

14 JUL 1960

LIBERTAS

BULLETIN VAN DIE PRETORIA-
TAK VAN DIE LIBERALE PARTY
VAN SUID-APRIKA

BULLETIN OF THE LIBERAL
BRANCH OF THE LIBERAL
PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AUG 8 1960



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JUNE/JUNIE 1960.	1. The Detainees. 2. Die Polisie. 3. Alan Paton: The Third Force.
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DIE NOODTOESTAND.....

Die noodtoestand het op die ou end geblyk te wees presies wat onbevooroordeelde mense verwag het - 'n siniese misbruik deur die Regering van sy eie magte om die monde van dié wat hom die sterkste geopponeer het, te snoer. Die Regering maak aanspraak daarop dat hy geforseer was om sekere stappe te neem teneinde die land van anargie en verbrokkeling te red, maar niemand behalwe die blindste Regeerings-jabroer kan hierdie mening opreg huldig nie.

Die magte wat die Regering kragtens die noodregulasies op homself geneem het was van so 'n aard dat hy in staat gestel is om sonder verhoor 1,700 mans en vrouens van alle rasse plus 'n verdere 18,000 Afrikane van die lokasies, in die tronk te gooi. Gesinne is verbrokkel, namelose ontbering is veroorsaak en die gevangesenes is in baie gevalle finansiëel geruïneer. Die werklike rede vir die noodtoestand is aan die lig gebring toe die Regering 'n wet aangeneem het waarkragtens hy en sy polisiemag gevrywaar is teen enige vergoeding aan diegene wat gevange geneem is.

THE STATE OF EMERGENCY.....

The State of Emergency has turned out to be precisely what unblinkered people have expected - a cynical misuse by the Government of its own powers to silence those most strongly opposed to it. The Government's claim that it was forced to take the steps which it did in order to save the country from anarchy and disruption can hardly, on the evidence, be seriously entertained by any but the blindest party follower.

The powers which the Government gave itself under the Emergency Regulations were of such scope as to enable it to arrest and imprison without trial 1,700 men and women of all races, plus another 18,000 Africans from townships and locations, disrupting family life, causing untold hardship, and in many instances financially ruining the detainee. The true reason for the Emergency was confirmed when the Government passed a law indemnifying itself and its police against any redress by those who were detained.

Die mees onstellende aspekte van die noodtoestand was die gemak waarmee blanke Suid-Afrikanners hulleself laat intimideer het, die Nasionale Partyondersteuners se lamsakkige aanvaarding van die Regering se hand-elswyse, en die voortdurende diktatoriale houding van die Regering.

Aan die krediet-kant is daar eers-tens die ongelooflik ordelike gedrag van die oorgrote meerderheid van die Afrikane onder omstandighede wat die grootste aanleiding gegee het tot geweldadige en wanordelike optrede; tweedens, die groot toename in kontak tussen nie-blankes en daardie blankes wat getoon het dat hulle nie deur Regeringsdreigemente in 'n hoek gedryf gaan word nie; en dertens die geweldige anti-apartheid druk wat van oorsese bronne uitgeoefen is.

Voordele teen nadele geweeg, kan ons met vrymoedigheid verklaar dat die noodtoestand die vordering na ware demokrasie in Suid-Afrika versnel het, en dat die Regering aan die kortste end trek.

The most disquieting aspects of the Emergency have been the ease with which white South Africans have allowed themselves to be intimidated, the unquestioning acceptance by Nationalist supporters of the Government's actions, and the continuing dictatorial attitude of the Government itself.

On the credit side there is, firstly, the incredibly orderly behaviour of the vast majority of our African people in circumstances which gave every encouragement to violent and disorderly action; secondly, the great increase in contact between non-whites and those whites who showed that they were not to be cowed by Government threats; and, thirdly the tremendous anti-apartheid pressures which it has generated overseas.

On balance the State of Emergency can confidently be stated to have accelerated the rate of progress towards democracy in South Africa, and therefore to have backfired on the Government to the latter's cost.

THE DETAINEES

"Libertas" welcomes the release of the detainees after a stay of over 90 days in gaol and extends greetings to John Brink, Chairman, and Dr Colin Lang, past Chairman, of the Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party. The detainees have in almost every case been released subject to unjust and unnecessary restrictions. Fair-minded people are urged not to be lulled into such complacency by these releases that they are blinded to the circumstances of the arrests or the conditions of detention. More especially does this apply now that a further arrest under the Emergency Regulations took place this week in Pretoria.

FORCING THE PACE

The Liberal Party is frequently criticised as "wanting to go too fast", and as "trying to force Africans to develop too rapidly".

Let us examine these criticisms:

Firstly, it is a fact that Africans are artificially prevented from developing their talents by the many restrictive laws with which whites have enmeshed them. The Liberal Party, by repealing the offending laws, would remove these restrictions and so allow non-whites to develop naturally, in exactly the same way as whites do at present. We recognise that ability varies not by racial group but by individual, and that there is no more a "rate of development" which suits all non-whites than there is one that suits all whites.

Secondly, it is nonsense to suggest that anyone can be "forced" to develop too rapidly. When given the choice, individuals choose their own rate of development.

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WAAROM NIE 'N GEKWALIFISEERDE STEMREG NIE ?.....Omdat die stem die individu se beste wapen is om homself teen die gevare van diskriminasië en onderdrukking te verdedig, en hy is geregtig op die gebruik van daardie wapen, afgesien van die standaard van opvoeding wat hy bereik het.

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THE PASS LAWS

As long ago as 1918, D.F. Malan, then Acting Prime Minister, told a deputation of African leaders: "I hope that as Natives become better educated and more civilised, it may be possible to remove the Pass Laws.....that is an ideal for which everyone should strive." Yet to-day, forty years later, the Pass Laws are not evolving towards an enlightened and benevolent system designed for the benefit of the African; the very opposite is happening. The time is overdue for the total repeal of this illogical and oppressive legal anachronism.

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"CONTACT" - Read Contact, South Africa's non-racial fortnightly, for the news that is left out of the daily press ! Obtainable through the Party office at 6d per copy, or 7/- for 6 months.

DIE POLISIEJ.C. GROENTWALD

Sersant Arlow se herhaalde verskynings voor die hof op 'n reeks aanklagte wat strek van verrydeling van die regsbedeling tot moord, het die verontrustende toestand van ons hedendaagse polisiemag geaksentueer. Mens is geneig om die eerbare sersant (wat tans 'n driejaar-vonnis uitdien) te beskou as 'n spesiale geval, maar 'n blik op die aantal polisie-veroordelings van verlede jaar sal aantoon dat, hoewel hy miskien ietwat meer entoesiasties in die uitvoering van sy pligte was as die deursnee geregtsdienaar, hy seer sekerlik nie uniek is nie.

Volgens syfers verstrak deur die Minister, is 215 blanke geregtsdienars gedurende 1959 voor die hof gedaag op aanklagte van aanranding, en 109 van hierdie getal is skuldig bevind. Hierdie syfers is skokkend as mens in gedagte hou dat die raison d'etre van die polisiemag die instandhouding van gesag en orde is; maar dit is nouliks verbasend wanneer mens daaraan dink dat die oorgrote moorderteid van hierdie aanrandings teen nie-blankes geskied het.

Blanke Suid-Afrikaners word van kindsbeen af gewoon gemaak aan die idee van die nie-blanke se minderwaardigheid; ons sosiale gedragslyne en lewenswyse is hierop gebaseer; ons wette onderskryf dit; ons tronkstrawwe benadruk dit op genadelose wyse. Met hierdie agtergrond kan ons dit maar net as natuurlik beskou dat blanke geregtsdienars die beste sal maak van hulle posisie, veilig in die wete dat die gesag aan hulle kant is - veral as mens onthou dat die polisie die middel is waardeur die wette wat die Afrikaan die nouste raak, soos bv. die pas- en drankwette, toegepas word, en dat hulle dus die grofgeskut van die Afrikaan se natuurlike reaksie teen hierdie onderdrukking moet dourstaan.

Netsoos 'n land die regering kry wat hy verdien, kry hy ook die polisiemag wat hy verdien. Die polisie in enige land is 'n lewensgetroue beeld van die land se bevolking - 'n brutale land se polisiemag is brutaal, 'n regverdige land het regverdige geregtsdienars. Ons het geen hoop op 'n welvoeglike, regverdige en gedisiplineerde polisiemag voordat onself welvoeglik, regverdig en gedisiplineerd is in ons optrede teenoor almal, afgesien van hulle rassegroep. Totdat blankes bereid is om hulle houding radikaal te verander, is kritiek van 'n polisiemag wat in sy optrede teenoor nie-blankes hoofsaaklik die houding van die volk weerspieël, onregverdig en onredelik.

