suffering will be lessened and, at the same time, the frozen relations between north and south will be thawed and mutual understanding deepened.

It is a matter of vital importance for the peaceful reunification of the country as well as for peace in Asia and the rest of the world to remove tension in our country.

In order to remove tension in Korea, it is necessary, first of all, to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement between the north and south. We hold that a peace agreement should be concluded between the north and south and the armed forces of north and south Korea be cut drastically under the condition that the US imperialist aggressor troops are withdrawn from south Korea.

We have made it clear more than once that we have no intention of “invading the south.” If the south Korean rulers have no intention of “marching north for reunification,” there will be no reason for them to refuse to conclude a peace agreement between the north and south. If they truly want peace in our country and peaceful reunification, they should agree to conclude a peace agreement between the north and south, instead of clamoring about the fictitious “threat of southward aggression.”

We call for north-south political negotiation to strengthen contacts and ties between the north and south and solve the question of national reunification.

Many problems arise in putting an end to the tragedy of the national split and reunifying the country peacefully. All these problems can be satisfactorily solved only through political negotiation between the north and south.

We are ready to have negotiations with all the political parties of south Korea including the Democratic-Republican Party, the New Democratic Party and the Nationalist Party, at any time and at any place agreed upon. Now the south Korean authorities are talking this or that without having a meeting. It does not help solve the question of reunification peacefully to reject negotiations, talking about “peaceful reunification” only in words. In order to solve the question of the reunification of the country peacefully, various political parties of north and south Korea must hold intensive bilateral or multilateral negotiations to exchange political views on national reunification and to find a reasonable way to peaceful reunification.

We always keep our door open to anyone for negotiations and contacts between the north and the south. If anyone, though he committed crimes against the country and the people, sincerely repents of his past doings and takes a road of patriotism for the peaceful reunification of the country, we will not ask about his crimes but gladly negotiate with him the question of the country’s reunification.

When all the Koreans unite and fight along the road for the reunification of the country, we will surely be able to drive out the US and Japanese aggressors, tide over the crisis of national ruin created in south Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country without fail. We are sure that though the question of Korean reunification is still complicated, there is a prospect of peacefully solving it sooner or later in accordance with the will of our people and on the principle of national self-determination.

On the African subcontinent, a complex economic-social system that seeks to convert the Union of South Africa into a white imperial power is being constructed.

Its expansionist policy, subimperialism in South Africa projects the control of the greatest possible number of countries south of the Sahara, and especially Malawi, Rhodesia, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique and the bantustans themselves.

We reprint the testimony collected by the French journalist Edouard Bailby on the application of the theory of separate development of the races, and its consequences — without digging into the real reasons of economic exploitation — in sex, education, housing, work and sports, that is, in the daily life of the black, colored and Indian inhabitants of the extreme south of the African continent.
The first colonizers who landed in South Africa more than three centuries ago were the Dutch. They settled in Cape province in the extreme south. In the 19th century, they were joined by the British who tried to impose domination over the original colonizers but the latter refused, to submit to the crown and left by the thousands for the unknown interior of the country. This exodus — the Great Trek — lasted some ten years, during which time the Dutch fought many fierce battles against the blacks whom they encountered along their march.

The Union of South Africa became a part of the British Commonwealth long before it obtained its independence in 1961. At present it is governed by descendentes of the Dutch colonizers, the Afrikanders, whose language, Afrikaans, is very similar to Dutch and who are Methodists.

The Afrikanders control the principal governmental and administrative posts through the Nationalist Party; the demands of apartheid forced their coexistence with the English-speaking descendentes of the British colonizers, who represent less than 40% of the total of 4 000 000 whites living in the Union of South Africa, including also some 300 000 descendentes of French Huguenots and certain other European groups, compared to 14 000 000 blacks, 2 000 000 mestizos of various races and 650 000 Indians. These groups live in an area twice the size of France.

