

in this issue . . .

EDITORIALS: 1. FOR WHITES ONLY page 2
 2. IN DEFEAT, DEFIANCE page 4
 LEO MARQUARD by Edgar Brookes page 5
 PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN LABOUR by B. I. Dladla page 6
 POLITICS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT by D. Maughan Brown page 7
 IN THE ILLICHIAN FIELDS by Patrick Kearney page 11
 PROVERBS OF WHITE POWER by Vortex page 15
 THE TWO FACES OF MALNUTRITION by Anthony Barker page 16
 A SOLUTION WHICH DOES NOT SOLVE by Edgar Brookes page 19
 COVER DESIGN from Contact

EDITORIALS

1 FOR WHITES ONLY

Our rulers argue that it is only right that the April elections should be for whites only. Do not the Africans have their own elections? And do not the Coloured people have their own elections? And will not the Indian People soon have theirs too?

It sounds very beautiful, but it is a meretricious playing with words. The fact is that the white elections decide those things which most affect all our lives, while the other elections decide trivialities and cannot influence the things

which concern black people most, better wages, black trade unions, free and compulsory education, freer movement, and the removal of the humiliations and hardships of Apartheid.

If despair is ever permissible, one might be permitted to despair after reading the political headlines. The United Party is telling Afrikaners that the Nationalists are selling them down the river, while the Nationalists are telling English-speaking South Africans that the United Party is selling them down the river.

Both Nats and Progs tear the U.P.'s Federation policy to pieces, both Nats and U.P. tear the Prog policy to pieces, both U.P. and Progs declare that Apartheid has gone bankrupt. The Democrats have decided on the common future of whites, Coloured people and Indians, but still believe in punishment beyond the reach of the courts of law. Both Nats and Progs predict the early break-up of the U.P. while those U.P. members who were at each other's throats a short while ago are going about arm-in-arm and the right wing is calling in the U.P. left wing to pacify discontented U.P. verligtes.

On the outskirts hovers the H.N.P. like a jackal on the prowl for scraps. It is the most consistent party of them all. It knows where it is going, which is nowhere, because it means to stop where it is. It stands for no change, no concessions, no mixtures, no shoulder-rubbing. It survives by a miracle of anticerebration.

Watching this great performance is a multitude of spectators, some nineteen million if you count the children. Even if you do not know what is going on, the spectacle is fantastic. There are blows, cries, imprecations, warnings, accusations, promises. The great issue is the future of 23 million people, but 19 million of them sit in the stands for spectators. Democracy has taken a beating in Russia, Spain, Greece, Brazil. But the strangest of all its varieties is to be found in our own country.

The conclusion is foregone. The Nationalists will do more or less as well as ever. The U.P. will do more or less as poorly as ever. The Progs could actually quadruple their number of M.P.'s and while this would be a great help to Mrs Suzman, and would improve the quality of parliamentary debate, it will not materially affect the future of our country. The Democrats might get one seat, and they might not. The H.N.P. will get the Lion's leavings. Everything will seem the same as before.

Is there any chance that things might not be the same as before? It is legitimate to speculate.

Both Nationalists and Progressives expect a break in the United Party. They believe that the Cadman-Streichers and the Basson-Schwarzes are really incompatible, and do not want to be reconciled. The white forces for change seem to be growing more articulate. That they are composed of white and affluent people is indisputable. But that white and affluent people might come to their senses is a possibility. Indeed in the days of the Liberal Party some white and affluent people **did** come to their senses. And what is more, though they were outlawed as a party, their influence in present-day politics is evident.

Is it possible that the white forces for social change in the United Party will seek allies in the Progressive Party?

It seems possible. Will the white forces for change in the Nationalist Party also seek allies? That seems less possible. Nationalists believe that if there is to be change, it is the Nationalist Party that must initiate, guide and control it. Will the Progressives be favourable to a new alignment? It seems very possible. As for the Democrats, it is difficult to say; at the moment they are a person not a party.

Whether there is a re-alignment or not, it is possible that out of this all-white election one good thing may come, and that is the acceptance of the necessity for black South Africans to play an active and equal part in the planning of the Future. It is difficult for whites to persuade whites that radical change is imperative, but white people cannot sit down with black people amicably and regularly and with good intention without beginning to understand it. Whether there is to be a Convention, or a consultative committee, or regular consultations, the results must be good. Whether the Nationalists join in or not — and it seems unlikely that they will — these things must be done, and the broader the white front the better. It is difficult any longer to find any advantage whatsoever in consultations between blacks and whites if the whites cannot agree amongst themselves about the future.

This agreement need not be dogmatic and detailed, or partake of the nature of a blueprint. This leads to inevitable dissension and we cannot afford it. We haven't the time for it.

White politicians must however agree on certain essentials. They are consulting black people with the intention of planning for the sharing of power, the sharing of wealth, the sharing of responsibility.

Above all the white politicians must not forget that the most important and most difficult of all the immediate questions is the future political constitution of what is called "white" South Africa, with its four million whites, its 2 million Coloured people, its three quarter million Indians, and its permanent "temporary" black population of at least six million.

The planning of such a constitution will need much courage and imagination from the white participants, and much wisdom from the black ones. But even the adumbration of it would have a profound effect on South African politics. The Nationalist Party would not be immune.

If this is one of the consequences of our all-white election, then some good will have come out of what is to many of us a farce and a travesty of democracy. □