long-term impact of Macmillan’s speech and asserted that the delayed affect of the speech showed that South Africa had been made to realise that world opinion had “hardened against her”.⁵⁸⁹ The reporter concluded that if South Africa had a government that could think practically, it would know that the time was right to fall in line with the “wind of change in Africa”.⁵⁹⁰ This is also slightly ironic since, as will be seen in Chapter 6, the *Rand Daily Mail* showed support for delayed independence even after Macmillan’s speech. In this regard, it thus supported Macmillan’s speech in principle, but did not say how it foresaw it to be applied. *Die Burger* also said that South Africa had “formally been served notice during Macmillan’s speech”.⁵⁹¹ The reporter argued that South Africa should not be disillusioned, since British policy was representative of Western policy.⁵⁹² Columnist “Dawie” also wrote that Macmillan’s speech should “not be taken lightly”. According to him, although Macmillan did not say it outright, what he meant was that “in Africa British self-interest and Britain’s conception of general interest to the Western chooses the side of black nationalism against the special interests of the white community”.⁵⁹³

Thus the interpretation of the speeches came down to the newspapers’ diverse opinions regarding who Macmillan’s speech was actually directed at. Some interpreted the speech as being directed against the NP and the apartheid policy, with *The Star* most ardently supporting this viewpoint, along with the *Sunday Times*. Others again interpreted Macmillan’s speech as actually having been an address against South Africa, aligning international opinion against it. Here the *Rand Daily Mail* picked up on

⁵⁸⁷ N.Natte, “In die politieke gedrang”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-06, p. 4.

⁵⁸⁸ N.Natte, “In die politieke gedrang”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-06, p. 4.

⁵⁸⁹ Anonym, “Macmillan and after”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-08, p. 8.

⁵⁹⁰ Anonym, “Macmillan and after”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-08, p. 8.

⁵⁹¹ Anonym, “An emergency for South Africa”, *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06, p. 6.

⁵⁹² Anonym, “An emergency for South Africa”, *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06, p. 6.

⁵⁹³ Anonym, “Uit my politieke pen”, *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06, p. 8.

this angle, as did the *Sunday Times* and *Die Burger* to a limited extent. *Die Vaderland*, argued that Macmillan's speech was actually aimed at white South Africans and also took a swing at the English press for not realizing this fact. In this regard *Die Transvaler* published second-hand information from the statements made by Louw, regarding the future of whites on the continent whilst *Die Burger* only mentioned this angle in passing. Those newspapers commenting on the implications of the speeches on South Africa internalized the issue more than those who took a defensive response towards Macmillan's proclamation.

CHAPTER 6: AFRICA YEAR IN THE MEDIA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Harold Macmillan's tour of Africa and the "wind of change" speech could probably not have occurred at a more appropriate moment. The fact that his tour and speech happened so early in the year was very fitting since it encapsulated what the rest of 1960 would look like. Macmillan's tour was preceded by only one other important event on the continent, the independence of Cameroon on 1 January 1960. As can be seen from the timeline in Chapter 3, many of the events during the rest of year actually "played out" the "wind of change". The reaction of the South African newspapers to these events would thus be made all the more interesting by this fact. They would, figuratively speaking, not simply be reporting on these independence days, but also on the wind that was in reality sweeping across the continent. Therefore, the press reaction to the "wind of change" speech, as it was discussed in Chapter 5, would influence much of the reportage on Africa to be analysed in this chapter.

Even in South Africa, the events in Africa were seen as important. Macmillan himself mentioned that he had noticed a preoccupation in the Union with what was happening in Africa and that he understood and sympathized with South Africa's interests and anxieties about these events.⁵⁹⁴ In this chapter it will become evident that South Africa was becoming increasingly aware of her isolation as "Africa's year" progressed. Ironically, the blame for its isolation would in some cases be given to the "wind of change" speech, even though numerous reports stated that South Africa was being singled out due to its racial policies. The events in Africa would in fact force the country to reflect on its own internal affairs.

⁵⁹⁴ *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17269.

In order to examine the newspaper perspectives on African independence, newspaper articles were selected according to the dates of independence of the 17 nations that became independent during 1960. The newspapers selected for investigation were those published on the day preceding, the day of, and the day after independence. For weekly newspapers, the week preceding and following the specific date were also examined. Any report relating to the independent nation, or even independence in Africa in general, was then selected for analysis. The discussion below is thus based on the newspapers that were selected according to this date-specific selection process. As already indicated in Chapter 3, the six newspapers *Die Transvaler*; *Die Vaderland*; *Die Burger*; the *Rand Daily Mail*; *The Star* and the *Sunday Times*, were chosen based on their readership numbers. As the theme for this chapter is much more general and stretches over most of the year 1960, a more general media portrayal of the independence in Africa can be obtained. This also allows other aspects of content analysis as discussed in Chapter 2 to be added to the analysis in this chapter. Several elements of quantitative as well as qualitative analysis are thus included in this chapter, whereas Chapter 4 and 5 adhered more to the qualitative aspects.

Upon reading through the newspaper articles for this chapter, several themes, or what Priest refers to as categories,⁵⁹⁵ have been identified in terms of the similarities or the differences in the way that the newspapers have reported on, or portrayed African independence. The general terminology and word usage in these newspapers can be revealing regarding their attitudes towards independence. A paternalistic attitude towards newly independent nations, as well as support for a prolonged process to independence, was quite generally reflected in the newspapers. These reports also prompted a reflection and internalization on South African affairs and also reflected on the future of white people on the continent and a fear of communism. Finally a general overview regarding the subjectivity in the articles, as well as an outline of the reporting trends for these publications during the year 1960 has also been compiled.

⁵⁹⁵ S.H. Priest, *Doing Media Research – An Introduction*, p. 87.

6.2 TERMINOLOGY

The first general trend or category to be considered is that of terminology. Since the meaning and use of terms can be multifaceted, the manner in which they are used prompts analysis. Moreover the terminology is indicative of a particular view or bias. As mentioned in Chapter 3 the use of specific terminology in news reports can lead the audience to connect certain concepts to certain terms, as will become evident in this section. There are different terminologies used to refer to a specific ethnic or racial group in these newspaper articles, and in some regards these terms are connected to and imply certain types of acceptable or unacceptable behaviour.

One of the concepts for which there existed multiple words and terms, was in reference to people of African descent. Several terms were used by all six of the selected newspapers. The term “blacks” or the Afrikaans translation “swartes” was used to refer to the local people of Africa in all the mentioned publications. Another term used by all of the newspapers was the term ‘native’ in the English newspapers or “naturel” in the Afrikaans newspapers. “Native” was only used by the *Rand Daily Mail* once to refer to a local administration. The term “white” or “witman” or “blanke” was used in all the newspapers to describe anyone of Caucasian descent. These terms were the most commonly used.

There were however other terms used to describe the various people and groups on the African continent. Besides the use of the term “naturel”, *Die Vaderland*, as well as *Die Burger* made use of the word “inboorling”.⁵⁹⁶ Directly translated as “indigenous”, both these terms can also be translated to the term “native”. *The Star* made reference to “dark skinned people”⁵⁹⁷ as well as “Bantu”.⁵⁹⁸ It is also significant that on more than one occasion, *The Star* connected these terms to specific actions: the person stealing

⁵⁹⁶ Anonym, “Slawe en ruimvaarders hou jool in Kongo, *Die Burger*, 1960-07-02, p. 11; Anonym, “Die belangrikste jaar vir Swart Nasionalisme breek nou aan”, *Die Vaderland*, 1959-12-31, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁷ Anonym, “Now Madagascar”, *The Star*, 1960-07-01, p. 16.

⁵⁹⁸ J. Spicer, “Independent Nigeria should be able to overcome possible troubles ahead”, *The Star*, 1960-10-01, p. 14.

something was a “native” and he was apprehended by “black” policemen or soldiers.⁵⁹⁹ In one article “natives” were singing and dancing in the streets whereas “Congolese” listened in silence. In the same article reference was made to “black” states as opposed to “native” bars.⁶⁰⁰ This creates the image that people in Africa who act “civilised” or “acceptably” according to European perceptions are “blacks” whereas “uncivilized” or “disorderly” actions are associated with “natives”. *The Star* also mentions that during some of the independence celebrations “Europeans were warmly greeted with handshakes and drinks” when they went to celebrate in some of the “native bars”.⁶⁰¹ No other newspapers really made a distinction with regard to these terms, although the *Rand Daily Mail* did contrast “primitive bush people” or “gangs of hooligans”,⁶⁰² with the “cultured elite”.⁶⁰³ The term “African” was used by the *Sunday Times* and the *Rand Daily Mail* and “Non-African” was used by *The Star*⁶⁰⁴ and the *Rand Daily Mail*.⁶⁰⁵ The term “nie-inboorlinge” (non-indigenous) was also used by *Die Vaderland* on occasion to refer to people in Africa who were not “Africans”.⁶⁰⁶

What then was the preferred or “politically correct” term to use during the year 1960? As is apparent from the newspapers, the term “black” was the most commonly used, with “native” also being a general term. It is important to note that Macmillan himself used the term “African” in his speech⁶⁰⁷ and the term was copied as such when he was quoted on several occasions. The Afrikaans newspapers translated the term with “naturelle”, which actually translated back into “natives”, when quoting from his speech. John Sharp specifically commented that during this time numerous Africans saw themselves as “African”, which can be deduced from the use of the term within nationalist movements such as the Pan-Africanist faction as well as the naming of

⁵⁹⁹ Anonym, “Native seizes king Baudouin’s sword”, *The Star*, 1960-06-30, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁰ Anonym, “King Baudouin hands over the Congo”, *The Star*, 1960-06-30, p. 1.

⁶⁰¹ Anonym, “King Baudouin hands over the Congo”, *The Star*, 1960-06-30, p. 1.

⁶⁰² Anonym, “Riot death toll in Nigeria 14”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-09-30, p.1.

⁶⁰³ Anonym, “Africa’s new giant”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-10-01, p. 8.

⁶⁰⁴ Anonym, “Dahomey gets independence” *The Star*, 1960-08-01, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁵ Anonym, “Tanganyika warning: no hasty freedom”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-08-03, p. 3.

⁶⁰⁶ Anonym, “So lyk Afrika vandag”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-17, p. 19.

⁶⁰⁷ *Keesing’s Contemporary Archives* (vol. 12) 1959 – 1960, p. 17270.

organizations for example the “African National Congress”.⁶⁰⁸ When referring to the ANC in these earlier news reports, the Afrikaans newspapers seem not to give a translation for this organization’s name. However, the Afrikaans dictionary, *Verklarende Afrikaanse Woordeboek*, published in 1955, already listed the term “Afrikaan” as a translation for “African”.⁶⁰⁹ Even though it was a recent addition to the 1955 dictionary, it was already a recognised term some years before Macmillan’s tour in 1960. In the table below, which presents an overview of the terminology used during 1960, it is clear that the word use for the newspapers stayed more or less constant throughout 1960.

Table 5: Terminology used to describe people of African descent during the course of 1960 for *Die Transvaler*; *Die Vaderland*; *Die Burger*; *The Star*; the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times*.

Publication	Term mostly used during Macmillan’s tour	Terms mostly used in reports on independence during 1960
<i>Die Transvaler</i>	Non-white or Native	Native or Black
<i>Die Vaderland</i>	Black or Native	Black or Native
<i>Die Burger</i>	Non- white, Black or Native	Native or Black
<i>The Star</i>	Native or Black	Native or Black
<i>Rand Daily Mail</i>	African or Black	African or Black
<i>Sunday Times</i>	Black or Native or African	Black or Native or African

Affirmation of independence by using terms such as “Nigerians” or “Congolese” was used by the English newspapers as well as *Die Vaderland*.⁶¹⁰ All of the Afrikaans newspapers made use of the word “nie-blank” (non-white) and the term was especially favoured by *Die Transvaler*, which used it as a general term to refer to people in Africa.

⁶⁰⁸ E. Boonzaaier & J.S. Sharp (eds.), *South African Keywords: The Uses & Abuses of Political Concepts*, p. 96.

⁶⁰⁹ M.S.R. Kritzinger, *Verklarende Afrikaanse Woordeboek*, 1955, p. 23.

⁶¹⁰ Anonym, “Onafhanlikheidskoors styg hoog in Nigerië”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-09-30, p. 13.