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WHO SAYS THERE HASN'T BEEN PROGRESS !

"Between 80 and 90 Natives were arrested in Pretoria yesterday for walking on the pavements....." News report in "The Star", 27.6.1910.

ALAN PATON CALLS FOR NON-VIOLENT "THIRD FORCE".....L.P. CONGRESS 1960.

In his presidential address given to the 6th National Congress of the Liberal Party last month, Mr Alan Paton commented on the present crisis in racial affairs and suggested a rôle for the Liberal Party as a "Third Force of Non-Violence".

"As I see it," Mr Paton said, "we are entering a phase where the struggle between Afrikaner Nationalism and African Nationalism will be intensified.....I fully expect violence to be a feature of this struggle. What do we do? Do we stand hopelessly by?"

"....I am sure that there are many thousands of people in South Africa who hate and fear violence and who do not wish to play a purely passive rôle in its presence but would like, if they could, to present a spiritual and good and active alternative to what is evil, violent, and destructive. In a clash of opposing nationalisms, both of them always trembling on the brink of violence, we might call this alternative THE THIRD FORCE. It would in my opinion be this third force which, if it were not able to prevent the clash of irreconcilable forces, would be there always present as a factor to be reckoned with, and an alternative to them both.

"....For a long time I have been thinking as to what could be done to exercise the right which I believe all men to possess, namely the right to resist oppression. I was thinking of that law known as the Group Areas Act, which is one of the most wicked of all the apartheid laws. And I was thinking how wonderful it would be if when the first Indian citizen of Durban was to be moved from his home, a 100,000 of the people in that city would gather at the place, to watch in silence the authorities perform this wicked act; or to pray....to represent there in the presence of that tyrannical act the forces of goodness and justice, and the moral disapproval of the world.

"....I would like to confront the users of violence, and I regard the Group Areas Act as nothing less than an act of violence, with an ordered and self-disciplined opposition. These would be demonstrations trembling, not on the brink of violence, but on the brink of deliverance. But they require, I am certain, discipline and preparation; one does not buy for nothing this non-violent power. For one thing, I am sure one would have to go to such a demonstration with something more than the mere desire to bring a tyrannical government toppling to the ground; one would have to go there to offer to South Africa a visible and substantial alternative to tyranny motivated by a love of what was good and just, and a desire to identify oneself with ones neighbour at the moment of his dispossession.

"....I would like to see this opposition become a moral power that would win a victory every time it was employed; and would, I believe, slowly sap the confidence of the apartheiders, not so much in the workability

as in the moral soundness of their policy.

"....At the same time we must squarely face the fact that this government does not like these ideals and principles, that it does not like people who hold them; that this dislike turns and always will turn into hostility when the people who hold the ideals and principles are active and successful in propagating them; and that such people may then lose their freedom of movement, be arrested and detained without trial, be arrested and charged and kept on trial for long periods or be allowed to go free on condition that they do not propagate these ideals any longer. I say this fact must be squarely faced, for it is the most obdurate fact of our immediate future; we have reached a point when if we stick to our principles, we shall face something more stern than the mere disapproval of the authorities.

"At times like this it is natural to face the future soberly, with a mixture of courage and anxiety. But I say to you, let us not be too fearful. Great forces are on our side, not only the forces of good that take such a beating from men and yet are so invincible, but also great temporal forces: the disapproval of nations both great and small of the policies of apartheid, and the determination of some of them to exert pressures on our rulers to change their ways. This places on us a duty also that we should not forget what we came together to do, and that we should continue to do it, to go on exercising what we believe to be inalienable rights; to speak the truth; to attempt to persuade; to oppose injustice; to build bridges between people and people; to provide leadership and guidance for those millions of South African people who do not believe in violence, or who want some working alternative for it....."

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"If you want to be misinformed about a country, talk to a man who has lived there for thirty years, and speaks the language ! " - Lord Salisbury: British Conservative Peer and past leader of the House of Lords.
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HUISVERGADERINGS: Indien u 'n Liberale Party huisvergadering wil bywoon skakel asb. 4-3704 vir 'n uitnodiging. Die volgende vergadering sal op Donderdag 14 Julie plaasvind.

HOUSEMEETINGS: If you are interested in attending a Liberal Party housemeeting please 'phone 4-3704 for an invitation. The next meeting will take place on Thursday, 14th July.



12 AUG 1960

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PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

AUG 30 1960

JULY/JULIE
1960.

1. "Die Transvaler" se Ontdekking.
2. Apartheid: The end Approaches.
3. The Lady Selborne Removal.

DIE SKRIF TEEN DIE MUUR.....

Die tragiese en gewelddadige opstand in die Belgiese Kongo aksentueer die keuse waarvoor blankes in Suid-Afrika en al die oorblywende gebiede op hierdie kontinent waar hulle nog die oppermag het, gestel word.

Die keuse is, kortliks, of die verandering van 'n stelsel beheer deur 'n blanke minderheid na 'n demokrasie met meerderheidsregering 'n vreedsame en ordelike een gaan wees, en of dit onafwendbaar vinnig en gewelddadig gaan kom.

Die besluit of daar so 'n omskakeling gaan wees of nie, berus lankal nie meer by die blanke nie, soos enige objektiewe waarnemer van Afrika-aangeleenthede duidelik kan sien. Die Unie staan alleen in Afrika en inderdaad in die hele wêreld in sy weiering om hierdie feit te aanvaar, en hom toe te lê op die groot taak wat voorlê. In stede daarvan word waardevolle tyd, energie en geld gemors terwyl ons in hierdie land wanhopig probeer om die wysers van die horlosie terug te draai en onself wys te maak dat ons 'n koers wat alreeds onherroeplik ingeslaan is, van rigting kan ver-

THE WRITING ON THE WALL.....

The tragic and violent unrest in the Belgian Congo highlights the choice before whites both in South Africa and in all the remaining white-dominated countries on this continent.

The choice is, in brief, whether the change over from a white-supremacist system to a majority-rule democratic system is to be a peaceable and orderly one, or whether it is to be rushed and violent.

The decision on whether there is to be such a change over at all has of course long since passed from white hands; the facts of life in Africa make this plain to any objective observer. The Union stands alone in Africa in refusing to accept this fact, and to shape itself to the real task instead of continuing to waste time, energy and money in trying to put the clock back and to perpetuate the fiction that it can influence an issue which has already been decided. The question in the Union, as elsewhere in Africa, is not "whether", but "how" and "when".

ander. Die vraag in die Unie, soos elders in Afrika, is nie "of" nie, maar "hoe" en "wanneer".

Ontwakende Afrika is ons rigsnoer. State soos Ghana en die Franse Kongo wat hulle by die onvermydelike neergelê het, en onmiddelik begin het om voorbereidings te tref vir die verandering, het geweld en anti-blanke opstande vermy. Die Belgiese Kongo is die enigste onafhanklike gebied waar die owerheid voor die omskakeling geweier het om ag te slaan op die skrif teen die muur, en hierdie land was, betekenisvol genoeg, die enigste wat tot op datum moeilikheid van hierdie aard ondervind het.

Indien blankes in Suid-Afrika 'n vreedsame en ordelike oorskakeling wil hê, moet hulle beseft dat nou die tyd is om te begin. Diskriminerende rassewetgewing moet afgeskaf word en daar moet 'n onmiddelike begin gemaak word met die opleiding van nie-blankes om 'n leidende aandeel aan die administratiewe masjinerie van die land te neem.

Met die waarskuwing van die Kongo voor hulle oë, is dit ondenkbaar dat hulle anders kan kies.

Emergent Africa stands before us as a guide. States such as Ghana and the French Congo, which bowed to the inevitable and immediately set about preparing for the change, have had no violence or anti-whiteism. The only independent territory where those in charge prior to independence refused to heed the writing on the wall until it was too late, is the Belgian Congo, and it is significant that this is the only territory which has experienced such trouble to date.

If whites make the choice of a peaceable and orderly transition then they should realise that this is attainable only if an immediate start is made in training non-whites to take their rightful place alongside whites in the administration of the country, and in ridding themselves of the discriminatory racial laws which at present cause so much misery and friction.

With the spectre of the Congo before them it is unthinkable that they should choose otherwise.

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BRANCH NEWS

SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP: The State of Emergency, far from putting paid to the Liberal Party, has actually boosted membership. The Pretoria Branch has enrolled more than 80 new members this year, most of them since the beginning of the Emergency, to bring the total to 250. Regular housemeetings and members' meetings have been held throughout these uncertain times, and "Libertas" missed one issue only (when all our material had been lifted by the Special Branch!) The morale of the Party has never been better, and we confidently look forward to a period of vigorous activity.