Officially apartheid is a system designed to stimulate the separate development of the four ethnic communities or, in other words, to preserve the traditions, language and interests of each of them. It is based on one fundamental principle: a nonwhite must never control a white. We wish to preserve our Western way of life," the whites say, "and since we are in a minority, we are forced to protect ourselves so the majority doesn't swallow us." As self-justification, they point to the fact that the Union of South Africa is an industrialized country today with an extensive network of modern highways, skyscrapers, factories, and an exceptional rate of growth in the western world and unique on the African continent.

"As a counterpart of the progress we achieve by means of hard work and discipline," they add, "we give the blacks and other ethnic groups the opportunity to develop within the framework of their own traditions." This is what Prime Minister Vorster says in a very simple formula: South Africa is a multinational state and will never be a multiracial state.

I saw for myself what this meant. Landing at Johannesburg airport in the midst of gold mines whose fine dust is piled in parallelepipeds, and hundreds of villas with private swimming pools, I saw in the waiting room the first Warning: Europeans only. The others — blacks, colored or Indians — have to go through another door into a separate room. This was my first encounter with apartheid. I was faced with it throughout my stay in the Union of South Africa, and even when I would have liked to forget it, events recalled its existence in the most unusual places. Whites, Blanke, Europeans, these three words mean the same thing; White: I saw, I saw again; I read, I read again; I listened and listened again, whenever I opened a door to get into a bus. Embarrassing, irritating, offensive, humiliating, like wounds on the landscape. At times this existence of apartheid reaches grotesque extremes. For instance, in Kempton Park, on the Mozambique border, there are six different toilet facilities: one for white men, another for white women; one for black men, another for black women; one for Indian men, another for Indian women; but they've left out the colored. On the Cape peninsula, which extends some 40 miles into the Indian and Atlantic oceans, the tourist bus crosses an animal reserve in which some paths are reserved for whites and others for nonwhites.

The entire Union of South Africa lives under the apartheid slogan. In Johannesburg, as in the rest of the country, there are two types of buses: red for the Europeans and green for the non-Europeans. In the parks, on the avenues, at the bus stops, nonwhites cannot sit on the same benches as whites. The same segregation applies to taxis. Post offices and liquor stores have separate doors, one for whites and the other for nonwhites. Movie houses, theaters, restaurants, bars and night clubs are almost all reserved for whites. Blacks can't use the same elevator as whites, in sports centers, the blacks are shunted into a corner, and in Johannesburg station I saw entire corridors for whites only. In Durban, South Africa's Miami in the Indian Ocean, there are four beaches: one for whites, one for blacks, one for Indians and the other for colored. Nonwhites are absolutely prohibited from entering or staying in a hotel for whites. Apartheid is lax only when it would be too costly to enforce it, as for example in airplanes, where racial segregation is not applied. But once on the ground, the nonwhites take one road and the whites another.

These are some of the visible signs of apartheid immediately evident to the tourist or traveler. Even foreign sailors stopping over in South Africa are subjected to these regulations. The only public places where racial mixing is permitted are in the churches at Sunday mass, where men and women of all colors pray together. That is, with the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church, which is precisely the church that most Afrikanders belong to and which does practice apartheid. Except at this unique occasion, nonwhites can only appear in the same public places with whites if they are working there. That is, racial segregation is such that it is virtually impossible for whites to have contact with nonwhites outside of work hours unless they invite each other to their homes. For example, it is forbidden for a white and a nonwhite to have a drink together in a public place. In South Africa, people of different colors can't even walk together on the street, because there's no place they can meet.