For example “Six million non-whites become independent today”⁶¹¹ and “... non-white independent states can already be found here today”.⁶¹² This thus creates the idea of “the other” and implies that they are different from the “white people”. It further creates a binary division by clustering all whites as one homogeneous group and non-whites as another. This also aligned with the calls from the Afrikaans newspapers that English- and Afrikaans-speaking South African’s should stand together and become more united, as was pointed out in Chapter 5.

In terms of the terminology related to independence, all of the newspapers portrayed self-rule as something that was “given” or “granted”, and only *The Star*⁶¹³ and *Rand Daily Mail*⁶¹⁴ once made reference to it being “won” or “achieved”. The *Sunday Times* also made reference to the “Struggle for independence”,⁶¹⁵ but generally most of the articles portrayed independence as something that was “granted”. This signified the general take on independence which appeared to permeate most of South African society.

Another concept which was portrayed in the press was the aspect of violence. The violence that surrounded the independence celebrations of various countries was a main concern for numerous newspapers and is an aspect that can easily be exaggerated. *The Star* referred to people being “hacked to death by machete-swinging tribesmen”⁶¹⁶ and an article in *Die Vaderland* also translates into “hacked to death with axes”.⁶¹⁷ *Die Burger* described a riot that left one person dead and 30 injured as an incident where “blood flowed in the streets”.⁶¹⁸ This is actually ironic considering that the article was published after the Sharpeville uprising where 69 people had been shot and

⁶¹¹ Anonym, “Kanonskote, beierende klokke vandag deel van 6000000 naturelle se vryheidsfees”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-20, p. 2.

⁶¹² Anonym, “Afrika tot 1970”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-04, p. 4.

⁶¹³ Anonym, “Madagascar independence proclaimed”, *The Star*, 1960-06-28, p. 5; Anonym, “Changes in map bring test days to Africa”, *The Star*, 1960-06-21, p. 11.

⁶¹⁴ Anonym, “New flag unfurled in Africa”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-08-06, p. 2. ; Anonym, “6 m. To get freedom today”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-06-20, p. 3.

⁶¹⁵ S. Uys, “This is Africa’s year”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-10, p. 2.

⁶¹⁶ Anonym, “Independence day brings violence to Cameroons”, *The Star*, 1960-01-02, p. 1.

⁶¹⁷ Anonym, “Anti kolonialisme nêrens so sterk as in Franse Kameroen”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04, p. 2.

⁶¹⁸ Anonym, “Bloed vloei in nuwe swart staat”, *Die Burger*, 1960-07-02, p. 1.

killed. *Die Transvaler* on the other hand had a slightly more indirect and subtle approach to the violence and separated the death from violent actions to an extent by saying that “all the people who were killed, died from wounds caused by spears and arrows” and thus not attaching the fatalities to specific human action.⁶¹⁹ In another event related to the Congo celebrations, the Belgian King Baudouin’s sword was seized from his car as he was driving through a procession. *Die Vaderland* portrays this as an attempt made on his life,⁶²⁰ whereas *The Star* and *Die Transvaler* simply mention that someone snatched his sword.⁶²¹ *Die Transvaler* similarly stated regarding the Congo’s independence that the country was “free today, but that it remained a boiling pot”⁶²² whereas *Die Vaderland* said that the “fear exists that the area will still be in anarchy for an extended period of time”.⁶²³ On the eve of Somalia’s independence, *The Star* reported that the event might “explode the horn of Africa into a modern holy war” because of political and religious rivalries and that there would be “plenty of worries for everyone concerned”.⁶²⁴

In the portrayal of African cities, the terminology was often loaded. *The Star*⁶²⁵ mentioned the capital of Gabon’s streets being “choked with flags” during the independence day celebrations and was disparaging about the fact that “nothing can be heard... because everybody talks at the top of their voices and the radio is on as well”.⁶²⁶ This article sketched imagery of the city of Lagos by mentioning “deformed beggars” sitting around drinking at any time of night and the “terrible slum and sanitation problems in Lagos”.⁶²⁷ Although the article was supposed to focus on Nigeria’s independence, it is much more a feature article describing all the negative things that the reporter did not like about the city of Lagos.⁶²⁸ *Die Vaderland* said that the West

⁶¹⁹ Anonym, “Oproer woed in Nigerië: 14 al dood”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-09-30, p. 1.

⁶²⁰ Anonym, “Kongo vandag onafhanklik”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-30, p. 1.

⁶²¹ Anonym, “Native seizes King Baudouin’s sword”, *The Star*, 1960-06-30, p. 1.

⁶²² Anonym, “Kongo vandag vry: Bly kookpot”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-30, p. 1.

⁶²³ Anonym, “Republiek Kongo”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-30, p. 12.

⁶²⁴ Anonym, “New Somali state will emerge at midnight”, *The Star*, 1960-07-30, p. 3.

⁶²⁵ Anonym, “Gabon is free and stays with France”, *The Star*, 1960-08-17, p. 17.

⁶²⁶ Anonym, “Union Jack comes down at midnight”, *The Star*, 1960-09-30, p.9.

⁶²⁷ Anonym, “Union Jack comes down at midnight”, *The Star*, 1960-09-30, p.9.

⁶²⁸ Anonym, “Union Jack comes down at midnight”, *The Star*, 1960-09-30, p. 9.

must remember that “Nigeria is and would always remain a native state”⁶²⁹ but that various developments were taking place in the country. In this regard the reporter claimed that Nigerians did not see Accra as competition for their major city because they would build Lagos up to be the “New York of Africa”.⁶³⁰ *The Rand Daily Mail* also partook in the sensationalist nature of these newspaper articles and started the year 1960 with a report that “drug crazed rioters branded by witch-doctors to make them invincible, turned this... city into a bloodbath.”⁶³¹ The report also mentioned that Africa faced a future of “terrorism and anarchy”.⁶³²

In commenting on Africa in general, *Die Vaderland* was very cynical on what 1960 held in store for the African continent and stated that “the black man's old enemies of poverty, illness, corruption, inefficiency and lack of discipline and effectiveness have not disappeared along with the colonialism”.⁶³³ It added that Africa was now responsible for finding solutions for these problems.⁶³⁴ *The Rand Daily Mail* however commented that if countries such as the Congo could manage to successfully overcome its challenges, many people would conclude that “African nationalism is capable of almost any achievement”.⁶³⁵

6.3 PATERNALISM

The next category that was identified in these newspapers was a general portrayal of the events in Africa during 1960 from a “paternalistic” point of view. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* describes paternalism as “acting fatherly”. The term is also applied to the way that states act towards other states or entities.⁶³⁶ In this regard, the South African

⁶²⁹ Anonym, “Nigerië môre ook vry: so sal hy uitsien”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-09-30, p. 5.

⁶³⁰ Anonym, “Nigerië môre ook vry: so sal hy uitsien”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-09-30, p. 5.

⁶³¹ Anonym, “Drugged mob runs riot”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-01, p. 1.

⁶³² Anonym, “Tribesmen still demonstrating in the Congo”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-06-29, p. 1.

⁶³³ Anonym, “Swartman se nuwe geloof het verdere ambisies by hom wakker gemaak”, *Die Vaderland*, 1959-12-31, p. 2.

⁶³⁴ Anonym, “Swartman se nuwe geloof het verdere ambisies by hom wakker gemaak”, *Die Vaderland*, 1959-12-31, p. 2.

⁶³⁵ Anonym, “Test case”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-07-01, p. 10.

⁶³⁶ *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 872.

newspapers do not necessarily “act paternalistic” towards the newly independent states, but they do show this type of mentality towards them. This adult-child relationship where one party thinks of itself as superior to the other, without necessarily being condescending, is thus the definition of paternalism that is applicable to this situation. South Africa is seen as the “older” and thus more experienced state, whereas the newly independent states are still “children” who have to grow towards the point of adult statehood. This idea also relates to that of *The Star* and *Rand Daily Mail* articles where some Africans were represented as “more cultured” than others, and thus insinuated that there were certain levels of “civilization”, which some states and citizens still had to obtain.

The English newspapers were much more vocal in their portrayal of the paternalistic mentality taken towards newly independent states and, as will become evident, also generally advocated that there should be a certain level of gradual independence. The imagery that was most often used was that of a child. The term “baby” or “infant” featured most prominently in the articles. A *Rand Daily Mail* opinion article stated that South Africa would be “hearing from this infant [newly independent Nigeria] before long”. An article in the *Sunday Times* also mentioned that Belgium withdrew from the Congo when the “baby started to cry” and also referred to the “infant republic” in the same article.⁶³⁷ Another article mentioned how leaving the “baby outside and shutting the door” does not appear to be the right course of action and that “in cases like this, cradle, baby and bawl usually end up on someone else’s doorstep”.⁶³⁸ This referred to leaving a newly independent state to do as it pleased without rules or assistance, and that this usually led to it ending up being someone else’s problem. *The Star* was the English newspaper that gave the most attention to this paternalistic view regarding Africa. For example, an article in *The Star* regarding Nigeria’s independence commented that “there are going to be birth pangs here”.⁶³⁹ In another article on Nigerian independence, Ghana was referred to as a “brash headstrong teenager” and

⁶³⁷ Anonym, “Ferment in the Congo”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-07-10, p. 12.

⁶³⁸ Anonym, “Ferment in the Congo”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-07-10, p. 12.

⁶³⁹ Anonym, “Union Jack comes down at midnight”, *The Star*, 1960-09-30, p. 9.

commented on Ghana being granted independence “too early”.⁶⁴⁰ In one instance, Dahomey was described as an “infant” during the period of French rule when it still received assistance, but was later referred to as “now adult Dahomey” when it had become independent.⁶⁴¹

These paternalistic ideas were also present in some Afrikaans newspapers. A cartoon published in *Die Vaderland* (Figure 12) portrayed the newly independent Congo as an “infant” taking its first steps and portrays the child as taking these first steps in the direction of a “river of troubles”.⁶⁴² In another context, an article published in *Die Transvaler* reported that the newly independent Congo was being “childish” for not inviting South Africa to the independence day celebrations.⁶⁴³

This mentality was even blatantly discussed in some of the newspapers. In an article in the *Rand Daily Mail* the writer of an opinion piece asked: “How then shall we defend our insistence that Africans have generations of paternalism still to undergo before they are ready to participate in the running of a country – or parts of a county?” The question is a reflection on South Africa and rhetorically poses the question of whether South Africa would ‘survive’ the implications of Africa Year.⁶⁴⁴ This paternalistic mentality and the concept of whether countries were well enough prepared for independence were thus intertwined in numerous news reports. Most of the English newspapers portrayed African independence in a rather negative way and showed support or preference for a more gradual process of independence. The newspaper made reference to the reliance that some states would still have on their previous colonisers after independence by for example mentioning that Dahomey could “hardly exist economically unless federated with neighbours”.⁶⁴⁵ In an opinion article it was stated that “with the proclamation of Mauretania as a sovereign state the word independence loses all meaning” implying

⁶⁴⁰ J. Spicer, “Independent Nigeria should be able to overcome possible troubles ahead”, *The Star*, 1960-10-01, p. 14.

⁶⁴¹ Anonym, “France’s help welcomed by new state”, *The Star*, 1960-08-02, p. 15.

⁶⁴² Anonym, “Die eerste treë”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-07-01, p. 13.

⁶⁴³ Anonym, “Eerste onvolwasse skrede”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01, p. 8.

⁶⁴⁴ Anonym, “A decade of change”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-04, p. 6.

⁶⁴⁵ Anonym, “Dahomey gets independence”, *The Star*, 1960-08-01, p. 17.

that the term “independent” did not at all mean that a country could function as a self-governing state.⁶⁴⁶

Besides this negative view of independence, *The Star* also portrayed several aspects of African independence as being “disorderly”. One article mentioned that “we in South Africa have no interest in disorder on our continent”,⁶⁴⁷ which revealed a distrust in newly independent states in Africa and the events on the continent. Other articles also reiterated this scepticism by saying that there would be “some alarming rocks and currents ahead for Africa’s newest ship of state”.⁶⁴⁸ *The Star* also insinuated that the new states would make “uninformed decisions” and that it would be “unrealistic to suppose that they will snub Russia or prove sympathetic to the South African government”.⁶⁴⁹

In line with this apprehensive stance, the *Rand Daily Mail* argued that independence was “too forced” and should be more “gradual” since countries were being “pitch forked into independence with the minimum of preparation”.⁶⁵⁰ It again drew attention to the “much needed preparation” for independence that Africans did not receive by saying that upon the independence of the Congo “its people and politicians had so obviously not been prepared for it”.⁶⁵¹ There was also a hint of negativity in the terminology used in this publication to describe these states on the eve of their independence: “newest nation faces a turbulent future, threatened by terrorism and plain anarchy”⁶⁵² and “African government... sets off on an uncharted course like a kind of a rogue comet...”.⁶⁵³ In both cases this was in reference to violent events associated with independence.⁶⁵⁴ The *Sunday Times* drew attention to the fact that African leaders

⁶⁴⁶ Anonym, “This freedom”, *The Star*, 1960-11-29, p. 16.