RELIEF TO DEPENDANTS: For the past four months the Branch has shouldered the whole of the responsibility of caring for the dependants of all those detained under the Emergency Regulations in Pretoria. Almost immediately after the arrests took place the families were visited by one of our members, Mr Tony Brink, in order that their individual needs might be determined; in all 37 families (about 100 people) were cared for at a total cost of approximately £310 per month. This covered food parcels which were distributed every week, rents and extras such as school fees and maternity needs. The money was collected mainly in Pretoria from all sections of the community. Many have given clothing, and vegetables were donated each week by market stall-holders. This scheme will continue until all the detainees have been released.

YOUNG LIBERAL DETAINED: Attempts to obtain the release of the 21 year old white member who was detained on the 6th July have so far been unsuccessful. His friends have consistently been refused permits, and only his close relatives have been allowed to visit him.

ECONOMIST CALLS FOR HIGHER WAGES: At a members meeting this month, Mr David Craighead, a vice-Chairman of the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party, said that the growth in the economy of South Africa is slowing up, and will continue to slow up unless African wages are increased substantially. Mr Craighead, whose talk was interpreted into Sotho, said that an increase in non-white wages would have the following beneficial effects: Firstly, it would stimulate the whole of industry by increasing consumption. Secondly, workers would do better work through being better fed. And thirdly, management would be jolted into making more efficient use of labour if it had to pay workers more. Mr Craighead emphasised that the important point, as almost all industrial and business leaders realised and cabinet ministers did not, was that higher wages had to come first, and increased production must follow. This principle was endorsed by no less than the Past Chairman and the Chairman of the Wage Board at a recent meeting of the Economics Association in Pretoria.

"CONTACT" EDITOR PREDICTS COLLAPSE OF APARTHEID: Addressing the Branch Committee last week, Patrick Duncan predicted that a combination of external pressure and internal resistance would destroy apartheid within the next five years. He said that world government was coming to Central and Southern Africa, and this meant the imposition of Liberal ideas. The Liberal Party had to prepare itself for the responsibilities of rule.

"DIE TRANSVALER" SE ONTDEKKING.J.C. GROENEWALD.

Dit lyk asof die lig uiteindelik vir "Die Transvaler" opgegaan het, en "Libertas" wil hom van harte gelukwens met hierdie mylpaal. Vir sewe jaar lank het hierdie koppige en verbitterde koerant standvastig geweier om te erken dat die Liberale Party enigiets meer is as 'n klein groepie naïewe idealiste. Ons was dus oorweldig met verrassing en vreugde toe "Die Transvaler" in sy hoofartikel van 30 Julie, tastende na 'n bevredigende beskrywing van die vermaarde vergadering van wêreldberoemde opvoedkundige leiers in Durban, bitterlik die feit beween het dat "...die konferensie netso goed 'n Partykongres van die Liberale Party kon gewees het" !

Hoewel ons ruimhartiglik toegee dat "Die Transvaler" dit moontlik nie as 'n kompliment bedoel het nie, voel ons nogtans dat 'n groot waarheid aan dié koerant geopenbaar is. Hierdie waarheid is naamlik dit: DIE LIBERALE PARTY IS DIE ENIGSTE POLITIEKE ORGANISASIE IN HIERDIE LAND WAARVAN DIE BELEIDE GEIDENTIFISEER KAN WORD MET HEDENDAAGSE WESTERSE DENKE. Die Progressiewe Party het weliswaar 'n gekwalifiseerde stap in die regte rigting gewaag, maar geen ander blanke Party staan eers in soveel as 'n kopknikkende verhouding tot demokrasie nie, en geen van die Afrikaan-, Indiër- of Kleurling-organisasies is op 'n nie-rassige grondslag gebaseer nie.

Ons wag nou met ingehoue asem op die volgende stap in die evolusie van "Die Transvaler" se politieke denke. Hy sal hom moet besluit of hy nog steeds krampagtig aan sy verbintenis met die Weste gaan bly vasklou, aangesien hy die standpunte van nóg die Liberale Party nóg die leiers van Westerse denke wat in Durban opgetree het, kan onderskryf. Kortliks gestel, ons weet wat die Weste van "Die Transvaler" dink; die vraag is net wat "Die Transvaler" van die Weste dink.....

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WHY NOT A QUALIFIED FRANCHISE ? The vote is the individual's best weapon of defence against the dangers of discrimination or oppression, and he is entitled to the use of that weapon regardless of his standard of education.

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NON-VIOLENCE

"Non-violence is not a cover to cowardice but a virtue of the wise..."
- MAHATMA GHANDI, India.

"Non-violence, in contrast to war, is the new weapon the world of to-day has evolved to combat oppression....."
- KENNETH KUANDA, N. Rhodesia.

APARTHEID: THE END APPROACHES.

No objective observer of world events in recent weeks can be in the slightest doubt that the entire solid-seeming edifice of apartheid is in fact tottering on its last legs. To the many white South Africans whose political vision extends no further than the leader of "The Transvaler" or the increasingly biassed news reports of the S.A.B.C., this will no doubt seem a far-fetched statement; but consider the following hard facts:

There is, first, the long-awaited step by the United Nations of moving into an African territory to restore law and order. It is certain that the United Nations are going to be in Africa for a long time, for five years at least, and more probably ten or fifteen years. And now that the world organisation is in Africa it simply cannot afford to move out again until law and order and justice - meaning non-racial democracy - are firmly established throughout Central and Southern Africa. This fact is going to shake the white supremacists of Kenya, Mozambique, Angola and the Federation; but above all it spells doom to the Nationalists: should apartheid lead to another Sharpeville, as it might well do if Dr Verwoerd continues with his obstinate imposition of an unworkable policy, we may find United Nations troops in our harbours and on our borders.

Secondly, a drive to push the Union out of South West Africa will shortly be commenced, and is very likely to be successful. The United Nations are now on the doorstep of the Federation; they will then be on the doorstep of the Union.

But thirdly, even apart from U.N. action, world resentment against apartheid is now attaining such proportions that not even the ever-optimistic Mr Eric Louw (who assures us at regular intervals that "leftist propoganda has now reached its peak, and sympathy for South Africa is growing") can any longer doubt that something will soon have to give way. Ghana has dealt the Union Government a hammer-blow with its decision to ban not only all South African goods but also all South African citizens who do not repudiate apartheid. This step is important not so much for its economic value, but because it forms the first link in a chain reaction that will, ultimately, have a crippling effect. Oil sanctions, the Coup de Grace, are even now being seriously discussed overseas.

The end of apartheid approaches, and the question may well be asked whether Liberals in South Africa are not at present thinking too small. We have become accustomed to thinking of ourselves as a tiny and harried pressure group with no discernable influence on the government of the country; but are we not in a few years going to find ourselves called upon to help form a Government? Recent events in Africa and in the world make this a question worth serious thought.

THE LADY SELBORNE REMOVAL

The Group Areas Board, which ruled some years ago that Lady Selborne was to be declared a white area, will meet soon to decide the date upon which the township is to be proclaimed "white". Residents will be given a year's grace from this date in which to move elsewhere, after this they will be forcibly removed.

The property owners of Lady Selborne will be offered alternative freehold sites at Uitvalgrond, a Bantu Trust Area 22 miles away in the Brits direction. The move will obviously ruin those who depend on rents for their livelihood as Uitvalgrond is too far away to be a practical proposition for Pretoria workers. The tenants of Lady Selborne must move either to Uitvalgrond, or to the Municipal locations of Atteridgeville or Vlakfontein, where they will be subjected to the strict control and higher rents and transport costs which obtain there.

Lady Selborne is the only remaining township in the Pretoria area where Africans may still live like normal human beings; where they may own land freehold, where they may reside without permits, where they may come and go at will, where they may have friends and relatives staying with them, and where those who have sunk their life's savings in the purchase of a house can support themselves in their old age by letting rooms.

These are no more than basic human rights, yet even these the Group Areas Board is to take away. We sincerely hope that all fair-minded people will take advantage of the Board's invitation to submit Memo-randa on the date upon which Lady Selborne is to be proclaimed, on or before August 12, and so make every effort to ensure that the residents of Lady Selborne continue to enjoy their present relatively unregimented existence for as long as possible.

