

hundreds of miles to new homes. Can anyone doubt that, after such a holocaust, White and Black would reel apart, never wishing to see each other again? Surely a line would be drawn down the middle of South Africa and millions would be expelled from both sides so that all the Whites were in one state and all the Africans in the other.

Such a partition would be on the terms of the White extremists.

As I see it, therefore, the oppressed should not take up arms at this stage against apartheid, for to do so would be to risk handing the best parts of South Africa to Dr. Verwoerd, to risk a partition of the country on the White minority's terms.

It may be objected that to refuse to use violence now is to leave White supremacy unchallenged. This is not so. Already such great pressures, mostly non-violent, have built up here and abroad as to profoundly disturb the Government. Dr. Verwoerd's words at the beginning of the Transkei debate were: "We live in serious times."

Dr. Verwoerd's concern is realistic. It is a concern which has resulted from non-violent pressures, from mounting non-co-operation and isolation. I know that it is being said that non-violence has failed, but I deny it. Externally non-violent pressures are being tried, and are working. Anti-apartheid pressures will probably culminate within a year in oil sanctions against South Africa, enforced by a United Nations blockade. The expulsion from the commonwealth is not yet one year old, and it has already contributed greatly to the growing weakness and isolation of Dr. Verwoerd's government.

And, even internally, the 1961 stay-at-home cannot be written off. Although it only succeeded in pockets, the mere threat of a political general strike brought about a total mobilization of the police and army. Has it been proved that another attempt—particularly if there is a real issue and not a phoney anti-republican issue—would not succeed?

I know that in Europe and elsewhere dictatorships have been set up under which resistance has been difficult or impossible. But this country has no equal in the world, and what is true of uni-national Spain or Germany is not necessarily true of multi-racial South Africa, with its indefensible frontiers, and its promise of freedom to the Transkei.

Remember, too, that apartheid has become a world issue in a way Spanish fascism did not. There are perhaps three thousand million people in the world whose very being is insulted by the arrogant assumption of White superiority in South Africa, and by Dr. Verwoerd's proclamation that the only South Africans worthy of being included in his idea of the nation are the Whites. Apartheid's symbolic status means that even though the internal democratic struggle remains weak it can call on devastatingly powerful aid from abroad. Such aid would be less willingly given to violent terrorists than to non-violent democrats.

Perhaps this is the biggest reason for us to control, for another few years, our natural anger in South Africa, for us to use, for another few years, weapons of which we will never be ashamed, for us to learn the power of non-violence and to learn to use it.

AFRICANA

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- Mr. Peter Potgieter, of Lang Street, Rosettenville: *I don't think much about the Transkei plan. But when I do it strikes me that the idea of splitting up the country into different self-governing sections cannot work. It's not fair to the Whites. It is like expecting a married couple to share separate bedrooms.*—*Sunday Express.*
- I have a young baboon to swap for a baby's pram and baby clothes, including shoes.—Swop column, *Rand Daily Mail* (D. A. Higgs).
- Youth of 24 looking for a clerical job, just from school.—*Situations wanted, The Star.*
- "An African from the kraal—if he has the brain—can become an Einstein, but that won't necessarily mean he is civilised in the true sense of the word."—Major Piet van der Byl, MP (UP)—*Evening Post.* (Samuel Smiles)
- Mr. Leibbrandt said the Bantu would have to be trained to take over positions of responsibility over a number of years. "I don't see anyone who would be capable of taking over my job, for example."—*Cape Times* (D. Cleminshaw).
- Is Luthuli a Bantu Statesman or another Native Agitator?—leaflet issued by Wm. Collins (Africa) (Pty.) Ltd. to advertise Chief Luthuli's *Let My People Go.*
- The fact was that South Africa had done more for the development of its Bantu, both in their "homelands" and in the rest of South Africa, than any other country in Africa or the Middle East.—Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel M.P., *Cape Times.*
- Mr. Mitchell: What have I done?
The woman: You are the most hated man in Natal.
Mr. Mitchell: What Indians have you been speaking to?—*Cape Argus.*
- "I will not deny that South Africa's external position is not serious, but the United Party is panicking and trying to force measures on South Africa which could only make the situation worse. It wants to pacify world opinion. But what is world opinion? It is a mixture of Liberalism and Communism, Buddhism and other unchristian ideologies."—Senator H. J. Steyn (NP)—*Rand Daily Mail.*
- Will the gentleman that gave me his telephone number as I boarded the bus in Eloff Street on Saturday 13 January, contact 44-6596.—Personal column, *Sunday Times.*