⁶⁴⁷ Anonym, “Independence in Nigeria”, *The Star*, 1960-10-01, p. 8.

⁶⁴⁸ J. Spicer, “Independent Nigeria should be able to overcome possible troubles ahead”, *The Star*, 1960-10-01, p. 14.

⁶⁴⁹ J. Spicer, “Independent Nigeria should be able to overcome possible troubles ahead”, *The Star*, 1960-10-01, p. 14.

⁶⁵⁰ Anonym, “Test case”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-07-07, p. 10.

⁶⁵¹ J. Worrall, “The Congo comes under African control today”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-07-01, p. 10.

⁶⁵² Anonym, “Drugged mob runs riot”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-01, p. 1.

⁶⁵³ J. Worrall, “The Congo comes under African control today”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-07-01, p. 10.

⁶⁵⁴ J. Worrall, “The Congo comes under African control today”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-07-01, p. 10.

emerged from “jail” and became “prime ministers”⁶⁵⁵ and indicated that issues of corruption were not taken seriously by the African governments.⁶⁵⁶

As regards the Afrikaans newspapers, their reporting appeared to be more factual, yet also added to this negative view. Reference has already been made to the cartoon (Figure 12) in *Die Vaderland* where newly independent Congo was portrayed as a young child heading towards trouble. *Die Burger* newspaper also published an article more in line with the views of gradual independence where a series of pictures entitled “Then and Now” was published.⁶⁵⁷ These pictures showed Congolese people and the “primitive” ways in which they travelled or dealt with healthcare. The pictures show the “advancements” that had been made in terms of performing these tasks by using modern and Westernised travel and healthcare techniques. This range of pictures shows how the Belgians had “Westernised” the Congolese people and had thus been preparing them for independence. The article accompanying the pictures states that this “civilisation process” was however interrupted by the “wind of change” that was sweeping across the continent.⁶⁵⁸ This idea is very important since some of these Afrikaans newspapers had already insinuated that apartheid was a developmental phase for the granting of independence in the long run. This argument was specifically used to react to the “wind of change” speech. More publications would make reference to the “wind of change” interrupting the “development” of the continent.

6.4 SURVIVAL OF THE WHITE MAN

The Afrikaans newspapers did not focus as much on the individual declarations of independence and the independence celebrations, but rather concentrated on the theme of the diminishing white population numbers in Africa. As was seen in Chapter 4, this focus on the “survival of the white man in Africa” even preceded Macmillan’s trip to the continent. However, as was made clear in the reaction to the “wind of change

⁶⁵⁵ S. Uys, “This is Africa’s year”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-10, p. 2.

⁶⁵⁶ S. Uys, “This is Africa’s year”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-10, p. 2.

⁶⁵⁷ Anonym, “Die Belgiese Kongo- Toe en Nou”, Bylaag tot *Die Burger*, 1960-06-25, p. 30.

⁶⁵⁸ Anonym, “Die Belgiese Kongo- Toe en Nou”, Bylaag tot *Die Burger*, 1960-06-25, p. 30.

speech” discussed in Chapter 5, the interpretation of the speech as the ‘abandonment of the white people on the continent’ intensified the focus on this aspect. All three of the Afrikaans newspapers used in this study made reference to the diminishing white numbers in Africa during 1960 in more than one article. This was in turn used to reflect on the South African situation, and in some cases used as justification for white domination and thus also the perceived “civilised domination” in South Africa.

Die Transvaler newspaper specifically asked the question of the “feasibility of white citizens remaining in Africa”, and South Africa in particular. It argued that if the white population of South Africa wished to survive it had to be realistic about the situation in Africa and gain knowledge about the events taking place on the continent.⁶⁵⁹ In the same article reference is made to how white population groups or settlers in other African countries were “fighting for survival”.⁶⁶⁰ This indirectly creates the impression that African nationalism was perceived as a threat to the white population groups and “civilization” in Africa, as opposed to it being a fight against colonialism.

Die Burger specifically focused on the place of the “white citizen” in the process of decolonisation and published a map of Africa (Figure 13) to inform readers of the changes that were planned for Africa. Underneath the map, all the African territories were listed, along with their political status and population size. The significance however is that the reporter also specified the size of the white population in each of the countries or colonies. Phrases such as “virtually no whites”, “no whites among them” and “population of about 5 million of whom about 70,000 are whites” concluded all of the country profiles in this article.⁶⁶¹ In an article published in English in *Die Burger* entitled “Our place in the New Africa”, the reporter reflected that in light of the developments on the continent “a solid black hostility is taking shape against Southern Africa, that part of the continent which will remain under white control and leadership indefinitely”.⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁹ Anonym, “Afrika tot 1970”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-04, p. 4.

⁶⁶⁰ Anonym, “Afrika tot 1970”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-04, p. 4.

⁶⁶¹ C. Pama, “So lyk die nuwe Afrika en sy vlae”, *Bylaag tot Die Burger*, 1960-04-20, p. 21.

⁶⁶² Anonym, “Our place in the new Africa”, *Die Burger*, 1960-06-25, p. 8.

Die Vaderland also used a map (Figure 14) to trace the changes in Africa over a number of years. On 31 December 1959 it published two maps that depicted the control of states based on racial groups. A map of Africa in 1910 thus shows the entire continent, excluding Liberia and Ethiopia, as being under white control. The other map is of what Africa would look like towards the end of 1960 and stated that during the course of the year most of the African continent would come under “black control”. In this article the focus is thus only on the diminishing number of white-controlled states in Africa, but no deeper analysis of white population numbers is made.⁶⁶³ An article published later in *Die Vaderland* in June had a similar theme and included a map (Figure 15) to show the newly independent African states with the following heading: “Not even 5 million whites from Cape to Cairo”. The article accompanying the map also drew attention to only five million whites remaining on the African continent, and that the majority of them were citizens of South Africa. This article also provided a list of all the African territories, stating their political status and population sizes. In this version the reporter however differentiated between “inhabitants” (*inwoners*; African citizens) and “non-natives” (*nie-inboorlinge*; meaning whites, Asians, Arabic etc).⁶⁶⁴ *Die Vaderland* published yet another map of this type in September 1960 (Figure 16). This also showed the African countries that were under white or black control. The title accompanying the map was “Al Swarter” (all the more black). This accompanying commentary however again shows how South Africa was already aware of its exclusion in the 1960s with the commentator stating that

this wind of change has become a black south-eastern which would wipe away anything in its path. It is good to know that at the southern tip of Africa the rock of Table Mountain is designed to withstand the strongest hurricane.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶³ Anonym, “Die belangrikste jaar vir Swart Nasionalisme breek nou aan”, *Die Vaderland*, 1959-12-31, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁴ Anonym, “So lyk Afrika vandag”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-17, p. 19.

⁶⁶⁵ Anonym, “Nigerië more ook vry: so sal hy uitsien”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-09-30, p. 5.

In this article the reporter was thus commenting on the “wind of black nationalism” as a destructive force and gave the opinion that white-controlled South Africa had the means to stop this wind.

One particular event that prompted reactions regarding white population groups in Africa was that of the crisis in the Congo. There were riots in this area preceding Congo’s independence, but the majority of the upheavals and brutalities, labelled as the “Congo Crisis”, would only occur after independence.⁶⁶⁶ The nature of the brutality against settlers in the Congo prompted media questions about the future of these types of societies in Africa. The significance in terms of the press is that the Afrikaans newspapers appear to have chosen to report and reflect on this aspect, whereas the English newspapers do not seem to be interested in Congo’s independence until before the start of the main events of the Congo crisis. *Die Transvaler* specifically made reference to how the “mentality” of the newly independent Congo was “a problem that affected the statehood of the white man in Africa”.⁶⁶⁷ This notion was further used to reflect on the South African government during 1960 by asserting that “internal divisions over its [South Africa] fundamental pursuit of white survival can no longer be afforded”.⁶⁶⁸ In other references to “race” in the Afrikaans newspapers, *Die Vaderland* and *Die Transvaler* focused on the opinion of a Congolese teacher who was on holiday in South Africa. He said that the white man in the Congo had nothing to fear, since the violence in the newly independent state was a fight amongst the “black tribes”.⁶⁶⁹ On the day preceding the Congo’s independence, *Die Vaderland* already published an article about a refugee camp that South Africa was setting up for those whites fleeing from the Congo.⁶⁷⁰ *Die Transvaler* also published a reader’s letter regarding the collection of funds for white refugees from the Congo.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁶ F. Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*, p. 83.

⁶⁶⁷ Anonym, “Eerste onvolwasse skrede”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01, p. 8.

⁶⁶⁸ Anonym, “Eerste onvolwasse skrede”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01, p. 8.

⁶⁶⁹ Anonym, “Swart twis Kongo se groot gevaar”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-07-01, p. 4; Anonym, “Kongo-gevaar is tussen swartes”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01, p. 9.

⁶⁷⁰ Anonym, “Vlugtelingekamp beplan by Brakpan”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-29, p. 5.

⁶⁷¹ Anonym, “Wil blankes uit die Kongo help”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01, p. 8.

If the English newspapers did not reflect on the role of white people in this way, then it is relevant to examine how they reported on this event. The *Rand Daily Mail*, in one article, made mention of what percentage of the Congo's population was white, but added no reflection or comment on the statistic.⁶⁷² Another article mentioned that during French decolonisation there had been no anti-white riots and that some of the political parties in these African countries had white members.⁶⁷³ The *Rand Daily Mail* also reported on white servicemen in Nigeria taking an £8 000 compensation for leaving the territory upon the transition of Nigeria to an independent nation.⁶⁷⁴ Both the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times* used the term "white" to refer to the former colonial rulers of these countries, unless when they were referring to specific citizenship, such as "Belgian".⁶⁷⁵ *The Star* mentioned that Europeans were warmly greeted with handshakes in the streets of the Congo⁶⁷⁶ and that there appeared to be no sign of antagonism towards whites in the Congo at this time.⁶⁷⁷ On several occasions *The Star* thus used the term "white" or "European" interchangeably. It seems that the English newspapers were aware of the racial divisions, but made no attempt at commenting on them.

The only article in the analysed newspapers which made a specific reference to this racial aspect of the situation in an English newspaper was an opinion piece published in the *Sunday Times* as a reflection on the situation in the Congo. The article mentioned that the result of growing African nationalism might be a "a solitary white outpost in a black Africa" in Rhodesia, and that South Africa had to show its support for Rhodesia in this difficult situation.⁶⁷⁸ Even though the majority of the articles that were analysed made reference to different racial groups, the abovementioned ones are those that chose to comment on or interpret the racial divisions that were apparent on the African continent at that time, and portray them as an ultimate struggle between white and black.

⁶⁷² J. Worrall, "The Congo comes under African control today", *The Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-07-01, p. 10.

⁶⁷³ W. Millinship, "Smooth liquidation of France's African empire", *The Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-08-04, p. 8.

⁶⁷⁴ Anonym, "Peace calls precede day of independence", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-09-30, p. 6.

⁶⁷⁵ S. Uys, "This is Africa's year", *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-10, p. 2.

⁶⁷⁶ Anonym, "King Baudouin hands over the Congo", *The Star*, 1960-06-30, p. 1.

⁶⁷⁷ Anonym, "And Africa plunges to freedom", *The Star*, 1960-07-01, p. 1.

⁶⁷⁸ Anonym, "Ferment in the Congo", *Sunday Times*, 1960-07-10, p. 12.