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Kol. Laurens van der Post, vermaarde Suid-Afrikaanse skrywer en gesaghebbende oor Afrika-aangeleenthede, is onlangs gevra of Suid-Afrika, in die lig van die oorsese veroordeling van apartheid, gelei moet word deur die wêreldmening of deur sy eie oortuigings. As antwoord het hy 'n Hongaarse spreekwoord aanghaal: "As een mens jou 'n muil noem, lag hom uit. As twee mense jou 'n muil noem, dink daaroor. As drie mense jou 'n muil noem, gaan koop 'n saal!"

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SOUTH AFRICA'S CLAIM TO FAME ? Ours is probably the only country in the world where a man can be gaoled for being without a job.....

"Libertas", Box/Bus 2321, Pretoria.

KEEP THE PARTY CLEAN



Alan Paton, National President and (in the absence of Peter Brown now a political prisoner) Acting National Chairman of the Liberal Party.

IT is very reassuring to hear from Mr. Lawrence at Umhlali that the people in the Progressive Party are not a bunch of starry-eyed, long-haired idealists or impractical cranks. These idealists are a problem to the country; luckily they haven't been able to get into the United Party or the Nationalist Party for a long time, and now that the Progressives have turned against them they are pretty well foxed. Some will no doubt try to get into Japie Basson's group, and of course we are pestered with them in the Liberal Party. They clutter up the Institute of Race Relations and all these do-good societies; some are to be found in the churches and some in prison. But by and large the political parties are wise to them, and you find mighty few of them in any job that really matters.

It must really be very painful to Mr. Lawrence and his colleagues, after they have justifiably disowned these long-haired fellows, to find that those hard-hearted chaps in the United and Nationalist Parties, who can detect idealism in a party as unerringly as a geiger counter can detect radiation in a rubbish bin, really think that Mr. Lawrence and the Progressives are themselves a starry-eyed bunch of cranks. I wish I could tell you what Hopewell thinks of Butcher, and what Mitchell thinks of Townley Williams, but I have to remember the Emergency Regulations. I think it is contemptible to give Mr. Lawrence and his company a label that they clearly don't want, and I think he is abundantly justified in saying in Umhlali that

they are not that kind of people. But Mr. Lawrence must say it in bigger places too, because the lie is gaining ground that there is idealism in the Progressive Party. It is only a smear of course, and a real dirty one; but when you go round with a smear, it is not much comfort to know that it is only a smear.

I must give Mr. Lawrence a tip here, though I suppose it is presumptuous of me, because I am only a babe in politics. But I feel justified in giving him a tip, because I had to learn my politics the hard way, and never got within shooting distance of a Cabinet Minister, I mean I never got within shooting distance of being one. Mr. Lawrence, they won't stop short of calling you a starry-eyed idealist. After all, even if a starry-eyed idealist may be crazy, at least he sounds bright and healthy. But Mr. Lawrence, in two minutes they'll turn you into a sickly humanitarian. As though that were not bad enough, in another two minutes they'll turn you into an inciter, an agitator, playing with fire. And if there is anything that really revolts the imagination, it is to think of a sickly humanitarian playing with fire. And, hey presto, before you know where you are, Mr. Lawrence, you'll be in prison.

I must admit that before Mr. Lawrence spoke at Umhlali, many people had unjustifiably assumed that the Progressives, though not as starry-eyed and sickly and pyromaniacal as the Liberals of course, and not so extreme and hasty, realised that the days of change had come, and pretty big change too. But these people must now stop smearing the Progressive Party in this way. Mr. Lawrence said at Umhlali that the Party did not "advocate the abandonment of the traditional conventions of our upbringing". What a sigh of relief went up at the Durban Club and the Country Club and the Rotary Club! You see, they were inclined towards the Progressive Party, but they were a bit afraid of it too, because this fellow Jan Steytler has really been attacking race-discrimination in quite a big way. But now it is all right, because what could Mr. Lawrence have meant, if he did not mean that we would not have to abandon the colour bar? I will try to be scrupulously fair, and say that I think it is Mr. Jan Steytler and not Mr. Lawrence who has exposed the Party to this unfair smear that they are a lot of idealists. Another one who is

a shade too idealistic is this Ray Swart, and he ought to get together with Leo Boyd and discuss just how to put this whole thing over in a nice smiling way. This whole thing is going to come right without too much idealism, never fear.

There are people who fear that the Progressive Party has got too far away from the U.P., but this speech will reassure them. Mr. Lawrence told his audience at Umhlali that the Native is more interested in "bread and butter, blankets and beer" than in politics. It only goes to show, I think, how different our Natives are from these Africans up north, and I'm sure Mr. Lawrence's assurance must have been a great comfort to the people of Umhlali. And it proves that it is not only the Nationalist Party and the United Party that know what is really interesting other people, but now the Progressive Party too. And here I must admit that the Liberal Party is very idealistic in these matters. It doesn't say what interests other people, it doesn't even "consult" them, it just gets them all together, which I suppose is a kind of abandonment of the traditional conventions of their various upbringings.

* * *

Mr. Lawrence, what the White voters of Umhlali need is not an assurance that they do not have to abandon the traditional conventions of their upbringing. They need to be told that an epoch has come to an end, and they must adjust themselves with speed, good sense, courage, and idealism to a new one. Of course you want to win elections. But you must learn one hard truth, if you will allow an idealist to tell it to you. You won't win Umhlali by promising to preserve the traditional conventions. Mr. Mitchell can do it better. You must try to win Umhlali by confronting it with the facts of 1960. If you lose, that will be grim, **but you have to take the risk.** If you don't take the risk South Africa will have gained nothing at all from your emergence.

The function of your party is to move White enlightened conservatives towards a policy of political non-racialism. It is an important function. But you will not fulfil it by assuring White conservatives that they won't have to move much at all.

They need to move, and to be quick about it. I wish your party all success in the responsible task of persuading them.

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14
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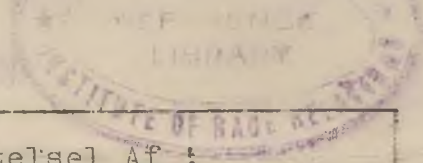


LIBERTAS

BULLETTIN VAN DIE PRETORIA-
TAK VAN DIE LIBERALE PARTY
VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

BULLETIN OF THE PRETORIA
BRANCH OF THE LIBERAL
PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

SEP 1 1960



AUG.
1960

1. Skaf die Bewysboekstelsel Af !
2. Kopano ya Ma-Liberala.
3. Paton Attacks Lumumba.

DIE REFERENDUM.....

Soveel republikeinse sand is nou al deur die twee belangrikste politieke partye in die publiek se oë geskop, dat mens die gewone man dit kan vergewe as hy ietwat onseker is omtrent die sake wat regtig pertinent by die kwessie betrokke is. Ons glo dat die onderstaande 'n saaklike uiteensetting van die werklike toedrag van sake is.

Ons moet eerstens ons heelhartige afkeuring uitspreek van die beginsel waarvolgens 'n besluit wat die regeeringsvorm radikaal kan verander, geneem word sonder dat die menings van vier-vyfdes van die bevolking gevra word - en dit is immers waarop die referendum neerkom. Slegs 'n referendum waaraan elke volwasse burger, afgesien van sy ras, deelneem, kan die regering 'n morele mandaat vir 'n republiek gee.

Hierdie beginselverklaring is egter vanselfsprekend heeltemal akademies. Of ons daarvan hou of nie, die referendum is hier en elke kieser is onder 'n verpligting om te stem; die uitslag gaan 'n lewensbelangrike invloed op die toekoms van die land hê.

THE REFERENDUM.....

So many red herrings have by now been drawn across the republican trail by the two major political parties, that the man in the street may be forgiven if he is somewhat hazy about the real issues involved. We believe the following to be a crisp statement of these issues.

At the outset, we must place it on record that we consider quite indefensible the very principle of deciding a major change in the form of government without consulting four fifths of the population, as the proposed referendum seeks to do. Only a referendum in which each adult citizen, regardless of race, participated, could morally confer a mandate on the Government to establish a republic.

But this statement of principle is, of course, quite academic. The referendum is with us, whether we like it or not, and vote we must; its outcome is going to vitally influence the future of the country.

In addressing those who will be able to cast a vote on October 5,

Die punt wat ons wil tuisbring by diegene wat wel op 5 Oktober kan stem, is dat hulle nie mislei moet word om te dink dat die abstrakte vraag of Suid-Afrika 'n republikeinse of monargiese regeringsvorm moet hê, die werklike crux van die hele aangeleentheid is nie. Dit is onsinig om te glo dat die verloop van Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis grootliks beïnvloed sal word deur die vraag of Swart President is of Goewerneur Generaal.