Numbers

"We aren't citizens, we're simply numbers. Slavery was supposed to have been abolished in the 19th century but here we continue to live like slaves." The author of these words is James Mafuna, a black of 30 and some years. For 18 months, he has been working as a journalist for the Rand Daily Mail, one of the most important English-language newspapers in the Republic of South Africa and one of the few that has taken a liberal stand. Like all blacks, Mafuna is classified administratively in a category, a specific section, and his identity has...
been reduced to a computer card. Everyone who has worked for ten consecutive years in Johannesburg, and for the same boss, belongs to section 10-1-A. If you work for 15 years in the same city with different bosses, you are in section 10-1-B, and so it goes. Any breech, even after 20 or 30 years of work, can put you into a inferior category by which means an interminable series of miserable administrative obstacles and job housing, and travel problems. Mafuna, one of the eight black journalists who works on the Rand-Daily Mail, receives a relatively “exceptional” salary because they pay him almost as much as his white colleagues for doing the same work. However, as a black, he does not have the right to live where he wants nor to move around freely. “Because I am black,” he told me, “I can’t even live with my wife, I can’t even take her to my father’s house that, according to the law, a black citizen born and living in a city or district which is part of the white area — which includes more than 85% of the Union of South Africa — cannot change his place of residence without specific authorization. Since his war lives on one street and he on another, they have to meet in the home of their in-laws. “When my wife was pregnant, we talked for a long time about where the child should be born. It was a sterile discussion: we quickly reached the conclusion that, no matter what we did, our child would be subjected to the same restrictions and humiliations as we are.” Mafuna is a man whose dignity has been trampled on and who cannot hide his rebellion against such injustice. His manner of speaking reflects the emotion of a termiened and morally wounded man. But he still has courage. “I refuse to be reduced to the level of a vegetable,” he said, “I won’t let them destroy me.” He studies French at night “in order to be able to read the French-speaking African writers”; he studies and submerges himself in reading. When I asked him if I could publish his name, he answered: “For us, blacks, our entire existence is a permanent problem; if I have a few more difficulties, it doesn’t matter...”

Implacable Laws

Apartheid crystallized as a doctrine in 1948, but in practice it was simply the culmination of centuries of racism. Each law approved reflects the systematic intention of the white minority to maintain economic and political supremacy over the rest of the population. Certain examples will serve to demonstrate this fact. A black cannot remain within the city for more than 72 hours without special authorization, which can be withdrawn at any moment and on any pretext. Neither are you permitted to have a servant’s room occupied by a black for more than 72 hours, a married daughter, a son more than 18 years old or any other relative. If declared “surplus” at any moment, he can be forced to leave his house and live some place designated by the government.

Without judicial mandate and at “whatever reasonable hour of the day or night,” the police have the right to enter and register any spot in which there is reason to believe that a black man of more than 18 years of age is committing the sin of living with his father without government authorization. Moreover, a policeman has the right to register every servant’s room occupied by a black in a white household.

At any moment it can be a crime for an African to be in the city at night without a written authorization. Every black more than 16 years old is required to carry a reference book. This identity card is somewhere between a passport and a police record and gives the complete biography of the bearer. It gives him the right to work within a clearly defined territory, of which he should have to be away from work more than a year or gets sick and has to have the area specified for more than six months, his permission would be withdrawn and he would be sent back to the rural zones. In the bad luck of losing his identity card he must go from city to city in search of an identity.

Because of a job reservation law, a black cannot hold posts reserved for whites nor receive the same salary for equal work. Employers are also prohibited from replacing white workers with black workers.

Through these drastic laws, whites maintain the best jobs and highest salaries. According to available statistics, only 2% of them live below the level of subsistence. As a result of the privileges that apartheid confers on them, whites in the lowest economic categories have a class spirit which is not social but racial.

Segregation in the Union of South Africa has reached such proportions that restaurants and cafeterias refuse to serve blacks. “For us, blacks, our enfrent is the government. It has reached such a proportion that blacks kill each other over tribal conflicts,” Piet Nel, top official in the Ministry of Information and descendant of French Huguenots, said.

Absence of Conflict

“But how can you expect that, with one wave of a magic wand, we could overcome the natural antagonisms among people of different races?” Piet Nel, top official in the Ministry of Information and descendant of French Huguenots, said: “Look just at what is happening in the rest of Africa, where blacks kill each other over tribal questions and coups d’état occur one after another. With our policy of separate development, the Union of South Africa is politically one of the most stable countries in the world. Economic progress goes ahead without any problem and one practically never hears of racial incidents. It is precisely to avoid them that we maintain the special green

able with a jail sentence. It must be pointed out, incidentally, that a growing number of white South Africans take weekend excursions to the Swaziland and Mozambique borders to enjoy the pleasures forbidden in their own country. Interracial marriages have also been prohibited since 1949 although it should be noted that they have not been exactly stimulated by three centuries of racism.