6.5 SOUTH AFRICA IN THE MIRROR

The independence celebrations of these African countries more often than not resulted in the press reflecting on or internalizing the South African situation. The Afrikaans newspapers were making South Africa the centre point of numerous articles published on Africa, but also being open about the fact that South Africa was being opposed by the newly independent states because of its internal policies. Often an article about African independence actually focused more on South Africa than it would on the newly independent country.

During the week of independence for the Congo, Madagascar and Somaliland – 26 June to 1 July 1960 - *Die Vaderland* reported on the speech delivered by a local South African politician. The reporter quoted him as saying that “the ultimate goal of the self-appointed powerhouses in Africa is destroying what was established here in South Africa”.⁶⁷⁹ This idea of South Africa being outrun in importance by the new African states also arose in an article on Nigeria’s independence. This reporter further commented on how the magazine *Commonwealth Today* was becoming more and more “black orientated” and focused, and only reported on newly independent African countries, whereas no reference was made to South Africa in that specific issue.⁶⁸⁰ This was again a reminder of the idea that South Africa was drifting further into isolation which appeared to become a trend shortly after the “wind of change” speech.

Die Transvaler also picked up on this and reported on this negative attitude of newly independent states towards South Africa. In an article entitled “Somaliland does not recognize SA” this attitude was explained as: “decision was made due to South Africa's racial policies”.⁶⁸¹ Another article on the independence day celebration of the Congo stated that South Africa was one of three countries that were initially invited to attend the celebrations and then later “uninvited”.⁶⁸² The front page of *Die Burger* on 18 June

⁶⁷⁹ The local politician referred to in the text was Mr. J. W. Du Plessis, who was the administrator of the Free State at the time; Anonym, “Nuwe kragmanne in Afrika wil alles in Unie vernietig”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-28, p. 7.

⁶⁸⁰ J. Snuffelaar, “Ons moes tog môre iemand gehad het by die fees in Nigerië”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-09-30, p. 5.

⁶⁸¹ Anonym, “Somaliland erken nie SA”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-30, p. 7.

⁶⁸² Anonym, “80 lande by Kongo se fees”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-29, p. 4.

1960 followed a similar pattern with the headline: “New Congo attacks the Union. South Africa unwelcome on freedom day”.⁶⁸³ The article was not at all candid about the situation, stating that the decision to “un-invite” South Africa from the Independence Day celebrations was one of the first decisions that the new Senate had made. The article also stated that the Senate endured a few moments of silence for the “the victims of the unrest in South Africa”⁶⁸⁴ and reported that decisions had been made elsewhere in Africa to take action against the apartheid system.⁶⁸⁵

The *Sunday Times* was even more direct in its commentary on the NP government. In an article published in January 1960, sketching the expectations for the year ahead on the continent, it mentioned that one of the areas where there were unresolved problems was South Africa. It stated that “the Nationalist Government refuses steadfastly to bow its head before the dictates of the post war era”.⁶⁸⁶ The article itself was however sceptical about the African situation in 1960 and mentioned that many African leaders emerged from jail and would not listen to “Western observers” who warned against corruption and inefficiency. Whether the reporter was in favour of African independence or opposed to the movement is unclear, but he did not regard South Africa as a successful independent nation. The reporter concluded that the “South African government has made a bigger hash of government than almost any other state in Africa”.⁶⁸⁷ Another article in the *Sunday Times* also used Nigeria’s independence to comment on South Africa and even entitled the article “SA loses chance of wooing Africa”.⁶⁸⁸ The article used the absence of a South African delegation at Nigeria’s independence celebrations in more than one way, firstly asking whether “the Union was too ashamed to come?” The article, which was supposed to reflect on South Africa’s absence from the independence celebration, also included the views of some international politicians that apartheid was “a foolish policy”. The reporter furthermore made mention that the only image left of South Africa, in the “absence of a delegation”,

⁶⁸³ Anonym, “Nuwe Kongo val die Unie aan die”, *Die Burger*, 1960-06-18, p. 1.

⁶⁸⁴ Anonym, “Nuwe Kongo val die Unie aan die”, *Die Burger*, 1960-06-18, p. 1.

⁶⁸⁵ Anonym, “Nuwe Kongo val die Unie aan die”, *Die Burger*, 1960-06-18, p. 1.

⁶⁸⁶ S. Uys, “This is Africa’s year”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-10, p. 2.

⁶⁸⁷ S. Uys, “This is Africa’s year”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-10, p. 2.

⁶⁸⁸ Anonym, “SA loses chance of wooing Africa”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-10-02, p. 14.

was that which was being portrayed in the local Nigerian press as “South Africa: the monster”.⁶⁸⁹

The Star newspaper reported on “Africa week” - the week in June 1960 when more than 21 million Africans would “gain” independence - by also mentioning the resulting “pressure on the South”. The article quoted , John Dickie, political correspondent for the British newspaper the *Daily Mail*, as having stated that “the freedom march brings the challenge to apartheid to its strongest point so far”.⁶⁹⁰ Another article on Somalia’s independence made reference to a woman in a crowd of protestors carrying a placard that “was one condemning apartheid in South Africa”.⁶⁹¹ Mention was also made of the fact that it would be “hopeful to think” that newly independent states, such as Nigeria, would not rebuke South Africa.⁶⁹²

The *Rand Daily Mail* also used the events in Africa as a way to reflect on South Africa. An opinion article on the year ahead for Africa, published in January 1960, asked some serious questions about the situation in South Africa. Perhaps the most poignant of these was the reporter stating that the people of South Africa could no longer “pretend that things in South Africa can remain as they are indefinitely” and asked how “we” shall defend the ideas of prolonged paternalism whilst all the other countries were gaining independence.⁶⁹³ The reporter concluded by asking whether South Africa could hope to escape the implications of the change in Africa in 1960. On the issue of South Africa’s absence from some of the independence day celebrations the *Rand Daily Mail* again pointed a finger at the general image of South Africa by stating that “South Africa was not only left off the invitation list; she was virtually rebuked for believing that she should be asked to the party”.⁶⁹⁴ This article concluded with a comment on the fact that South

⁶⁸⁹ Anonym, “SA loses chance of wooing Africa”, *Sunday Times*, 1960-10-02, p. 14.

⁶⁹⁰ Anonym, “Changes in map bring test days to Africa”, *The Star*, 1960-06-21, p. 17.

⁶⁹¹ Anonym, “Police fire on Somali crowd”, *The Star*, 1960-07-02, p. 1.

⁶⁹² Anonym, “Independent Nigeria should be able to overcome possible troubles ahead”, *The Star*, 1960-10-01, p. 14.

⁶⁹³ Anonym, “A decade of change”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-04, p. 6.

⁶⁹⁴ Anonym, “Not wanted”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-06-30, p. 8.

Africa's relations with the newly independent states needed serious attention and work.⁶⁹⁵

There was however one occasion where South Africa's actions directly related to the independence celebrations in Africa. Prime Minister H. F. Verwoerd sent his regards to some of the African countries that gained their independence in the cases where South Africa could not attend or was not invited to attend the independence day celebrations. Below is a table listing the content found in the articles examined as it relates to the "well wishes" that were sent to the newly independent states; South Africa's absence from Nigeria's celebrations; as well as not being invited to the celebrations of the newly independent Congo.

Table 6 : Analysis of newspaper reports on three key issues:

	Well wishes sent by South Africa	Unwelcome at the Congo's independence day celebrations	Absence from Nigeria's independence celebrations.
<i>Die Transvaler</i>	An article was published on the message that was sent to Nigeria congratulating them on their independence. ⁶⁹⁶	South Africa was listed in an article as one the states who was not invited to the Congo's independence celebrations. ⁶⁹⁷	×
<i>Die Vaderland</i>	An article stated that the Prime Minister had sent a message via telegram to Nigeria for their day of independence. ⁶⁹⁸	An article mentioned that the government had decided not to send someone to the Congo, even if he would be welcome upon arrival, and mentioned that a message would be sent instead. ⁶⁹⁹	An article stated that South Africa should have been represented at the independence celebrations of Nigeria. ⁷⁰⁰
<i>Die Burger</i>	An initial article reported that South Africa did send messages of congratulations to the relevant countries ⁷⁰¹ and later	South Africa is reported as being unwelcome at the freedom celebrations of the Congo. ⁷⁰³	×

⁶⁹⁵ Anonym, "Not wanted", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-06-30, p. 8.

⁶⁹⁶ Anonym, "Boodskap van SA aan Nigerië", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-10-01, p. 7.

⁶⁹⁷ Anonym, "80 lande by Kongo se fees", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-29, p. 4.

⁶⁹⁸ Anonym, "Premier stuur telegram aan Nigerië", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-10-01, p. 1.

⁶⁹⁹ Anonym, "Diedrichs nie meer na Kongo" *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-29, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁰ J. Snuffelaar, "Ons moes tog môre iemand gehad het by die fees in Nigerië", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-09-30, p. 5.

⁷⁰¹ Anonym, "Goeie wense van SA aan Afrika", *Die Burger*, 1960-01-23, p. 8.

	that well wishes had been sent to Nigeria by Verwoerd. ⁷⁰²		
<i>Rand Daily Mail</i>	An article reported that the Union sent a message and wished Nigeria well with their independence. ⁷⁰⁴	An article stated that South Africa would not be represented at the Congo's independence festivities but no reason was given. ⁷⁰⁵ Another article stating that South Africa was unwelcome at the Congo's celebrations. ⁷⁰⁶	South Africa's absence at Nigeria's celebrations was noted in an article and it is mentioned that a representative should have been there. ⁷⁰⁷
<i>The Star</i>	×	×	×
<i>Sunday Times</i>	×	×	An article asked why South Africa would not attend the celebrations. ⁷⁰⁸

What can be seen from the table is that it appears as if the Afrikaans-language newspapers tended to avoid reporting on the exclusion of South Africa from these international events. They rather focused on in-depth reports of Verwoerd's diplomatic "well wishes" to newly independent countries. Both *Die Transvaler*⁷⁰⁹ and *Die Vaderland*⁷¹⁰ published Verwoerd's entire telegram to Nigeria while the *Rand Daily Mail*⁷¹¹ simply provided a summary of the telegram. Generally the English-language newspapers did not report on the telegram as much, but rather focused on South Africa's absence from these independence celebrations. The isolation of South Africa was thus noted, and used to gain favour for the NP cause, specifically by *Die Transvaler*.

⁷⁰³ Anonym, "Nuwe Kongo val die Unie aan", *Die Burger*, 1960-06-18, p. 1.

⁷⁰² Anonym, "Nigerië deur Verwoerd gelukgewens", *Die Burger*, 1960-10-01, p. 6.

⁷⁰⁴ Anonym, "Union wishes Nigeria well", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-10-01, p. 9.

⁷⁰⁵ Anonym, "Tribesmen still demonstrating in Congo", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-06-29, p. 1.

⁷⁰⁶ Anonym, "Not wanted", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-07-30, p. 8.

⁷⁰⁷ Anonym, "Africa's new giant", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-10-01, p. 8.

⁷⁰⁸ Anonym, "SA loses chance of wooing Africa", *Sunday Times*, 1960-10-02, p. 14.

⁷⁰⁹ Anonym, "Boodskap van SA aan Nigerië", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-10-01, p. 7.

⁷¹⁰ Anonym, "Premier stuur telegram aan Nigerië", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-10-01, p. 1.

⁷¹¹ Anonym, "Union wishes Nigeria well", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-10-01, p. 9.

6.6 THE FEAR OF THE “KREMLIN CRIMSON”

Another common theme that received attention in these newspaper articles was communism. This could be seen as an everyday theme for articles that were published in 1960 during the Cold War era. As previously mentioned, communism was regarded as a “real threat” to people across large sections of the Western world. In hindsight it is not so easy to think that people could be shaken by the ‘Rooi gevaar’ (red danger), but for many people living in the 1960s, communism apparently posed a very real threat to their way of life. Almost all of the newspapers examined for this study focused on the “threat” or “danger” of communism in the newly independent African states.

