## EDITORIAL: ADVICE TO WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS .

EDITORIAL: ADVICE TO WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS			8 - 8	page 2
MAKONDE ART from UNESCO COURIER	÷	8		page 4
SERVICE STATIONS FOR THE STATUS QUO by John M. Raftery	•	ж	x x	page 6
THE 1974 ELECTION by David Welsh	2			page 9
NOTES JOTTED DOWN DURING THE WHITES-ONLY ELECTION by Vortex	2	2		page 10
BOOK REVIEW - DUSKLANDS - reviewed by Pauline Fletcher	•			page 11
SOUTH AFRICA IN CANADIAN EYES by Arthur Keppel-Jones	•	\$		page 13
THE UNIVERSITY, THE CHURCH AND POLITICAL CONSCIENCE by D. E. Hurley	2		a - a	page 15
RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS OF ARCHAEOLOGY TO BLACK STUDIES by Elwyn Jenkins				page 17
PUBLISHED WITHOUT COMMENT		8		page 20
COVER PHOTOGRAPHS by Gerard Dufresne. See page 4.				



## ADVICE TO

## WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS-

The Progs are to be congratulated on their jump from one to six.\* Helen Suzman is to be congratulated on getting six supporters in what was for her a very lonely House. White South Africa is to be congratulated on opening one small fraction of one eye.

There are new names in the news, Eglin, Slabbert, Lorimer, Waddell, de Villiers.\* But we had hardly got used to them

before there were names even newer. Spinola, Soares, Machel Mocambique.

Everyone with sense knows that the events in Portugal change our whole situation. The downfall of the Portuguese colonial empire was inevitable. It has been prophesied – not least by Liberals – for many years. Before the event one cannot really believe it will happen. Then it happens and

<sup>\*</sup> Now one to seven.

<sup>\*</sup> There is now one further name, that of Dr Alex Boraine.

the world cannot be the same again.

We have known for years that the great change would come when the black people of South Africa – not just their leaders – decided they wouldn't take it any more. That day is very close. It has already come in Angola and Mocambique. One must admit it came more swiftly because the Portuguese generals themselves took a stand for freedom.

We have known for years that rulers and ruling classes don't share power and possessions until they have to. They may be aided by the goodness of their hearts, but they have to be pushed first. Some would say they have to be frightened first.

It seems very clear that Mr. Smith is frightened. Up till now his political skill and wisdom must be rated low. His statesmanship must be rated zero. There seems no doubt that his rule is drawing to an end. It is not altogether his fault. Cecil Rhodes started it all nearly a century ago. By force of arms he took a country and established his own kind of law and order in it. But force of arms can no longer maintain it.

However there is little point in crowing over Rhodesia. Soon we shall be the only country in the world which is ruled by white power. The time of change has come. Can we, the people of South Africa, guide and control this change? One thing is certain; the white people of South Africa cannot do it by themselves.

We write assuming that the people of South Africa can guide and control this imminent change. It is a tremendous assumption. But we could not write at all if we made the opposite assumption. The whole purpose of REALITY has been to prepare for such a day. The implication of the words "guide and control" is that there will be some kind of order in the evolution, even though it is also characterised by turbulence.

A second assumption based on the first is that the white people of South Africa will share in this guidance and control. We therefore take this opportunity of addressing urgent words to the whole electorate. We exclude however the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the right wing of the United Party, because we believe that they are fundamentally antichange. About the conservatives in the Nationalist Party one must not dogmatise. In the last 26 years they have set up quite a remarkable record of obeying their Prime Ministers.

First the Progs, whom we have congratulated. They did not win six\* seats on the qualified franchise. They won them be-

cause they were ready for change. They won them because of the personality of their candidates. They won them because many habitual U.P. voters had the choice in their constituencies of voting Prog or U.P. establishment, and very sensibly they chose the first.

What weight does the Prog franchise carry in this new era we have just entered? It carries much less weight than it did last April. Soon it will carry very little weight at all. The Progs ought to throw it out of the window. Then they must sit down and think and talk with those others whose policies also require drastic reconsideration.

What about the U,P. policy of federation? Presumably "white" South Africa, with 4 million whites, 2 million Coloured people,  $\frac{3}{4}$  million Indians, and at least 6 million blacks, will be a partner in this federation. But what will its constitution be? Will it provide for universal suffrage?

What about the Democrat policy of bringing white, Coloured and Indian into the same kraal? What can the reason for that be? There's only one reason we can think of, and the least said about it the better.

The truth is that there will never be a Prog Government. Or a U.P. Government. Or a Democrat Government. It is most unlikely that there will ever be a Prog–U,P.–Democrat Government. There may be another general election and another Nat Government, which could have only one of two purposes — either to die fighting, or to radicalise white politics.

The radicalisation of white politics could mean only one thing, and that would be the creation of a negotiating Government, an all-white non-party Government, whose only purpose could be to march boldly into the future. Whether the future would be non-racial, multi-racial, unitary, federal, confederal, is not the point at issue. What is important is that the political future must be such that it commends itself to a majority of our people.

Each of the white parties has therefore a tremendous responsibility. The opposition parties must give up altogether the idea that any of them could become the main opposition, and eventually the government. The Nationalist Party must give up their so far unshakable idea that they alone will decide the future.

Mr Basson, Mr. Eglin, Mr. Gerdener, you all have awesome responsibilities. But don't you, Mr Vorster, imagine that yours is any less awesome.