Die kern van die saak is dat die Regering, as hy die Referendum wen, sy oorwinning sekerlik sal beskou as 'n aanvaarding en goedkeuring van sy huidige beleide. Hy sal dit veral beskou as 'n aanmoediging om die rassebeleide wat die land reeds tot isolasie en opstand gebring het, steeds meer fanaties na te jaag.

Dit is die kwessie waarom alles draai. Ons wil alle stemgeregdigdes wat die belange van ons land op die hart dra, ten sterkste aanraai om hulle stem teen die Verwoerd republiek uit te bring, afgesien van wat hulle ookal op 'n abstrakte vlak van die republikeinse strydvraag mag dink.

the point we would emphasise is that they should not be misled into regarding as the real issue. the abstract question of whether South Africa should have a republican or a monarchical form of government. It is plainly preposterous to believe that the course of South African history can be greatly affected by the question of whether Swart is President or Governor General.

The primary issue is that the Government, should they win the referendum, would certainly claim the victory as an endorsement of their present conduct of South African affairs. They would regard it as an encouragement, in particular, to pursue even more fanatically those racial policies which have driven the country into isolation and insurrection.

This is the primary issue, and we urge those voters who have the interests of the country at heart to cast their votes against Verwoerd's republic, regardless of what they may think of the Republican question in the abstract.

.....

NIKS BEREIK NIE Die beëindiging van die noodtoestand bring die mees tragiese episode in die geskiedenis van die Unie tot afloop. Vier maande gelede het ons gehoop dat Sharpeville en sy gevolge 'n nuwe bedeling vir ons land sou bring. Vandag, met 'n skrikbewind van verbannings, deportasies en meer as 10,000 inhegtenisnemings sonder verhoor agter die rug, en geen enkele konkrete toegewing aan die positiewe kant nie, moet ons toegee dat daar rede vir 'n mate van wanhoop is. Het enigiemand ooit so verbete soos Dr Verwoerd die vernietiging van sy land nagejaag ?

.....

NOTHING GAINED The lifting of the State of Emergency ends the most tragic episode in the history of the Union. Four months ago hopes ran high that Sharpeville and its aftermath might bring a new deal for the country. To-day, with a reign of terror consisting of bans, deportations, and more than 10,000 arrests without trial behind us and not a single tangible concession gained, we must admit to a measure of despair. Surely no man has ever pursued the destruction of his country as relentlessly and stubbornly as Dr Verwoerd?

THE MAD HATTER'S TEA PARTY

J.C. GROENEWALD

These are days of great change in Africa. Governments are toppling, new states are emerging, and after hundreds of years of foreign domination the African is at last firmly grasping the management of his own destiny.

The Nationalist press has been long in awakening to this change, but great things have apparently been happening behind the scenes and now "Die Vaderland", after much soul-searching and self-congratulation has made its great concession to the times and the continent in which we live: henceforth in its enlightened pages it will prefix the names of black leaders outside the Union with "Mr" !! Not, of course, those inside the Union; that would really be too advanced.

This is probably as much as can be expected from a newspaper which slavishly peddles the Nationalist line. What is really disconcerting is to find a would-be balanced and objective observer such as Jan Burger of "The Star" lauding "Die Vaderland" to the skies for this pathetic step, and stating that this concession "...shows that the accusation against us Afrikaners that we are all herrenvolk-minded and imbued with a baasskap mentality is absolutely untrue". Jan magnanimously argues that "...it does not detract one iota from my determination to help maintain the existence and self-determination of my people when I show the usual common decencies to people who may be of a different colour but move on the same level as I do". Those who do not move on his lofty level apparently fall below his consideration regarding the "usual common decencies".

What could be more indicative of the medieval mind of white South Africa than this - to the readers of "Die Vaderland" - hotly debated step and its self-righteous reception by a supposedly urbane and objective observer? With the rest of Africa and the world striding away from us and with black/white relations in our country worsening daily the pronouncements of the Government, its press and a substantial portion of the so-called opposition sound increasingly like excerpts from the Mad Hatter's Tea Party.

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THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE

Some months before her detention Miss Hannah Stanton complained to Col. Van Wyk, in charge of the Pretoria area, that the police in breaking up a meeting of African women had treated them far worse than they would have treated cattle. "When I am dealing with Bantu women", was his rejoinder, "I do not think of them as women."

SKAF DIE BEWYSBOEKSTELSEL AF !

Blankes neem oor die algemeen die standpunt in dat, hoewel die uitvoering van die paswette veel te wense oorlaat, die wette self noodsaaklik is en dat 'n Bewysboek op een of ander manier vir die Afrikaan tot voordeel strek.

In werklikheid is die enigste voordeel wat die Bewysboek vir die Afrikaan inhou, dat hy met behulp van één dokument kan bewys dat hy gehoorsaam is aan die honderd en een beperkings op persoonlike vryheid waaruit die hele stelsel bestaan. Kragtens hierdie wette word sy bewegingsvryheid drasties aan bande gelê, sy geleenthede om werk te soek word ernstig ingekort, sy gesinslewe word onbarmhartiglik verbrokkel, en man en vrou word dikwels noodgedwonge van mekaar geskei - kortom, die Afrikaan se lewe word geregimenteer en beheer in 'n mate wat van dag onbekend is in lande buite die ystergordyn. Hierdie toestand van sake is die regstreekse gevolg van die Paswette en sal bly voortduur solank hierdie wette bestaan, hoe "menslik" hulle ookal toegepas word.

Nou word aangekondig dat Afrikaan-vroue vanaf 1 Desember kragtens wet ook verplig sal wees om Bewysboeke te dra, en onderhewig sal wees aan dieselfde beledigings en vernederings waaraan die mans tans onder die Passtelsel blootgestel is. Hoe uiters betreurenswaardig dat Verwoerd, op 'n tydstip wanneer die hele wêreld van alle kante sy sterkste afkeer van rassediskriminasie en onderdrukking te kenne gee, en wanneer die apartheidsbeleid die VVO in beroering gebring het, nog kan voortgaan met die toepassing - en uitbreiding - van so 'n skaamtelose diskriminerende wet !

Aan die beweerde noodsaaklikheid van die Paswette glo ons vir geen oomblik nie: instroningsbeheer is immers gedurende die afgelope wêreldoorlog opgehef sonder dat die blankes eens daarvan bewus was, en die verpligte dra van Bewysboeke is onmiddelik na Sharpeville opgehef sonder enige merkbare uitwerking behalwe 'n aansienlike verligting van spanning. Die tyd het, na ons mening, aangebreek vir die algehele afskaffing van die hele anakronistiese Paswetstelsel.

.....

"Huddleston saw, with the same clarity as Archbishop de Blank, that the Christian Church in Africa stood at the crossroads, and that her arch enemy was not Islam or Communism, but pseudo-Christianity, that is the Christian religion corrupted by power and possession and privilege. In pseudo-Christianity order is more important than freedom, stability more important than reform, the law more important than justice, and realism more important than love."

- ALAN PATON

KOPANO YA MA-LIBERALA

Go ba leloko la Kopano ya Ma-Liberale, go buletswe motho mong le mong o fetileng mengwaga e lesome le metso e tshelalang, o utlwanang le maikaello a Kopano e; kantle le go tlhokomela mmala morafe kapo tumelo ya motho.

Maikaello a Kopano ke a:

1. Tokello ya kgetho ya babusi go bobotlhe.
2. Tloso le phêdiso ya leao ya kgetho le kgathello go tshwana le dipasa kgetho ya tiro, go abelwa ga tulo, le kganetso ya go ba le naga, le e mengwe.
3. Phêdiso ya karologanyo ya merafo.
4. Thuto e e tshwanang e e lekanang go bobotlhe.
5. Go aga le go tiisa ditokello tsa go tsamaya, go buswa ga batho; go kgetha babusi, le tokello ya go aga nakgotla a go batla tiro le meputso, go ba le naga ka ntle le go laolelswa.
6. Tlhokomelo ya nebele le hlakano ya merafo eotlhe ya Kopano ya Afrika ka go lekana.

Ge o rata go re etela mo kopanong tsa rona tsa Liberale re iteele mogala 4-3704, re tla go laletsa.

.....

WAAROM NIE 'N GEKWALIFISTERDE STEMREG NIE ? Die moeilikheid met 'n gekwalifiseerde stemreg is dat 'n volk sy minder opgevoede burgers nie uit die weg ruim deur hulle die stemreg te ontnem nie. Teoreties kan hulle lidmaatskap van die staat ontken word, maar in die praktyk bly hulle nog deel daarvan. Mens wat deur hulle "meerderes" vertel word dat hulle geen reg het om 'n mening te huldig oor staatsake nie, het ongelukkig nogtans 'n neiging om sulke menings te ontwikkel, en wanneer hulle eenmaal begin om iets van die gemeenskap te verlang, begin hulle dink aan maniere om dit te verkry. Ontneem die stemreg en stakings bly nog oor; verbied stakings en rebellie bied 'n uitweg; maak rebellie onmoontlik en misdad, sabotasie, en nie-samewerking is nog steeds daar.