Die Transvaler, in an article discussing the 80 countries that would attend the independence day celebrations of the Congo, singled out that five ‘communist countries’ would be attending the celebrations.⁷¹² The reporter also mentioned that communist Czechoslovakia would send numerous representatives. Perhaps the reporter was trying to juxtapose the presence of communist representation with the absence of South African representation, which was briefly mentioned in the same article. Another article focused on a similar topic under the subheading “17 rooies” (17 reds) that stated that Russia had sent 17 representatives to the newly independent Congo.⁷¹³ Again the newspaper was possibly trying to draw attention to the communist ties of a country that was hostile towards South Africa. An article entitled “Nice shot says Mr. K. to Congo”⁷¹⁴ drew attention to Nikita Khrushchev, then Prime Minister of Russia, commending the Congo on dealing a fatal blow to the colonial system and mentioned how “Communist China” also saw the independence of the Congo as a significant event in this regard.⁷¹⁵

Die Vaderland confronted the communist presence in Africa head on with a cartoon published in June 1960. The cartoon (Figure 17) depicted a vulture flying over Africa, casting a shadow in the form of a communist hammer and sickle. The cartoon was

⁷¹² Anonym, “80 lande by Kongo se fees”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-29, p. 4.

⁷¹³ Anonym, “Botsings in Kongo”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-30, p. 9.

⁷¹⁴ Anonym, “Mooi skoot, sê Mnr. K. Aan Kongo”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01, p. 7.

⁷¹⁵ Anonym, “Mooi skoot, sê Mnr. K. Aan Kongo”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01, p. 7.

entitled “Red shadow over black Africa”.⁷¹⁶ The cartoonist seemed to be implying that the communists were scavenging for any role that they could play on the African continent. By saying “black Africa” the cartoonist might also be excluding South Africa from the rest of the continent, and thus also from the ‘scavenging’ communists. An opinion article on the post-colonial Congo also used similar imagery in saying that the unrest in the Congo was “a development that could bring the new republic Congo within reach of the claws of communism”.⁷¹⁷

In an article on the independence of Cameroon, the new Cameroonian government’s policy that it would accept help from any country, including Russia, spoke clearly about its stance and attitude towards colonialism and independence. Even though the article did not make any outright statement about communism, the new government was seen as indifferent for also being willing to accept help from “communist Russia”.⁷¹⁸ *The Star* newspaper also portrayed this communist presence in Africa surrounding the independence events and sarcastically mentioned that “the Russians, as usual, flew in at noon yesterday in a Red Air Force plane”⁷¹⁹ on the day before Somali’s independence. Also reporting on the communist presence during the time of Nigeria’s independence, reporter John Spicer indicated that one of the troubles for the new Nigeria was the “tinge of Kremlin crimson” but that Nigeria did not partake in the “flirtations with Moscow that Ghana and the Congo have indulged in”.⁷²⁰ The reporter also mentioned that the newspapers in Lagos “have been staunch in its support for Russia” and that it would be “unrealistic to suppose that they will snub Russia...”.⁷²¹ Interestingly the *Sunday Times* did not specifically mention communism or communist countries in any of the articles published in this period.

⁷¹⁶ Anonym, “Rooi skaduwee oor swart Afrika”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-20, p. 11.

⁷¹⁷ Anonym, “Republiek Kongo”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-30, p. 12.

⁷¹⁸ Anonym, “Anti kolonialisme nêrens so sterk as in Franse Kameroen”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04, p. 2.

⁷¹⁹ Anonym, “New Somali state will emerge at midnight”, *The Star*, 1960-06-30, p. 3.

⁷²⁰ J. Spicer, “Independent Nigeria should be able to overcome possible troubles ahead”, *The Star*, 1960-10-01, p. 14.

⁷²¹ J. Spicer, “Independent Nigeria should be able to overcome possible troubles ahead”, *The Star*, 1960-10-01, p. 14.

The *Rand Daily Mail* directly acknowledged the possibility of the Cold War playing itself out in Africa and the use of the country as a figurative battleground by stating that

there are signs that the new “peaceful contest” between Communism and Western democracy will be fought chiefly in Africa and the far East.⁷²²

With the independence of Nigeria *Die Vaderland* identified and discussed the presence of communism in an article investigating the country’s new status. It began by stating that one of several questions that would need to be answered was “Will he (Nigeria) allow communism to get a hold on him?”.⁷²³ The article then pointed out several instances where Nigeria had already made its support for the West apparent, such as keeping strong ties with the West; prohibiting the importation of certain communist literature; and that they would act against any Nigerian who was suspected of “communist action”.⁷²⁴ It was therefore generally apparent that the communist presence in Africa was a concern noted in the white minority media.

6.7 “AFRICA YEAR” OVERVIEW

As mentioned, the newspapers analysed for this reflection were considered for the date preceding independence, the date of independence, and the date after independence. By counting the articles that were present in each newspaper over this three-day period for each date of independence it is clear which publications gave more attention and reportage space to the events in Africa. The table below (Table 7) indicates the general reporting style for each newspaper, as they reported on the independence dates of Africa year. In the first column the name of the country gaining independence is listed. The next column gives an indication of which newspapers reported on a specific country’s independence with an exclusive report, as well as what number of reports they published. The next column reflects what newspapers published general articles on

⁷²² Anonym, “A decade of change”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-04, p. 6.

⁷²³ Anonym, “Nigerië more ook vry: so sal hy uitsien”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-09-30, p. 5.

⁷²⁴ Anonym, “Nigerië more ook vry: so sal hy uitsien”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-09-30, p. 5.

African independence. The reports reflected in this last column were general or combined articles and thus not specifically related to the day of independence. These general or combined articles therefore do not make any further country specific analysis.

Table 7: African country reporting trends during independence days of 1960

Independent country	Exclusive reports	Number of reports	Mentioned in general reports
Cameroon	<i>The Star</i> <i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i>	(2) (1) (1)	<i>Die Burger</i> <i>Sunday Times</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i>
Togo	<i>Rand Daily Mail</i>	(1)	<i>Die Burger</i> <i>Sunday Times</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i> <i>The Star</i>
Mali	<i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i>	(1) (1) (1)	<i>Die Burger</i> <i>The Star</i>
Senegal			<i>Die Burger</i>
Madagascar	<i>The Star</i> <i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i> <i>Sunday Times</i>	(2) (1) (1) (1)	<i>Die Burger</i>
Democratic Republic of the Congo	<i>Sunday Times</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i> <i>The Star</i> <i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>Die Burger</i>	(10) (9) (6) (5) (5) (4)	
Somalia	<i>The Star</i> <i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i> <i>Die Burger</i>	(4) (3) (3) (2)	<i>Sunday Times</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i>
Benin	<i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>The Star</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i>	(2) (2) (1)	<i>Die Burger</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i>
Niger	<i>Die Vaderland</i>	(1)	<i>Die Burger</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i> <i>The Star</i> <i>Rand Daily Mail</i>
Burkina Faso	<i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>Die Burger</i>	(1) (1)	<i>Die Transvaler</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i> <i>The Star</i>
Côte d'Ivoire	<i>The Star</i>	(1)	<i>Die Burger</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i> <i>Rand Daily Mail</i>
Chad	<i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>The Star</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i>	(1) (1) (1)	<i>Die Burger</i>
Central African Republic	<i>Rand Daily Mail</i>	(1)	<i>Die Burger</i>

Republic of the Congo	<i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>The Star</i>	(1) (1)	<i>Die Burger</i>
Gabon	<i>The Star</i> <i>Rand Daily Mail</i>	(1) (1)	<i>Die Burger</i>
Nigeria	<i>Rand Daily Mail</i> <i>The Star</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i> <i>Die Burger</i> <i>Die Transvaler</i> <i>Sunday Times</i>	(6) (5) (4) (4) (2) (1)	
Mauritania	<i>The Star</i> <i>Die Vaderland</i>	(3) (1)	<i>Die Burger</i> <i>Rand Daily Mail</i>

On average, the English dailies published ten more reports on Africa during this time. The reportage trends only differ to this extent, but are actually relatively similar. What is clear is that some newspapers rather reserved Africa for general reports, such as is the case with *Die Burger*, whereas others chose to give more space to the specific topic of independence in Africa, such as *The Star*. What can be seen from this is that although certain reporting trends can be attributed to individual newspapers, others can be identified in most of the examined publications. Elements such as paternalism and communism were reflected on similarly in all of the publications whereas issues such as the fate of whites on the continent was overplayed by the Afrikaans press and basically ignored by the English press. Towards the end of 1960, most of the publications had acknowledged the fact that South Africa was on the verge of isolation and used various events to reflect on South Africa's increasingly tenuous political situation.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This study had as its aim to analyse how selected events on the African continent were portrayed in white South African newspapers during the year 1960- “Africa year”. By basing this study on a structured methodological foundation and combining it with a historical understanding of the time, various insights have been gained into both the newspaper history as well as the “zeitgeist” of the white sector of South African society. In essence this study has shown that during the year 1960 the newspaper industry was much more multi-faceted and diverse than the generalizations that are often made by grouping newspapers into two distinct language groups, the English and the Afrikaans press, with two distinct ideological dispositions.

First, this study has analysed and taken account of the literature that is available on the methodology of newspaper analysis. In light of the limited number of sources on this aspect, a methodology addressing this lacuna was developed. This methodology as discussed in Chapter 2 and 3 can possibly provide a basis from which historical newspapers might be approached, specifically in the absence of tangible audience response. It is however not concerned with the latter, but rather focused on what was being produced for white public consumption.

Second, this research has also provided insights into the newspaper industry and thus given meaningful evidence that can assist in creating newspaper-specific profiles for the individual newspapers analysed in this study. The newspapers selected represented the white minority press which has been stereotyped as a binary press with the English being described as “liberal” and the Afrikaans as “conservative”. On this point, it is relevant to comment on the profiles for each individual newspaper that has come to the fore during this study.

Die Transvaler, “mouthpiece of the National Party”, can easily be labelled as the most conservative and reserved of the selected newspapers. This has become evident both in the reporting style and opinions reflected in its articles. *Die Transvaler* published very

few articles on Macmillan's tour or on African independence, thus creating the image that the newspaper did not deem these events as of much importance. When articles were published on these events, it was often because they directly related to South Africa or focused on mundane aspects. As far as Macmillan's tour was concerned, one or two reports stated that people had cheered for him, and only one or two others reported on the bomb found in Ndola.

Regarding *Die Transvaler's* portrayal of Macmillan in the Union, it presented a largely one-sided view, just as the NP had been criticised of planning a "one-sided" tour itinerary for Macmillan. In this regard, the newspaper insinuated that Macmillan was free to look around in South Africa, and drew attention to how well the government was treating the black citizens of South Africa. *Die Transvaler* even insisted that Macmillan's tour was not "one-sided". In considering Macmillan's speech, this newspaper reacted very much in line with Verwoerd's response that the whites had a duty in Africa to spread "Western civilization". In line with Eric Louw's response this newspaper also reported that whites in Africa were struggling for survival. After its supportive articles on Louw's response, this publication grew rather quiet regarding the issues, just as no further comments had been made by members of the NP. *Die Transvaler* often quoted the opinions of other international role players that were in line with those of the NP, thus creating the image that South Africa was not so out of step with the rest of the world. Regarding the general portrayal of Africa during 1960, this publication had a subtle approach to violence when it did report on events in Africa. Perhaps this subtle approach was used as a way to promote the idea that Africa was not necessarily an unsafe place. This approach could also be interpreted as that of a newspaper trying to appeal to a readership that did not want to be confronted with the reality of these events.

In *Die Vaderland*, a struggle for a larger readership, as noted in sources reporting on this newspaper's history,⁷²⁵ was apparent, and the overview of the reporting styles in this publication actually gives the impression of a conflict between ideology and

⁷²⁵ D. Richard, *Moedswilig die Uwe: Persoonlikhede uit die Noorde*, p. 44.

sensationalism. Prior to Macmillan's arrival, this publication was already focused on the "white man's survival on the continent". The image was also created in *Die Vaderland* that Macmillan was going to come to Africa to help with calming down the "problems" associated with black nationalism since the white people, especially those in Rhodesia, were in a "fight for survival". During Macmillan's tour *Die Vaderland* gave an exceptional amount of space to the unwelcome receptions and protests in Africa. In this regard, Africa is portrayed as "dark" and rigidly opposed to anything "Western". During Macmillan's tour of the Union, the image created is one of the "hospitable South African people" as opposed to that of a "welcoming NP government". Mention is not specifically made of what the NP government had achieved, but was more focused on aspects such as what a great honour was being bestowed on Macmillan by the "tribesmen". The reporters also gave more space to the protests in South Africa than *Die Transvaler*, and thus gave the impression that there was a distinct difference between "good" Africans, who worked together with white people, and "bad" Africans, who opposed the spread of Western ideas. In line with this, *Die Vaderland* was initially rather appeasing regarding the "wind of change" speech and also reported on the enthusiastic farewell that Macmillan had received upon departure. Comments were made regarding the perceived "abandonment of whites", but criticism in this case was rather directed towards the English press for supporting Macmillan, rather than toward Macmillan himself. *Die Vaderland* seemed concerned about the unity of South Africa and a rather ambivalent approach is noted towards Macmillan's statements. As far as its approach to Africa was concerned, this publication was much more worried about communism and South Africa's isolation than *Die Transvaler*. A more intense paternalistic attitude was also noted in *Die Vaderland*, and much focus was given to the diminishing white population numbers in Africa. Although they were slightly more sensational about violence and did entertain negative images of Africa, on some occasions a positive attitude can be noted when reference was made to "good" black-white interactions on the continent.