A black teacher cannot give lectures in a white club and a black cannot attend any type of meeting organized by whites. No black can buy land in the Union of South Africa; in certain cases they are permitted at most to be proprietors of small shops. Blacks cannot participate in strikes, organize trade unions or political parties in the white zone, etc.

The same laws, with few differences in detail, are applicable to colored and Indians.
The laws are clear: under no circumstances, the head waiter is invariably efficient, he may be. In the restaurants, the head waiter is invariably white; in the factories all the engineers and technicians are white and in the hospitals, all surgical operations are performed by white personnel. Nevertheless, according to a study published recently in the *Financial Times* of Johannesburg, 78% of the total of 523 white bus drivers on "whites only" buses in Johannesburg, 78% were prepared to accept black drivers "provided they could do the work." This reaction is truly notable in the Union of South Africa and it is discussed in the English language press, which is more open to dialogue than the rest.

In the suburbs of Johannesburg, a modern city with 1,300,000 inhabitants, where boredom reigns as soon as night falls, I knew the director — a black man — of a secondary school for black children attended by 500 students. This man, 49 years old, has a university degree and a teaching experience of 26 years; he earns 270 rands a month or approximately $130. The beginning salary for a black teacher is 258 rands. Why this discrimination? Is there a scale of values based completely on racial criteria? According to 1967 official statistics, the average monthly salary of a white man in manufacturing was 232 rands compared to 64 for an Indian, 59 for a colored and 48 for a black. In agriculture the white earns an average of 237 rands while the black receives scarcely 41 rands. These proportions have not changed significantly in recent years because they are governed by very precise laws. It is also interesting to observe that according to the law every year a black child and 270 rands in that of a white child.

Muriel Horrell has written about this in an extraordinarily useful book: *Introduction to South Africa*, published in Johannesburg by the South African Institute of Race Relations. The difference in income between whites and nonwhites was so scandalous that last September 16, Harry Oppenheimer, magnate of South African industry and President of the Anglo-American Corporation, demanded equal salary for all workers, independently of their "races." The entire country shook with indignation; the *Financial Times* of Johannesburg immediately published an editorial stressing that the idea was very generous but that the whites would inevitably feel obliged to reduce their own salaries if it was accepted that those of nonwhites should be raised. In other words, Oppenheimer's idea would be extremely costly to put into practice. Therefore, it seems that, unfortunately, only a few enterprises will continue — illegally — paying equal salaries to whites and nonwhites for the same work.

White Opposition

It is Vorster's Nationalist Party government that will remain in power in the Union of South Africa up until the next elections within five years. With 127 seats in the Parliament out of a total of 174, this party holds an absolute majority. The interests of the Afrikaners are very solidly protected. In his Capetown office, furnished with books and newspapers, de Villiers Graf, — leader of the United Party, the principal opposition group made up chiefly of white English-speaking South Africans — explained his policy in detail. He believes that blacks must have parliamentarian representation, which they don't now have, and that they must be allowed to elect eight white members to Parliament to represent their interests. When I asked him if he opposed apartheid he answered me very gravely, playing with his eyeglasses in his right hand: "This depends on what you mean by apartheid. Let's say I am against the policy of the present government." The only deputy of the Progressive Party, which opposed apartheid, Helen Suzman, put it this way: "There are only hawks and super-hawks in the vanguards of the government party and its legal opposition."

A glance at the daily press confirms this. Chipo Kachingwe, daughter of the Ambassador of Malawi and black, of course, is in a Catholic college for white girls.

The question was raised in a ministerial meeting in September when it was asked: "Isn't this an infringement of apartheid?" "Absolutely not," the Minister in charge replied, "because Miss Kachingwe is the daughter of a foreign diplomat."