Die meerderheid kry uiteindelik sy sin, en dit verrig minder skade as geweld nie daarby betrokke is nie - n.a.w. as dit deur middel van die stemreg geskied. Vir hierdie rede is die gekwalifiseerde stemreg onaanvaarbaar.

PATON ATTACKS LUMUMBA

Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party, has strongly attacked the actions of Mr Patrice Lumumba in an interview with "Contact". Speaking in the name of the Liberal Party, Mr Paton said: "I condemn outright the way Mr Lumumba has attacked the United Nations."

He said that in this power-mad world the United Nations is the only guardian of all people who believe in peace and human rights. The United Nations might be called in to help in other parts of Africa, and if Mr Lumumba were to cause it to fail in the Congo, all African problems might in consequence be more difficult to solve.

Mr Paton said that he had noted with satisfaction the many signs that other African governments were losing patience with Mr Lumumba, and hoped that he would be removed from his office at the next session of the Congolese Parliament.

"Libertas" joins with Alan Paton in his condemnation. We would add the strongest possible criticism of Mr Lumumba for his failure to take any decisive steps to halt the outbreaks of murder, rape and pillage which marred the Congo after he assumed control, and for his subsequent attempts to deny that these outrages had taken place. Mr Lumumba has, by his conduct, done a great disservice to the cause of African advancement and liberation.

.....

"Two centuries ago a certain republic was ushered in to the cries of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The enemy in that case was a decadent monarchy which was anxious to preserve the status quo and which stood for oppression, privilege and social apartheid. Need this bitter paradox be laboured?" - E.V. STONE

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BLOW TO RACIALISM

Our warmest congratulations go to Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party, on receiving the American Freedom Award for 1960. Previous winners include Sir Winston Churchill, Gen. Eisenhower, the late George Marshall and the anonymous Hungarian Freedom Fighters. Should Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the now-banned ANC, receive the Nobel Peace Prize later this year, as seems likely, the racist clique which governs this country will have received a doubly humiliating blow from the Western world to which they claim allegiance.

.....

"Libertas", Bus / Box 2321, Pretoria.



LIBERTAS

BULLETIN VAN DIE PRETORIA-
TAK VAN DIE LIBERALE PARTY
VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

BULLETIN OF THE PRETORIA
BRANCH OF THE LIBERAL
PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

20 OCT 1960

SEPT.
1960

1. Seksionalisme en Vooruitgang.
2. An enquiry called for.
3. Tlošo ya Maemo a Ditjanaga.

DIE NASLEEP.....

Die Referendum is agter die rug en die Republikeine het 'n duidelike, hoewel nie oorweldigende, meerderheid behaal. In 'n paar setels het die Regering sy meerderheid verhoog, met 'n stemming waar die stempersentasie 'n ongeëwenaarde 90% van die stemgeregdigdes was.

Dr Verwoerd is geregtig daarop om die resultaat te beskou as nie alleen ten gunste van 'n republiek nie, maar ook 'as 'n mosie van vertroue in die Nasionale Party en sy beleid. Ons het lankal reeds geglo dat hierdie Party nie op normale wyse by die stembus verslaan sal word nie, en die resultaat van die Referendum was 'n blikklare bewys hiervan. Die meerderheid van die stemregdigdes het nou duidelik getoon dat hulle ten gunste is van wat hulle goedkeurend 'n "sterk" regering noem; 'n regering wat geen duiwel omgee vir die regte van enige individu wat nie met hom saamstem nie; 'n regering wie se beleide die direkte oorsaak was van Sharpeville en die Noodtoestand.

Die Referendum-resultaat gee kennis aan die nie-blankes dat die weg na vryheid hard en bitter gaan wees, dat hulle elke duim van die pad

THE MORNING AFTER.....

The Referendum is over and the Republicans have scored a clear, if not convincing victory. The Government has increased its majority in a number of seats in a poll where the percentage of votes cast was an unprecedented 90% of the electorate.

Dr Verwoerd is justified in taking the result not only as favouring a republic now, but as a vote of confidence in the Nationalist Party and its policies. We have long considered that this Party will not be beaten in the normal way at the polls; the Referendum result substantiates this belief. The majority of the electorate have now clearly shown themselves to be in favour of what is approvingly called a "strong" government; a government with no concern for the rights of any individual who disagrees with it; a government whose policies gave rise to the Sharpeville shootings and the State of Emergency.

The Referendum result serves notice on the non-whites that the way to freedom is going to be hard and bitter, that they will be obliged to fight every inch of the

vir hulleself sal moet oopveg, en dat die lesse van Sharpeville en Langa op dowe ore geval het.

Met hierdie resultaat voor ons, is die kans op 'n vreedsame oplossing vir Suid-Afrika se probleme ongelukkig aansienlik verminder.

PERSSENSUUR

Wanneer daar gesuggereer word dat ons pers nie vry is om enigiets te publiseer nie, reageer die Regering gewoonlik met groot verontwaardiging. Sensorskapwette word inderdaad op die huidige tyd beperk tot die Gevangeniswet en die Noodregulasies, maar die Regering gebruik nogtans ander maniere om koerante wat nuus wat die saak van die Nasionaliste nie honderd persent pas nie publiseer, in toom te hou.

Een van hierdie metodes is om 'n joernalis te forseer om sy informasiebronne te onthul, iets wat hy as 'n saak van eer nie mag doen nie. Twee sulke gevalle is onlangs deur die hof verhoor; een joernalis is aangekla maar later ontslaan, en die ander, Mr Patrick Duncan van "Contact", is in die tronk gegooi. 'n Johannesburgse joernalis word tans kragtens die Gevangeniswet vervolg, en drie koerante is kragtens die Noodregulasies daarvan aangekla dat hulle "ondermynende" verklarings gepubliseer het. As dit nie perssensuur is nie, sal ons graag wil weet wat perssensuur presies is.

way and that the lessons of Sharpeville and Langa have not been learned.

With this result the chances of a non-violent solution to South Africa's problems have sadly diminished.

PRESS CENSORSHIP

The Government invariably reacts indignantly to any suggestion that our press is not free to print whatever it chooses. It is true, of course, that censorship laws are at the moment confined to the Prisons Act and the Emergency Regulations, but there are nevertheless other means used by the Government for curbing newspapers which print information damaging to the Nationalist cause.

One of these is to charge a journalist to disclose his sources of information, which he is honour-bound not to do. Two such cases have recently been before the courts; one of those charged was released and the other, Mr Patrick Duncan of "Contact", has been jailed twice in succession. A Johannesburg journalist is at present being prosecuted under the Prisons Act and three newspapers have been charged under the Emergency Regulations with publishing "subversive statements". If this is not press censorship then we would like to know exactly what it is.

KOPANO YA MA-LIBERALA: Ge o rata go re etela mo kopanong tsa rona tsa Liberala re iteela mogala 4-3704, re tla go laletsa.

HUISVERGADERINGS: Indien u 'n huisvergadering wil bywoon, skakel 4-3704.

HOUSEMEETINGS: If you wish to attend a housemeeting, 'phone 4-3704.

NIGERIA'S INDEPENDENCE

The past three months have been a bitter experience for liberalism in Africa. After Belgium's precipitate abandonment of the Congo, with its task of education and development only half completed (and in any case undertaken half a century too late), the downward course of the territory has been as catastrophic as was predicted by the most hide-bound conservative.

With the independence of Nigeria this month, events enter a happier phase. The obstacles in the way of smooth development in this huge, incredibly complex country have been extraordinary. It is by far the largest country in Africa, in terms of population, and it contains over 300 different tribes, a dozen of them having as many members as some self-governing countries. Yet development in the past few years has been swift and smooth, and the outlook for the future is bright. In the words of the "Manchester Guardian": "Nigeria today is in every way a going concern. Her wealth and trade have grown prodigiously. In her cities great buildings spring up like corn. Her southern regions have made more headway towards universal education than any of the emergent countries in Africa; even the North, long placidly content with the Islamic tradition, has stirred itself and taken up the torch. Everywhere there is a tingling sense of growth and change, of hope and gaiety, as of the new season's sap rising in the trees.... Nigeria moves into freedom with the calm majesty of a great liner putting out to sea."