Die Burger's portrayal is slightly more difficult to analyse because the Saturday edition of this publication was used for analysis as a weekly newspaper. Because it also had a daily circulation, some events might have been reported on in the daily version of the

newspaper and therefore left out of the Saturday edition. In many ways, specifically regarding the portrayal of Macmillan's trip through Africa, *Die Burger* seemed to voice the same views as *Die Transvaler*, essentially only reporting on the bomb and protest at Ndola. Similarly this publication also focused on the words of the tribal chief at Turfloop which was supportive of the NP. *Die Burger* also noted that it never doubted the frailty of the proposed boycott, and even more fervently than the other Afrikaans newspapers supported Verwoerd's reply to Macmillan's speech. This newspaper stated that Verwoerd had made a "fantastic reply", and also rebuked the English newspapers for insinuating otherwise. It also appeared to insinuate that it was happy that Macmillan was leaving. This newspaper showed support for a unified South Africa and upon the suggestion that the country had been warned by Macmillan's address, urged South Africans of all racial groups to unite against the world. Some elements of *Die Burger's* portrayal of Africa during this year seemed a lot like that of *Die Vaderland*. A paternalistic attitude, as well as a focus on the diminishing size of the white population, can be identified in this newspaper's reporting. Not much attention was given to individual African countries that were gaining their independence in Africa year.

The Star was rather subjective in its news reporting, but did not seem to be partial to any one specific ideology. It rather seemed to report in a more exaggerated and near sensational manner for financial gain. At the start of the tour, *The Star* drew attention to the international pressures placed on Macmillan regarding what to say and do during his tour and also emphasized that Britain's had "problems" in Africa. *The Star* had a unique way of using colourful words and exaggeration in its articles. It seems as if it also showed a willingness to publish almost anything, even if this meant that it might be contradicting its own previous report. On some occasions the publication appeared to identify with the larger South African people by calling South Africa's policies "our policies", yet on other occasions drew attention to and appeared to approve of the presence of Union Jacks and other British elements during Macmillan's tour. It did uphold the view that South Africa's internal affairs were its own to sort out, but then published negative comments regarding Verwoerd and his adequacy to govern. Regarding Macmillan's speech, *The Star* initially reported that there was "hope" to be

found in his speech regarding South Africa's place within the Commonwealth, yet later reflected on the isolation taking shape against South Africa. Although Macmillan's speech was seen as holding up a mirror to the NP, a rather limited appreciation of Macmillan, as opposed to that in the *Rand Daily Mail*, was noted. One almost gets the idea that *The Star* did not support the way in which Verwoerd went about addressing South Africa's racial problems, but that some sort of "paternalistic" way forward had to be found.

Regarding the portrayal of Africa, *The Star* was rather negative, by constantly focusing on violence or reporting on the expected unrest during the time of independence celebrations. The publication appeared to be in favour of gradual independence and made a very distinct difference between "black" and "native" people, by viewing some Africans as "more civilised" than others. Besides the exaggeration and seeming willingness to publish anything that was "newsworthy", *The Star* was rather disparaging towards most of the events in "Africa year".

If any of these newspapers can claim the label "liberal" as the term would have been interpreted in 1960, it would have to be the *Rand Daily Mail*. This newspaper also subjectively promoted a specific point of view. The *Rand Daily Mail* was very pro-Macmillan from his arrival and in more than one report stated its belief in his competence as a statesman. Much of the focus in the articles on Macmillan's tour through Africa was on the "good relations" between him and African leaders. It thus seems as if its agenda was to portray successful multiracial societies and therefore chose to report on Macmillan's friendships with the people of Ghana and Nigeria as he travelled through these countries. To a limited extent, however, a denial of black-white conflicts and clashes could be detected, not only in the absence of reports but also by adding comments such as protest being "good natured". After Macmillan's speech to the Union parliament this newspaper specifically drew attention to the fact that he had rejected the idea of racial superiority and that Verwoerd was taken aback by his address. The *Rand Daily Mail* was also cognisant of the fact that international opinion was hardening against South Africa, and realised that the speech held implications for

all of the citizens inside the Union. It was the only publication to frequently use the word “African” when referring to African people, which, as was mentioned in Chapter 6, can be seen as rather liberal for the time. Besides this the publication still reflected the view that the route taken to independence should be gradual and cautious.

During Macmillan’s tour of Africa, the *Sunday Times* did not reveal any specific support for him and his actions. For a weekly publication, however, quite a bit of space was allocated to the extensive criticism of Verwoerd. This publication, more so than others, was specifically concerned with the “one-sided tour” that Macmillan was apparently receiving. After the “wind of change” speech, this newspaper stood out for its support for Macmillan’s statements. However, in its reporting on Africa, this newspaper had also revealed a rather paternalistic attitude towards Africa and was in some cases rather negative towards the events occurring on the continent.

What can be seen from the above generalization is that some newspapers were intrinsically critical of Verwoerd and in the same way supportive of Macmillan. In most instances, some comments about the adequacy of the leaders to act as statesmen were noted. With the exception of the *Rand Daily Mail*, most of the newspapers also had a negative view of the unfolding events across the African continent in “Africa year”.

What is also evident from the analysis done throughout Chapters 4, 5 and 6 is that the newspapers are in fact rather different in their reporting styles and should be judged as individual publications with their own individual styles and characteristics. Although there are some characteristics that can be based on specific newspaper groupings, this should not dictate and presuppose the newspapers’ attitudes towards certain events. Loyalty towards the NP from the Afrikaans press did not always mean unquestioned support, just as criticism against the NP from English newspapers did not mean that they all necessarily opposed the NP and supported racial equality. It is thus useful to note that instead of grouping newspapers together into two juxtaposing sides of English and Afrikaans, the newspapers should rather be placed on different levels regarding their political stance and objectivity. On a continuum, *Die Transvaler* was by far the

“most conservative” and the *Rand Daily Mail* the “most liberal” of the analysed newspapers. As far as the reporting styles of the remaining four newspapers are concerned, in some instances it is difficult to pinpoint which was actually more conservative or liberal. In this regard it must be cautioned that these labels need not apply for an extended period, as was the case with other labels that have been awarded to different sides of the press industry. Different newspaper profiles might have changed over a small number of years, or might have varied based on the specific topic that they were reporting on or a shift in newspaper politics.

There were some themes and trends that generally did fall into the specific groupings of the English and Afrikaans press. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, the propaganda slogan of “die swart gevaar” was created in South Africa amongst white Afrikaans-speakers as part of an election campaign. Although there is no way to show that the “survival of the white man” propaganda was used as election propaganda, all of the analysed Afrikaans newspapers had a specific agenda.

If we return to what had been said in Chapter 3 regarding the hallmarks of propaganda, these elements can all be noted in the case of the “survival of the white man” propaganda. Emotional association and the uses of slogans⁷²⁶ add to the fact that the “survival of the white man” and the idea of the survival of the white man in Africa was a propagated theme in the Afrikaans media. Furthermore these ideas were justified by establishing the whites as the bastions of Western Civilization in Africa. S. Hayakawa also suggested that propaganda connected certain concepts to others, so as to make the link between these concepts a natural reaction.⁷²⁷ Similarly, whites in Africa were in most instances connected to either diminishing white population numbers or the white societies that were struggling to survive in Africa. This propaganda predated Macmillan’s arrival on the African continent and also in some cases used Verwoerd’s direct words in order to further its cause. When being purely speculative, this could very well have been an election campaign since the fear of black nationalism in Africa could easily have been used to further the case that all South Africans should support the NP

⁷²⁶ M. Van de Water, Propaganda. *The Science News-Letter*, 1938, pp. 234-235.

⁷²⁷ S.I. Hayakawa, General semantics and propaganda. *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 3(2), 1939, p. 208.

in order to survive the “uncivilized” or communist threats of Africa. By 1960 it would seem that the “swart gevaar” slogan of old was being replaced a new variant of “survival of the white man” propaganda.

It is possible to also reflect on what these news report were in fact revealing regarding the audience that they were reporting to. At the start of 1960 Macmillan’s address seemed “timely”, but as the year progressed the Sharpeville massacre and the Congo crisis would in fact expand the meaning of the “wind of change”. Furthermore, as was apparent from this research, numerous articles presented more of a reflection on the situation in South Africa in reaction to Macmillan’s speech, and acknowledged the isolation with which South Africa was confronted within that year. This created a complicated situation. As much as some of the English newspapers obviously did not agree with Verwoerd’s opinion regarding race, the situation might have in fact forced them to realise that the future of the white man was in jeopardy, yet they did not show any inkling of support for Verwoerd. What is however apparent, is that across the board, with some minor exceptions in the *Rand Daily Mail*, Africa was persistently portrayed as “dark Africa” that still needed “paternalism” and assistance from the West on the gradual road to independence. It is significant to note the similarities in attitudes towards Africa between the newspapers whereas there were deep rifts in relation to internal politics.

With regard to English newspapers, a somewhat uncertain attitude was evident with respect to identities portrayed in these newspapers. Besides the obvious divisions between the English- and Afrikaans-language newspapers, the English newspapers did not really identify with the newly independent nations or with the NP government and were somewhat ambivalent. On several occasions, elements of patriotism towards Britain could be noted, yet all of the newspapers also established that there was an element of South Africanism prevalent in their readership.

What this shows is the value of newspaper research. This study has used newspapers to unpack some of the subtle nuances that exist with the white minority in South Africa in 1960. The distinction between English and Afrikaans is not that clear-cut. By reading

these newspapers one is able to show the value of Cobb's approach to documents.⁷²⁸ If you look at the document you can hear the story, but when you listen to what the article is actually saying, you may hear a story that it never intended telling.

⁷²⁸ As quoted in J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 142.

8. APPENDIX

FIGURE 1:
Anonym, "Sendeling 1960", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04, p. 1.

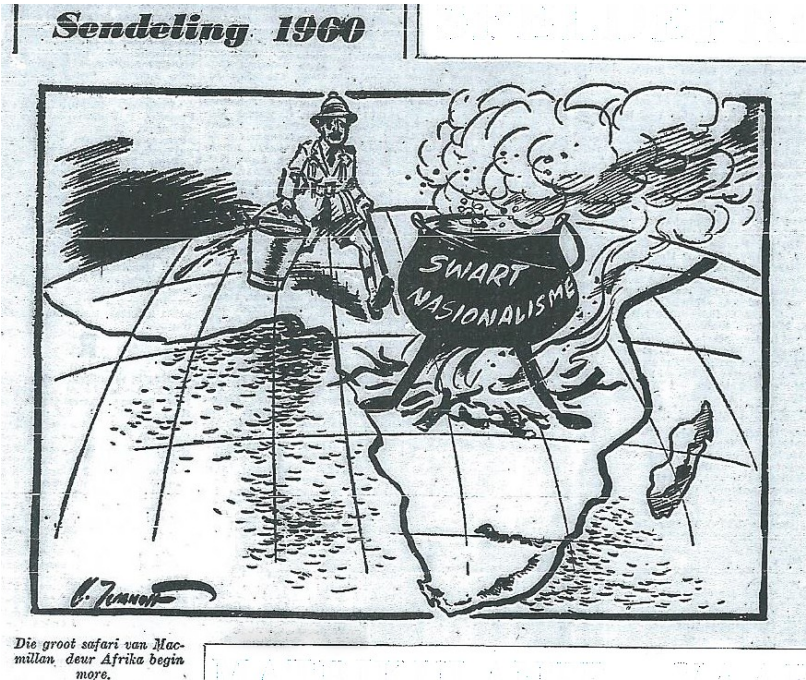


FIGURE 2:
Anonym, "Monty briefs the boss", *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-03, p. 2.