It also created a scandal in the Union of South Africa when Prime Minister Vorster permitted himself to be photographed seated between two blacks at a banquet held during the recent visit of Hastings Banda, President of Malawi. Other scandals were caused by the fact that the government authorized an African diplomat to live in a white section of the Cape; because Prince Pinda Dhalamini, son of the King of Swaziland, was operated on in a hospital for whites in Johannesburg; and becauseething last September 11, for the first time, colored were allowed in the Bloemfontein hippodrome. The slightest exception to the absolute taboos of apartheid, almost invariably causes a wave of protests. If the government practically ignores this, it is simply due to the need for labor or because it has to make a distinction between foreign blacks with diplomatic status and the blacks of South Africa.

There has been tremendous discussion around the question of mul-
...tricial teams. The whites are dis-
gusted by the foreign boycott of
their teams and increasingly inter-
ested in restricting the applica-
tion of apartheid in sports. There is
a suggestion in the air for authorizing
nonwhites to participate on white
teams at international meetings
held in South Africa, and that an
"international" stadium could be
constructed for use by all "races.
Perhaps nonwhites could be includ-
et in the team that compete abroad.
These are ideas suggested in the
press and over radio. "It is absolute-
ly grotesque," a black man said
to me indignantly. "They scorn us,
they humiliate us, they keep us out
of public life, and when there are
international competitions they
want to take a few good black ath-
letes to exhibit them among the,
whites. I decline."

Furious because the white cricket
team was recently unable to play
against Australia, Vorster gave a hot speech
accusing an Australian "minority"
of having sabotaged the trip. "That's
the joke of the year," a black in
Johannesburg told me. "For 300
years a minority has been imposing
its laws here."

The Homelands

For purposes of "separate develop-
ment" the whites have divided
South Africa into zones and reser-
vations. More than 85% of the ter-
ritory is the white zone where only
whites can be proprietors. Within
this zone, there are well defined
"black spot" sectors, cities or dis-
tricts for nonwhites. The inhabitants
of these areas make up the work
force of the white zone and are
therefore authorized to enter the
white sector daily to work there.
Under apartheid, the colored are
grouped together mainly in Cape
province and the Indians in the Dur-
ban area, while the blacks remain
concentrated around the big indus-
trial cities.

In addition to the "black spots"
in the white zones, eight Bantu or
native land areas have been cre-
ated for the purpose of regrouping blacks
of different ethnic origin and thus
favoring their separate develop-
ment. These territories are very
arbitrarily defined and are fre-
cently made up of innumerable
small properties because they were,
extended little by little by state
purchases of lands owned by whites
which were then handed over to
blacks. They are now semi-autono-
uous areas that cover an approxi-
mate 15% of the Union of South
Africa. The majority were created
out of nothing on extremely poor
land. In theory, the blacks of the
native lands are owners of their
individual ground and have their
own schools, hospitals and stores;
they enjoy a certain grade of auton-
omy in the management of their
own affairs under the vigilant eyes
of white "assistants" placed there
by Pretoria, of course. Blacks in
these areas can only enter the white
zone with special authorization; in
any case the great majority of them
do so only in order to go to work
in a city or a specific factory where
they are employed under a contract
that obliges them to return to their
native land after a year. In other
words, the whites have created a
labor reserve on which they can
draw any time they consider it ne-
necessary. According to official state-
ments, "when these native lands
have stable institutions and a viable
economy, they will be able to ob-
tain their independence and become
...
The Zulus know. Maybe there will be work for 1000 rands, 12 000 000 collected from local taxes and contributions. Transkei lives poorly. Last year 180 000 Xhosas received permission to work for a year in the white zone. "In the Republic," as the whites say.

The Zulus

North of Durban with its 690 000 inhabitants of whom 270 000 are Indians, is Zululand, a territory of undulating hills and valleys, conceded to the Zulus by the whites. There are a total of 290 parcels irregularly distributed over 22 000 km² on which some 2 500 000 Zulus live. The government of Pretoria has constructed a few dirt roads which permit them to move around within their territory, but the railroad and asphalt roads with good, well-kept restaurants, follow the white corridors that still cross the country.