We hope that the independent Nigeria will continue on its present smooth course, and so redress the inordinate damage to liberalism caused by the Congo debacle.

REPUBLIKEINSE AMNESIA

NUUSBERIC 11 OKT. 1960: Volgens Dr Verwoerd sal diegene wat van mening verskil en nie die Nasionale Party ondersteun nie, in die Republiek vir hulle beginsels kan veg in bv. 'n Liberale Party. Hulle sal geleentheid en vryheid gegun word om te verskil en hul vryheid sal soos in die verlede gehandhaaf word. Mits hulle hul stryd op 'n behoorlike, beskaafde manier veg, hoef hulle nie onderdrukking te vrees nie.

NUUSBERIC 30 MAART 1960: Gedurende 'n verrassingsaanval voor dagbreek is meer as 'n honderd blanke en nie-blanke lede van die Liberale Party, A.N.C., C.O.D. en ander liggane gevange geneem. Tussen dié wat in hegtenis geneem is, was die Nasionale Voorsitter van die Liberale Party, die voorsitters van die Pietermaritzburg- en Pretoria-takke van die Party, die Sekretaris van die Transvaalse Divisie, en agt ander lede.

Seksionalisme het nog altyd in die verlede 'n stok in die Suid-Afrikaanse wiel gestee, en dit lyk asof dit in die toekoms ook die geval sal wees. Die Nasionaliste se Referendumveldtog het weereens die ou voëlverskrikker van "Hou Suid-Afrika Wit" die lig laat sien, en die V.P. het hom steeds gewillig getoon om deel te neem aan die speletjie van wit baasskap wanneer dit vir hom gunstig lyk om dit te doen. Beide skyn onbewus te wees van die feit dat dit veel gevaarliker is om die skeiding tussen blank en nie-blank te vergroot as om die skeiding tussen Afrikaans- en Engelssprekende te laat toeneem.

Ons kan nie verwag om enige werklike vordering op die pad na 'n stabiele, ekonomies-gesond en gelukkige gemeenskap te sien voordat al ons mense die feit aanvaar het dat Suid-Afrika niks meer "wit" as "swart" is nie, niks meer "Afrikaans" as "Engels" nie, maar dat dit 'n potensieël-grootse kombinasie is van al hierdie groter bevolkings-groepe, sowel as baie kleiner groepe. Vyftig jaar van die soort "vordering" waarin die belange van nou die een blanke groep en dan die ander die voorkeur gegee is, moet denkende mense oortuig daarvan dat die land se toekoms nie in daardie rigting kan lê nie.

Want dit spreek vanself dat die belange van die verskillende groepe in ons land nie teenstrydig is nie, maar wedersyds afhanklik, en dat dit onmoontlik is vir enige besondere groep om sy eie verwagtings permanent verwesenlik te sien ten koste van 'n ander groep. Die geskiedenis gee baie voorbeelde van bevoorregte minderheids-groepe wat vir 'n betreklik korte tyd hulle voorregte geniet het en hulle verwagtings verwesenlik het ten koste van ander, net om eindelik in die niet te verdwyn. In die hedendaagse demokrasieë geniet geen besondere groep voorregte ten koste van 'n ander groep nie, en die lewensstandaarde van almal is hoër as vantevore.

Dit is dan die los vir die blanke: hoe hoër die lewensstandaard van die arbeid is, hoe hoër is die lewensstandaard van die administratiewe klas, en hoe meer stabiliteit geniet die land. Deur die vooruitgang van die nie-blanke in te perk en te verydel, verydel en verhoinder blankes hulle eie vooruitgang.

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THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE

An African taxi driver who offered two white women a ride in his taxi has been jailed for 6 weeks, in spite of the Magistrate's acceptance that no insult was intended. South Africa now stands as the only country in the world where a man can be jailed for speaking to a woman !

AN ENQUIRY CALLED FOR

Mr Erasmus has eventually seen fit to lift a corner of the veil of secrecy which thus far has surrounded his reasons for declaring a State of Emergency six months ago, and putting 20,000 citizens behind bars without trial.

For six months South Africa has awaited a sober and responsible report from its Minister of Justice for this grave action. What has it now received? A terrifying, but unfortunately somewhat vague, electioneering speech about a Red plot designed to spark off a reign of terror throughout the continent and a petulant accusation that criticism of these mass arrests, these deportations and newspaper bannings, comes mainly from "those who were disappointed that the riots had not spread further."

While having every sympathy for Mr Erasmus in his plight of holding a position hopelessly beyond the grasp of his political capabilities (a repetition of his experience as Minister of Defence), we must point out that he will have to do better than this. The declaration of a State of Emergency, involving the suspension of all normal rights and processes of law, the bannings of newspapers and arrests without trial by the tens of thousands in a supposedly democratic country, is not a matter to be laughed off with some vague remarks about a dark communist plot.

It is the public which is said to have been placed in dire danger by these alleged plottings; it therefore has a right to have all the facts of the matter brought to light in a full public enquiry. Let us see whether there is, in fact, anything to bring to light.

.....

".....We need not suppose that when power resides in an exclusive class, that class will knowingly and deliberately sacrifice the other classes to themselves: it suffices that, in the absence of its natural defenders, the interest of the excluded is always in danger of being overlooked; and, when looked at, is seen with very different eyes from those of the persons whom it directly concerns. In this country, for example, what are called the working classes may be considered as excluded from all direct participation in the government.....When a subject arises in which the labourers as such have an interest, is it regarded from any point of view but that of the employers of labour? "

-JOHN STUART MILL (1806-1873)
renowned English political philosopher.

TLOŠO YA MAEMO A DITJANAGA (TAXI RANK)

Erile ge komite ya ba ditiro le Metsomao (Works & Traffic) ba lekgotla motse wa Tshwane (City Council of Pretoria) le beela gore Maemo kamoka a ditjanaga tsa bao e seng Makhoa di tlošwe Motseng di ye Malokaseng go tloga ka di 1/10/60 lekgotla la Liberal Party la baakanya kgopelo maemong a beng, batsamaisi le bašumiši ba ditjanaga ga gonetsa peelo e. Kgopelo eo e ile ya swawa ke batho ba 2000 yo bewa pela Ramotse (Mayor).

Kafao lekgotla lo busetsa kopo goba peelo eo Komiting ya ba ditiro le metsamao go akonya gape. Ditjanago kafao go di eso tlošwi tseleng ya Prinsloo le Vermeulen.

.....

ANOTHER ABUSE OF POWER

When Bishop Reeves was hustled aboard an aircraft and out of the country on September 12th, in the best communist tradition, South Africa temporarily lost the services of a great champion of human rights, and the Anglican Church lost both an inspiring leader and, that rather rare bird in the Union to-day, a Christian who actually practices what he preaches!

In banishing the Bishop the Government once more abused its authority, as it had already done during the Emergency when imprisoning those who refused to be silent in the face of its injustices, but who had broken no law and could not therefore be dealt with through the courts.

.....

"PARTNERSHIP"

Ever since its inception the Federation has preached "Partnership" but practised Apartheid, complete with the Rhodesian equivalents of the Pass Laws, and the Group Areas and Immorality Acts. Recent events have forcibly demonstrated the impatience of the African population with such transparent political dishonesty, and hurried steps are at last being taken to put partnership into practice. The Federation's saving grace, as compared with that of the Union, may well be that its Government is able to make the required changes without altering its declared policy and without necessarily endangering its position at the polls. Unlike our Government it is therefore in a position to do what is required of it.

Ed
1/2/1960

NOV 22 1960



LIBERTAS

BULLETTIN VAN DIE PRETORIA-
TAK VAN DIE LIBERALE PARTY
VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

BULLETTIN OF THE PRETORIA
BRANCH OF THE LIBERAL
PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

21 NOV 1960

OKT/OCT
1960.

1. Die Groepsgebiedewet on Pretoria.
2. The Declaration of Beliefs.
3. Ntwa ka ntle go dihlabane (Non-Violence)

'N GEVAARLIKE DWALING.....

Van sowel Regeringswoë as die kant van die pers word blanke Suid-Afrika voordurend verseker dat ons onguere oorsese reputasie nie die gevolg is van blanke beleide en houdings teenoor die nie-blankes nie, maar van die leuens en kwaadwillige en verwronge stories wat deur ons vyande versprei word.

Diegene wat voortgaan met die verspreiding van sulke klaarblyklike onsin berokken die saak van vrede, eenheid en reg in Suid-Afrika ernstige skade.