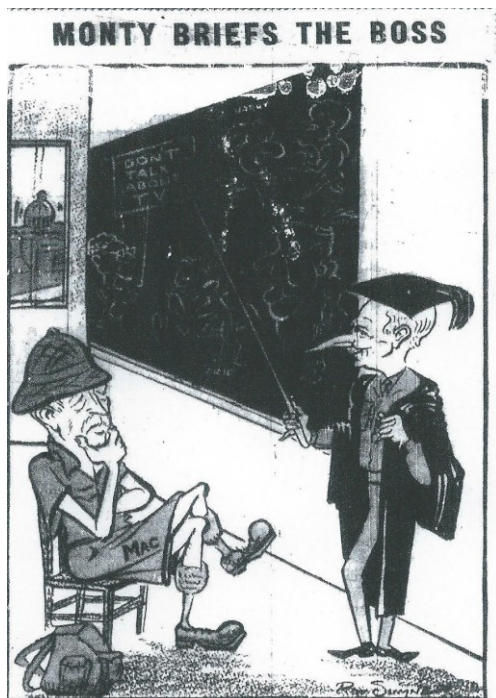


FIGURE 3:
Anonym, "Macmillan se aankoms", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-27, p. 11.

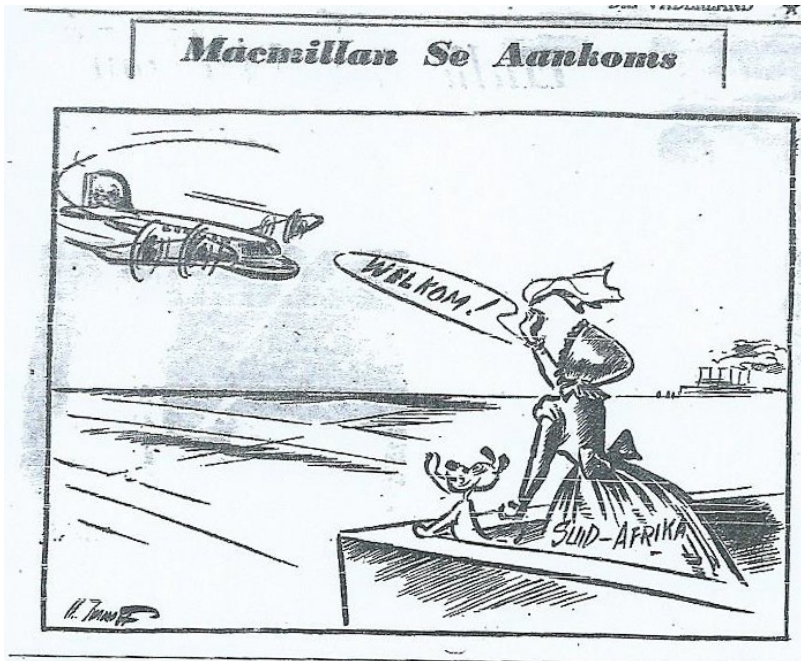


FIGURE 4:
Anonym, "Die besoeker kom aan", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-27, p. 2.

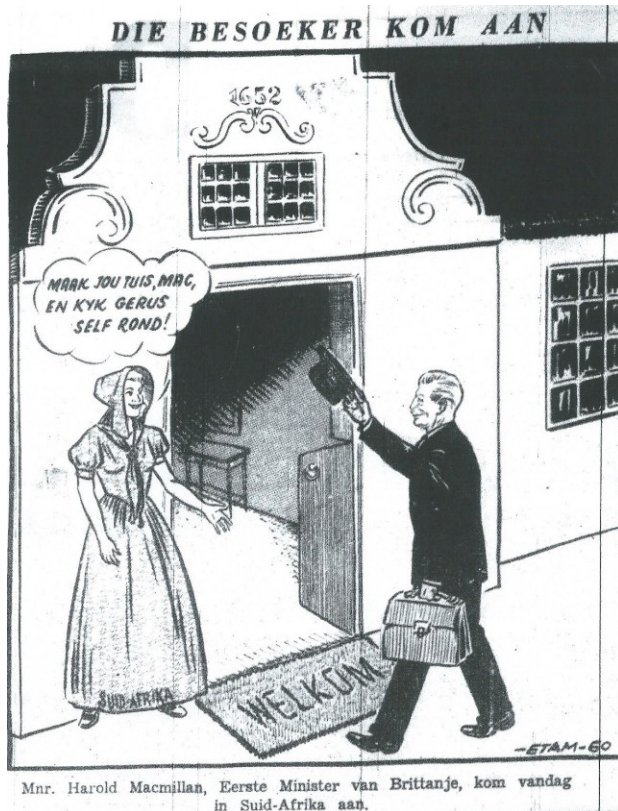


FIGURE 5:
B. Connolly, "The Big Walk", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-01-29, p. 10.

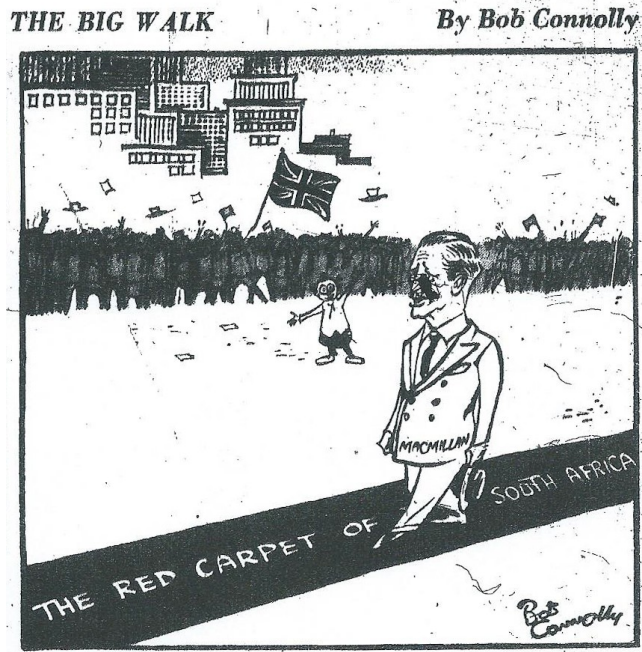
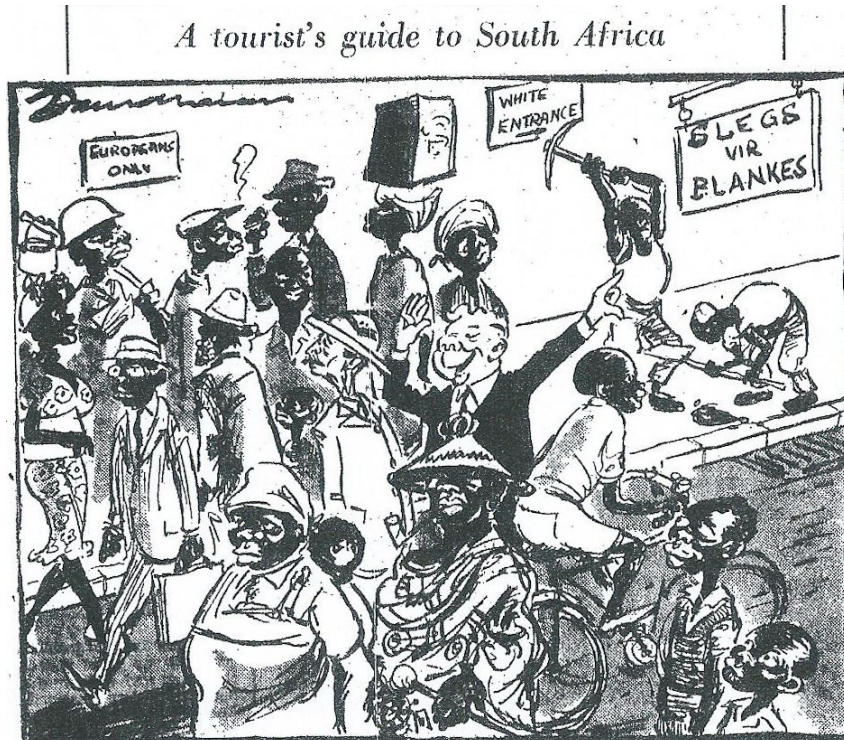


FIGURE 6:
Anonym, "Tourist attractions", *Sunday Times*, 1960-01-31, p. 2.



FIGURE 7:
Anonym, "A tourist's guide to South Africa", *The Star*, 1960-01-29, p. 25.



"One of the first differences you will notice between South Africa and the rest of Africa is that we have no Africans. That was my idea." (Cartoon from "Cape Times")

FIGURE 8:
Anonym, "In sheep's clothing", *Sunday Times*, 1960-02-07, p. 2.



FIGURE 9:

B. Connolly, "The Big Walk", *Rand Daily Mail*, 1960-02-05, p. 8.



FIGURE 10:

Anonym, Spotprent, *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06, p. 6.

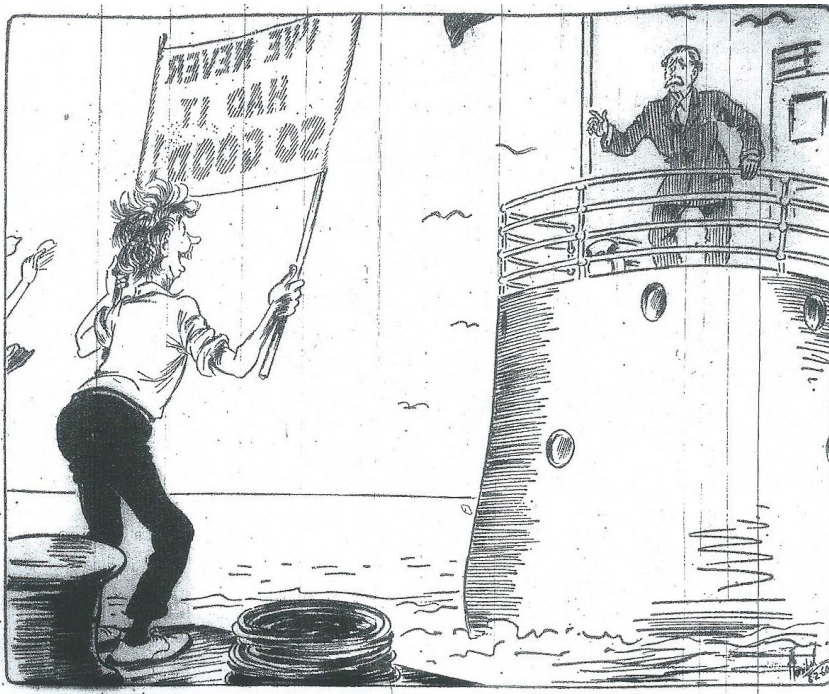


FIGURE 11:
Anonym, Cartoon, *The Star*, 1960-02-06, p. 8.



The Doc: "Now then, Mr. Mac, don't try to tell us we don't know what we're doing."

FIGURE 12:
Anonym, "Die eerste treë", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-07-01, p. 13.



FIGURE 13:
C. Pama, "So lyk die nuwe Afrika en sy vlae", Bylaag tot *Die Burger*, 1960-04-20, p. 21.