Some 250 km northwest of Durban, in a small hamlet five km from Mahalbatini, I met Gatsha Buthelezi, Prime Minister of Zululand since his election in June 1970. He has 43 years old and the father of seven children; his religion is Anglican. At first acquaintance he seems timid and when I visited him we remained standing for several minutes in front of his leopard-skin covered sofa, simply smiling. When our two-hour conversation ended, however, we understood each other perfectly. Buthelezi is a frank man, warm, open and subtle in his replies. He closes his eyes for a long time before answering. The Zulus — and many other blacks as well — are identified with him; when he returned from a visit to the United States, thousands of blacks traveled long distances to welcome him enthusiastically at the Durban airport.

"Do you believe that the cause of the blacks is helped by visits to the Union of South Africa of heads of African states?" I asked him.

That doesn't cause any essential change, but when the President of Malawi was here recently, thousands of blacks went to see him at his hotel. They couldn't believe that a black like themselves could be received with the same equality as a white. They were deeply moved to see that he was really treated with respect and dignity. This stimulated them.

Buthelezi condemns apartheid, but he is a moderate man and was cautious when I asked him what he thought of the movement "Black is beautiful," which is gaining strength among the South African blacks. "No," he said, "the black is also beautiful. I detest racism no matter where it comes from but the fact is that whites create such a situation here that blacks are completely forced to create more and more children with the idea of taking by force pieces of the bastions of the white empire." Buthelezi does not try to hide the limitations of his power or the fact that the major part of the best lands belong to whites, or that apartheid creates an impossible situation. In sum, that South Africa is the hottest spot in the world after Viet Nam.

Bedroom Cities

Buthelezi is hostile to the idea of separate development on the grounds that "culture can't be preserved in a jar." His chief preoccupation is the future of the townships, the bedroom cities for blacks outside the big cities like Johannesburg.

These people have no executive power; they are completely subjected to the laws of apartheid and live in a horrible state of poverty. They are exploited to the maximum and aren't even given the right to return to their native land if they want to. They are no longer Zulus or Xhosas; they are exiled workers, driven out of the white zone. If something isn't done to improve the lot of these people, there's going to be a revolution in the urban areas that will eat us all up.

With a population of 700 000, Soweto, a black city 20 kilometers from Johannesburg, is the third largest city in the Republic of South Africa. But since it is a black city, it doesn't appear on any map. To go there, you have to have permission from the authorities that is valid for only a few hours. The city is constructed on a circular plan with three rooms, bath and a garden. A government official showed me the last of the indigent neighborhoods, horrid and miserable, swarming with children. "We have replaced the indigent neighborhoods with these houses," he told me. "You can see for yourself that we aren't oppressors nor pigs." It is a fact that in Soweto the author-

ities have built schools, clinics, houses, stores and service stations. They have even built an attractive restaurant and a tower from which one can admire the panorama of the city. From all appearances, Soweto is a clean, well-designed working-class city.

I went back there later and got to know some well-off blacks who told me just what hell it really was to live there. When the black workers return to their homes with their pay on Friday night, hundreds of youngsters of undetermined origin, their faces covered with bandannas, attack them with bicycle chains and iron bars. Twenty crimes every weekend. There are 20 000 youths in the streets, half of whom stay all night in the unlighted streets. More than 70% of the inhabitants of the city live below subsistence level and are forbidden to leave the place to try to earn a living elsewhere. The only acceptable reason for a black to leave Soweto is to go to work in the white industrial zones during the day. In theory the black population of Soweto and all the other townships elects a municipal council to administer its affairs. But blacks have no property rights. Mr. Maponya is the richest businessman in the city and is well known in Johannesburg because he is presented as a brilliant example of the benefits of apartheid, but he isn't allowed to open a supermarket. He is now manager of one or two small food stores but he is only permitted to sell consumer supplies of strictly basic daily need. No black in Soweto is permitted to sell furniture, clothing, household goods, gasoline, automobiles. The sale of these items is confined exclusively to whites, which clearly illustrates the economic use of apartheid. "They treat us as if we were baboons," a 30-
The worst paid — and certain

protect them." For this reason they reserve a certain number of jobs in East Africa, if we didn't they would maltreat them just as they know very well that the blacks contented with apartheid. They bend lightly, watching each movement of the game, enigmatic, indifferent to the exterior world, presumptuous, and very satisfied to belong to the "white race," the race of sirs.

