

a comfortable bank balance, to own a car, to be assured of comfort and security in old age, to be able to give his children the best possible education and not to go about insulted because of his race.

Most free African peoples still have to evolve their cultural amalgams or equivalents of it. For this reason, their attitudes cannot be a guide to what the South African will do when free.

FINALLY, THE power reserves the African has been building within the last fifty years are now reaching parity with those on the White side. One only has to look at the hardening of world opinion in the United Nations on the one hand and the growth of the sabotage movement on the other. The emergence of free African states is one additional accretion of strength to the Black side.

These developments bring a bloody collision very much nearer than most people imagine possible. We are least likely to have a Mau Mau in South Africa. The necessary conditions for its successful organisation are to a very large extent not there. The South African army is well equipped to ferret out guerilla fighters. There is no longer that coherence in the African community which tribal discipline imposes and without which no Mau Mau movement can be organised successfully. There is not even the uncompromising rejection of the White man's culture. People have to feel that the latter threatens their very survival before they can be worked up to attack it with the will to destroy. In spite of apartheid's bid to drive wedges between Black and White, the overall reaction has been to establish powerful friendships across the colour line and in many ways to strengthen non-racial bonds. Integration

is going on in the churches at a pace which the government cannot stop.

What we are likely to have, however, is a protracted campaign of sabotage which would provoke savage reprisals from the government. There would follow mass arrests, perhaps some shootings and a few hangings. These might in the end narrow down the area within which explosives would be used.

After that there might develop a wave of bitter political feeling among the non-Whites which would find expression in widespread arson. Industry, commerce and agriculture would then be the main targets. There might not then be an easy answer to a concerted campaign in which every other African with a grievance and a box of matches in his pocket regarded himself as a front-line soldier in the fight against race humiliation or economic exploitation.

When this point is reached, apartheid will be absolutely powerless to protect the White man or to change the direction taken by events. Three courses suggest themselves where the intention is to stop the drift to disaster before it gets out of control. There must be a convincing rejection of apartheid by a substantial proportion of Afrikaners. There must be closer co-ordination of Black-White democratic power reserves both to rid South Africa of Verwoerdism as well as to frustrate communist attempts to retain the initiative in influencing events on the African side. Finally, the goal toward which all this would drive would be the establishment of a non-racial government within the shortest time possible.

Where these conditions were satisfied there would be no insurmountable barrier to the solution of our more complicated problems as a nation. ●

Words Words Words

WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN Press and radio response to the Addis Ababa conference has shown White supremacist on the defensive against Pan-African opinion as seldom before. Some English newspapers could do little more than bemoan the ingratitude of Emperor Haile Selassie whom South African troops had helped to restore to his throne in 1941. An S.A.B.C. propagandist, Theo Greyling, said that as this was the fourteenth Pan-African or Afro-Asian conference since 1957, we need not take it seriously. Why 1957? He could have gone back to the first, held in London in 1900, and described by its moving spirit, Bishop

Alexander Walters in *My Life and Work* (New York 1917). It was then that W. E. B. Du Bois first used the much quoted words: "the problem of the 20th century is the colour line". That very colour line was the thuggee cord presented by *Die Burger's* leader writer to the African nations, in his treatment of the conference and its charter. Claiming that both Mr. Achmed Ben Bella and Dr. Julius Nyerere had said that there should be "a little dying" for freedom in South Africa, *Die Burger*, argued, in effect that there would have to be "big dying", if the Whites of South Africa, as "a nation of Africa" are "not to be allowed their place in the continent." The argument was an odd one: that the Afrikaner nationalists were the major pioneers in the struggle against colonialism in Africa, yet "no one can deny that certain colonialist conditions and phenomena prevail in South Africa", but the "policy of the country is aimed at liquidating colonialism". Why do the African states wish to take up arms against a fellow African power whose policy is aimed at "liquidating colonialism"? Presumably because this has to be done "with the gradualness and orderliness prescribed by our extremely difficult circumstances". Or perhaps because they

do not believe that the Whites of South Africa have such a policy. Certainly neither the non-Whites nor the Whites of South Africa believe that such a policy exists. Since as DuBois said on another occasion "both blacks and whites commonly see the worst of each other", the very reverse of such a policy is the generally understood attitude of the Afrikaner Nationalist Government. *Die Burger's* leaders express, in fact, a point of view about as representative of white public opinion as you will find in the editorials of *Contact* or the late *Spark*.

Furthermore, *Die Burger* and the bulk of White public opinion do not have the exact same concept of a White nation in common, since *Die Burger* is alone in claiming to believe that "conditions of subordination" must go, as part of the colonialism to be liquidated. (Mr. De Wet Nel and his more far-out fellow theorists only believe it of the Bantustans.) But the common denominator of the great mass of South African whites is that they are the nation, and that non-whites fall outside the circle. This surely is the central flaw, this mistaken national loyalty, which propagandists to the whites, and particularly the Afrikaners should constantly expose. ●