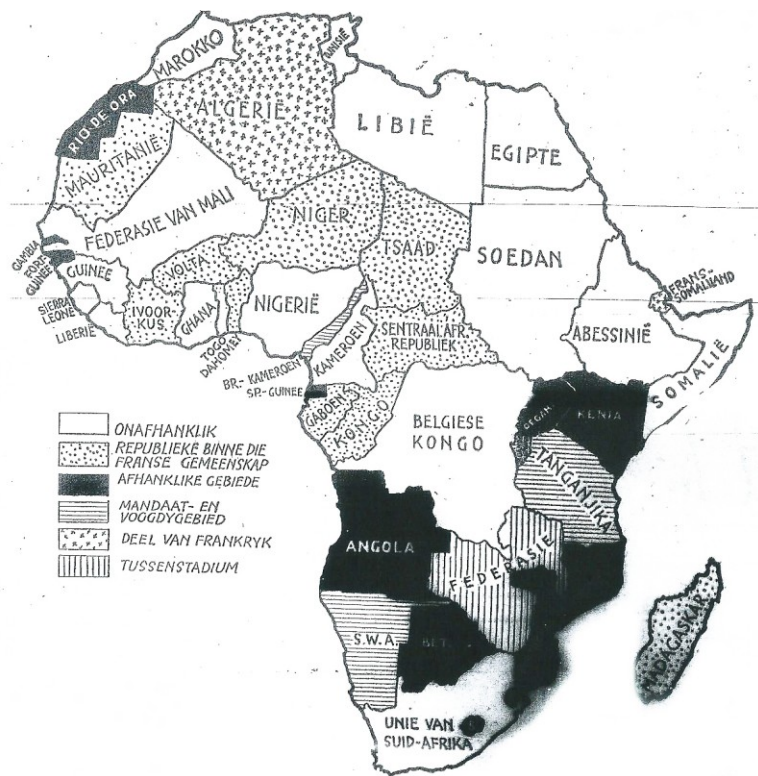


FIGURE 14:
Anonym, "Die belangrikste jaar vir Swart Nasionalisme breek nou aan", *Die Vaderland*, 1959-12- 31, p. 2.

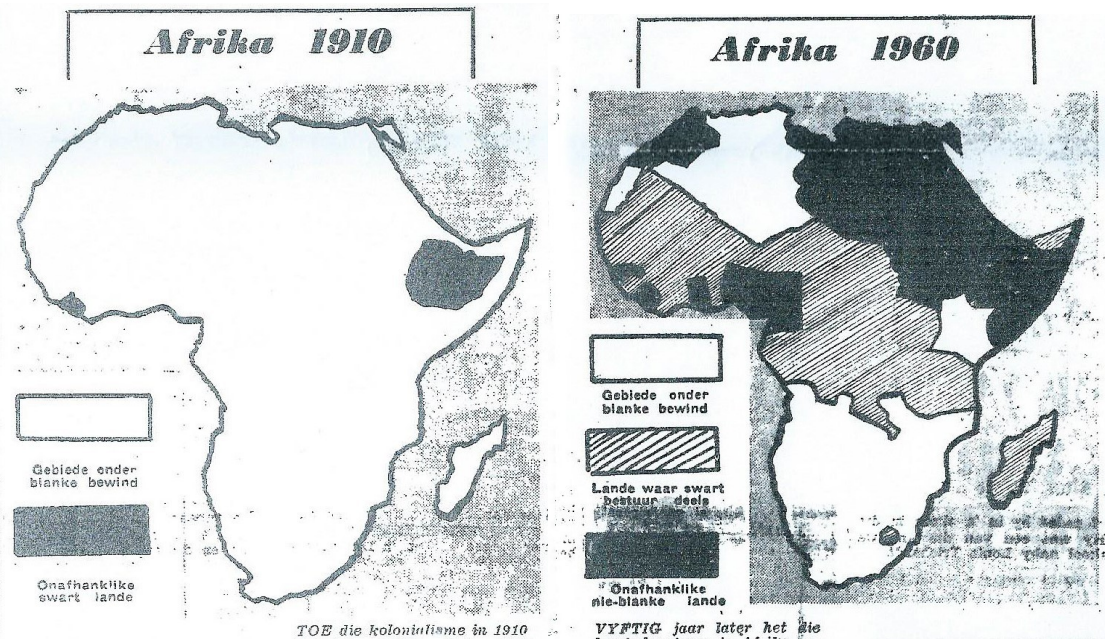
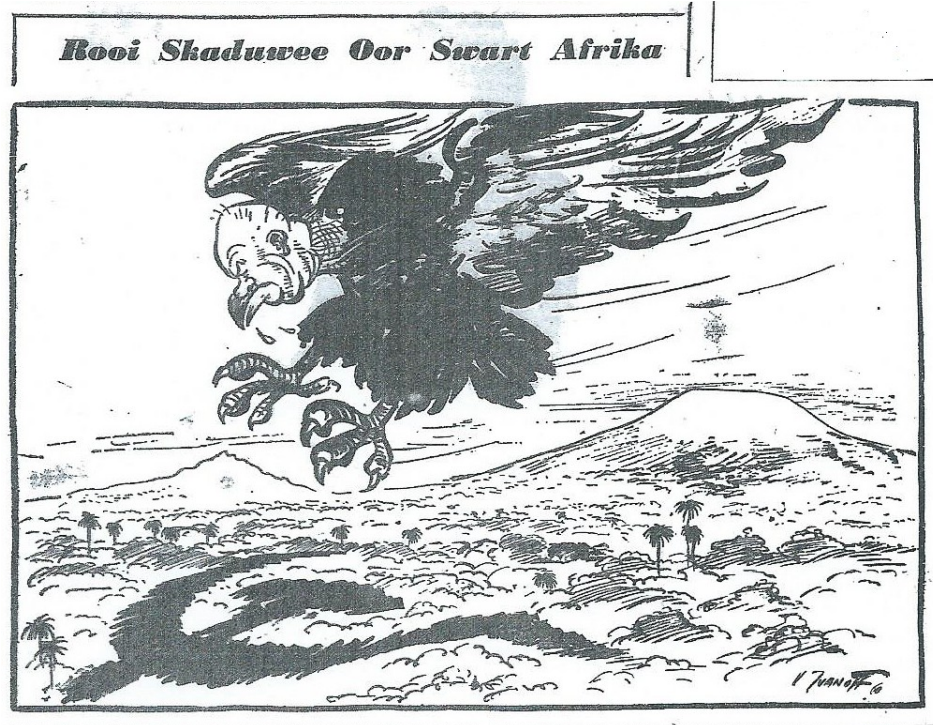


FIGURE 17:
Anonym, "Rooi Skaduwee Oor Swart Afrika", *Die Vaderland*, 1960-06-20, p. 11.



9. SOURCE LIST

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

1.1 NEWSPAPER

DIE BURGER

ANONYM, "Dit kan nie in SA gebeur nie", *Die Burger*, 1960-01-09.

ANONYM, "The searchlight on South Africa", *Die Burger*, 1960-01-09.

ANONYM, "Gevaarlike bom in Macmillan Hotel gevind", *Die Burger*, 1960-01-23.

ANONYM, "Goeie wense van SA aan Afrika", *Die Burger*, 1960-01-23.

ANONYM, "Liberale wil Macmillan spreek", *Die Burger*, 1960-01-30.

ANONYM, "Mac hoor van goeie regering en word opperhoof", *Die Burger*, 1960-01-30.

ANONYM, "Mr. Macmillan and the boycott", *Die Burger*, 1960-02-04.

ANONYM, "An emergency for South Africa", *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06.

ANONYM, "Macmillan onbeslis oor Britse houding teenoor SA in die V.V.O", *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06.

ANONYM, Spotprent, *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06.

ANONYM, "Uit my politieke pen", *Die Burger*, 1960-02-06.

ANONYM, "Slawe en ruimvaarders hou jool in Kongo", *Die Burger*, 1960-06-02.

ANONYM, "Nuwe Kongo val die Unie aan", *Die Burger*, 1960-06-18.

ANONYM, "Die Belgiese Kongo- Toe en Nou", Bylaag tot *Die Burger*, 1960-06-25.

ANONYM, "Our place in the new Africa", *Die Burger*, 1960-06-25.

ANONYM, “Onluste in die Kongo”, *Die Burger*, 1960-07-02.

ANONYM, “Bloed vloeï in nuwe swart staat”, *Die Burger*, 1960-07-02.

ANONYM, “Union Jack gestryk in Nigerië”, *Die Burger*, 1960-10-01.

ANONYM, “Reus in die son word vry”, *Die Burger*, 1960-10-01.

ANONYM, “Nigerië deur Verwoerd gelukkigewens”, *Die Burger*, 1960-10-01.

PAMA, C., “So lyk die nuwe Afrika en sy vlac”, Bylaag tot *Die Burger*, 1960-04-20.

DIE TRANSVALER

ANONYM, “Accra getooi vir Mac”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-04.

ANONYM, “Afrika tot 1970”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-04.

ANONYM, “Macmillan kuier het begin”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-06.

ANONYM, “Politieke kongres vir Afrika state”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-08.

ANONYM, “Mac (met oopnekhemp) besoek Ghana-skemas”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-09.

ANONYM, “Apartheid- Macmillan wil niks daarvoor buite SA sê nie”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-11.

ANONYM, “Warm in Ghana ontvang; nie koel”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-11.

ANONYM, “SA moet uit Statebond, sê Nigerië”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-14.

ANONYM, “Sê Macmillan kry rat voor oë”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-14.

ANONYM, “Macmillan in Federasie”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-19.

ANONYM, “Macmillan weet al van plan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-21.

- ANONYM, “Macmillan-toer: bom in hotel gevind”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-23.
- ANONYM, “Bom en mynramp groot nuus”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-25.
- ANONYM, “Verdagtes voorgekeer by Macmillan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-25.
- ANONYM, “Opposisieleiers sal Macmillan kan ontmoet”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-26.
- ANONYM, “Vyandige swart skare jou Macmillan uit”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-26.
- ANONYM, “Die besoeker kom aan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-27.
- ANONYM, “Mnr. Macmillan kom aan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-27.
- ANONYM, “Alles vlot met Brit se aankoms in SA”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28.
- ANONYM, “’n Boodskap van samewerking”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28.
- ANONYM, “Hele wêreld is onveilig- Macmillan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28.
- ANONYM, “Gelukkige bantoeskare ontvang Macmillan”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-28.
- ANONYM, “Britse premier hoor dit uit bantoe mond”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-01-30.
- ANONYM, “Macmillan is man met uithouvermoë”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-01.
- ANONYM, “Macmillan wou van polisie weet”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-01.
- ANONYM, “Basoeto’s wil van Unie se grond hê”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-02.
- ANONYM, “Macmillan is man met uithouvermoë”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-02.
- ANONYM, “Macmillan kuier by Dr. Verwoerd”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-02.
- ANONYM, “Macmillan ontmoet mense uit alle politieke partye”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-03.
- ANONYM, “Sien groot gevaar in u beleid”, *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-04.

- ANONYM, "Twee standpunte", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-04.
- ANONYM, "Macmillan se rede groot nuus oorsee", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-05.
- ANONYM, "Toepassing van beginsels", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-05.
- ANONYM, "Macmillan oor Republiek in die Statebond", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-06.
- ANONYM, "Louw het bedenkinge oor Macmillan", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-08.
- ANONYM, "Kanonskote, beierende klokke vandag deel van 6000000 natuurlike se vryheidsfees", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-20.
- ANONYM, "80 lande by Kongo se fees", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-29.
- ANONYM, "Gebruik traangas in Kongo se betogings", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-29.
- ANONYM, "Botsings in Kongo", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-30.
- ANONYM, "Kongo vandag vry: Bly kookpot", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-30.
- ANONYM "Somaliland erken nie SA", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-06-30.
- ANONYM, "Eerste onvolwasse skrede", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01.
- ANONYM, "Kongo-gevaar is tussen swartes", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01.
- ANONYM, "Lumumba skok hoë gaste by fees", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01.
- ANONYM, "Mooi skoot, sê Mnr. K. Aan Kongo", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01.
- ANONYM, "Wil blankes uit die Kongo help", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-01.
- ANONYM, "Bloed vloei in Afrika se jongste staat", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-07-02.
- ANONYM, "Oproer woed in Nigerië: 14 al dood", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-09-30.
- ANONYM, "Boodskap van SA aan Nigerië", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-10-01.
- NATTE, N., "In die politieke gedrang", *Die Transvaler*, 1960-02-06.

DIE VADERLAND

ANONYM, “Die belangrikste jaar vir Swart Nasionalisme breek nou aan”, *Die Vaderland*, 1959-12- 31.

ANONYM, “Swartman se nuwe geloof het verdere ambisies by hom wakker gemaak”, *Die Vaderland*, 1959-12-31.

ANONYM, “Brittanje sal baie aandag aan Afrika gee”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04.

ANONYM, “Macmillan-besoek kan veel beteken”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04.

ANONYM, “Anti kolonialisme nêrens so sterk as in Franse Kameroen”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-04.

ANONYM, “Welkom Mnr. Macmillan”, *Die Vaderland*, 1960-01-05.

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