Above all, Durban is a city of Indians, descendants of slaves brought less than a century ago by the British to work on the sugar plantations. "You should know," a local merchant, white of course, told me, "that the Indians are not discontented with apartheid. They know very well that the blacks brought less than a century ago by the British to work on the sugar plantations. "You should know," a local merchant, white of course, told me, "that the Indians are not discontented with apartheid. They know very well that the blacks are still maintaining their sense of humor.

Whites only, Europeans only, Whites, Blakles, Whites, Whites... they've kept all the best for themselves. I saw them in Durban, on the avenue that runs along the sea, bowling on their manicured lawns. The women with their white skirts and hats, the men with their short white pants and colonial helmets. They bend lightly, watching each movement of the game, enigmatic, indifferent to the exterior world, presumptuous, and very satisfied to belong to the "white race," the race of sirs.

In this gigantic, dynamic and industrialized country, modern in so many respects, where blacks, lions and elephants are separated and placed on their own reservations, are there whites who really and sincerely opposed apartheid? There are, but only a handful. They admit that there aren't more than a few thousand. There are others who would be prepared to join them were it not for the question they ask themselves: "What can we do? We reject racism but we are a linguistic, traditional and cultural minority; how can we avoid disappearing in the mass of Africans?"

Organizations Against Apartheid

In Johannesburg I met some of these valiant white fighters who feel profoundly distressed in the face of such incomprehension and injustice. They belong to two organizations: the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, which are patiently and modestly forging links among the various communities. They publish some extremely useful pamphlets and organize lectures and meetings. They have to watch their step because of the law against communism which imposes severe penalties on all attempts to introduce social changes. These two private organizations carry out admirable but limited work.

Occasionally individual actions against apartheid take place. In September, a 47-year-old Anglican pastor, Rev. Bernie Wrankmore, started a 40-day hunger strike on a hill overlooking Capetown, in protest against racial segregation and torture in the prisons. He seated himself under an umbrella, among the trees, and was visited by hundreds of South Africans of all colors who came to demonstrate their support. I myself saw them, seated on tree trunks and looking out across the sea to the prison on Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela, a 53-year-old black, is sentenced to life imprisonment for having dared to demand an end to apartheid. On the fortieth day of his hunger strike, various tens of thousands of persons — white, black and colored — gathered on the hillside to make their presence felt in support of Rev. Wrankmore. "Each individual must discover the truth anew for himself," he told me, "for the good of all the men and women of this country."

With his actions, Rev. Wrankmore succeeded in bringing together in a forthright South Africans of all colors and religions, something never before seen in this country where racism reaches such extremes that, at the farthest point of the continent is: White ladies only.

The Awakening

"We can hope for nothing more from the whites and so we must fall back on ourselves, we must open our own schools, create our own organizations and develop our own culture and traditions. We have to convert ourselves into a brave and hardworking people and we must be ready to defend our cause to the end." The young man speaking, like many of his comrades, has become aware of what it is to be black.

"For some months," according to M. Moerane, editor of a daily paper almost exclusively for blacks, with the fourth largest circulation in the Union of South Africa, an immense movement has been growing among the blacks. "Black is beautiful," these are the words that nobody had the courage to utter in public two or three years ago.

Growing numbers of blacks are reaching the conclusion that if whites impose separate development on them, they should follow that line to the letter of the law: "We will see who wins then..." Various more or less clandestine movements are now taking form; Saso, with a racial tendency, has some influence among black students. This group's activities must be added to those of the African National Congress (ANC), which was banned immediately after the Sharpeville massacre in March of 1960 (69 blacks dead and 178 wounded) and which continues to be the major clandestine movement in South Africa. If the white South African community persists in its racist posture, it is very possible that it is preparing the road to future disaster and the disintegration of its own culture. One can't be saved by destroying others'