Die kale feite van die saak is dat die hele wêreld geskok is deur die skandalige onverskilligheid van Suid-Afrikaanse blankes teenoor die onmenslikhede waaraan hulle nie-blanke medeburgers blootgestel is, en nie deur enige verwronge en buitensporige kritiek wat oorsee uitgespreek mag word nie. Dit moet toegegee word dat hierdie kritiek in die lig van die waarheid glad nie so verwronge of buitensporig blyk te wees nie. Op die keper beskou, gedra blankes hulle byna so swak as wat hulle mees luidrigtige

A DANGEROUS DELUSION.....

White South Africa is constantly being assured by both the Government and the press that our abominable reputation overseas is due not to white policies and attitudes towards non-whites, but to the lies, distortions and malicious reports spread about by our enemies.

Those who continue to propagate such obvious nonsense are doing a grave disservice to the cause of peace, unity and justice in South Africa.

The plain fact is that the peoples of the world are outraged by the monstrous indifference of South African whites to the sufferings to which they have subjected their non-white fellow citizens, and not by any distorted and extravagant criticisms which may be voiced overseas. It must be admitted that when subjected to the stern light of truth these criticisms cease to appear as distorted or extravagant as at first they seemed. Whites are, on the facts, very nearly as

kritisi wil voorgee!

Diegene wat die mag het om openbare mening te beïnvloed behoort dus op te hou om blankes te mislei met betrekking tot hierdie lewensbelangrike saak, en moet so spoedig moontlik begin om hulleself te oriënteer tot die veranderende toestande in Afrika en in die wêreld. Die dae toe hulle sonder om 'n oog te knip hulle wil op die ander driekwart van die bevolking kan afdwing is verby, en hulle moet dit begin besef. Hulle behoort ingelig te word ontrent die werklike redes vir hulle verdiende swak reputasie buite ons grense. Iemand behoort in hulle ore te fluister dat hulle rassebeleid 'n gevaarlike anakronisme in die middel van die 20ste eeu is, en dat tensy hierdie beleide radikaal verander word die toekoms vir blanke Suid-Afrika nie baie rooskleurig kan wees nie.

Indien blankes die uitdaging aanvaar en hulleself onmiddelik begin aanpas by moderne toestande, is daar hoop dat ons uiteindelijke 'n vreedsame en demokratiese gemeenskap sal verkry. As hulle egter soos nog altyd tot nogtoe hulle blinde oog wil draai na die feite van die moderne lewe, is dit reeds te laat. Dis nou of nooit !

.....

DIE AMERIKAANSE VERKIESING: Deur 'n Rooms-Katolieke president te kies, ten spyte van 'n veldtog om Mnr Kennedy se geloof 'n verkiesingsstrydvraag te maak, het die Amerikaanse elektoraat 'n gebrek aan dwepery openbaar wat ons in die Unie gerus kan nastreef.

bad as their most vociferous critics make them out to be!

It behoves those responsible for influencing public opinion therefore to stop misleading the whites on this vital matter, and to set about with all speed to familiarise them with the changed situation in Africa and in the world. The days when they could blithely impose their wills upon the other three quarters of the population are over and they should be told so. They should be told the true reasons for their deservedly notorious reputation beyond our borders. They should be told also that in mid-20th Century such racial policies as theirs are a dangerous anachronism, and that unless they are radically altered the outlook for white South Africa is indeed bleak.

If whites accept the challenge and immediately begin adjusting themselves to today's conditions then there is hope that a peaceful, and democratic non-racial society will result. If however, they are to continue to be misled as to the facts of life in to-day's world then it may already be too late. Time is of the essence.

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THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS: In electing a Roman Catholic President, in the face of powerful attempts to make Mr Kennedy's religion a major campaign issue, the American electorate has shown a refreshing lack of bigotry and religious prejudice which we in the Union would do well to emulate.

Om trent twee jaar gelede het die Groepsgebiederaad in Pretoria vergader om 'n versoek van die Stadsraad te oorweeg dat Lady Selborne, Highlands en Eastwood as blanke gebiede geproklameer word kragtens die Groepsgebiedewet. Diegene wat die intienste by die saak betrokke is, naamlik die Afrikane van Lady Selborne en Eastwood en die Kleurlinge van Highlands, is natuurlik nie op die Stadsraad verteenwoordig nie, ten spyte van die feit dat hulle die gewone plaaslike belastings betaal; en node-loos om te se is hulle ook nie om hulle mening gevra nie.

Die Stadsraad se versoek is vervolgens toegestaan, en ten spyte van die groot ontberings en lyding wat die verskuiwings ongetwyfeld sou mee-bring, is die gebiede as toekomstige blanke areas geproklameer.

Vroër vanjaar is die saak 'n stap verder gevoer toe die Stadsraad die Groepsgebiederaad versoek het om 'n datum vas te stel waarop die proklamasie van krag sou kom. 'n Jaar na hierdie datum sou diegene wat die gebiede nog nie vrywillig verlaat het nie, gedwing word om te trek. Begin November het 'n komitee van die Groepsgebiederaad gevolglik vergader met die doel omvertoë te ontvang van persone of liggame wat belang het by die vasstelling van hierdie datum.

Talle organisasies het gereageer: die ontbering en lyding inherent by so 'n verskuiwing; die gebrek aan enige geskikte alternatiewe huisvesting soos vereis kragtens die Wet; die veragting van reg en geregtigheid wat hierdie gedwonge verskuiwings inhou - al hierdie dinge is sorgvuldig aan die Komitee verduidelik, en die Komitee is versoek om die proklamasie ter syde te stel ten einde die gebiede toe te laat om die status quo te behou.

Nie een van hierdie argumente kon deur die Stadsraad in sy antwoord weêrlê word nie. Hy het hulle eenvoudig na eenkant gestoot as nie ter sake nie, en onder andere selfs verklaar dat aangesien die Wet geen voorsiening maak vir die regverdige toepassing daarvan nie, die Komitee geen ag hoof te slaan op hierdie aspek nie !

Die finale uitslag van die saak is nog nie openbaar genaak nie. Die Groepsgebiederaad moet egter baie goed besef, wanneer hy sy besluit neem, dat hierdie besluit reperkussies ver buite die grense van die Unie gaan hê. Die VVO gaan bv. binnekort Suid-Afrika se behandeling van die nie-blanke in oorweging neem, en 'n besluit ten gunste van die Stadsraad se onmenslike versoek sal net die klagtes wat by die VVO en dwarsdeur die wêreld teen Suid-Afrika ingebring word des te ernstiger maak, en verdere bewys lewer dat hierdie behandeling 'n ontkenning van fundamentele menseregte is.

.....

"A scrutiny of history makes it plain that the right to liberty will always be challenged where its consequence is the equalisation of some privilege which is not generally shared by men." - HAROLD LASKI

THE DECLARATION OF BELIEFS

The Declaration of Beliefs issued this month by 69 prominent white South Africans has been widely acclaimed as "an impressive document", "an invaluable step", and so on. English language newspapers have been falling over one another to compliment the authors on their rare courage and moral fibre; political commentators have hailed the document as the advent of a new era in South African politics.

In our view the value of this Declaration, as well as the motives underlying it, have been greatly overrated.

The 69 affirm that "no group is superior or inferior to any other merely on the grounds of race or colour", and call for "everything possible to be done to improve race relations between different sections of the population, within the framework of a stable, well-run and prosperous society." This is, of course, exactly what the Liberal Party has been saying for seven years. But whereas the Liberal Party has backed its words with uncompromising opposition to Job Reservation, Bantu Education, the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act and the countless other laws based on White superiority and White privilege, the 69 go out of their way to assure the country that their beliefs are not inconsistent with membership of the very Parties responsible for these laws!

This being the case, Messrs Nicol, Rautenbach, van Eck, Louw et al must not expect their fluently written declaration to cut any ice with those whose goodwill they are soliciting - local non-white opinion and world opinion. Sincerity is proved by deeds, not words; and non-whites are deeply and unutterably sick of finely worded professions of goodwill by people whose public lives bear eloquent testimony not to non-racialism, but to the traditional South African policy of wit baasskap.

It is not, of course, too late for the 69 to translate their avowed principles into action. Let them publicly and militantly oppose Job Reservation, the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, the Separate Amenities Act, farm jails, the tribal colleges, differential rates of pay, and the rest of the South African system that cannot be squared with their much trumpeted Declaration of Beliefs. Let them, in fact, campaign for full non-white participation in the government of the country. Should they fail to do this, the Declaration will be unmasked as but another frantic attempt by frightened men to prove to a hostile world that the top men in the Union do, after all, subscribe to liberal principles.

.....

" An unequal society always lives in fear, and with a sense of impending disaster in its heart. "

- HAROLD LASKI, renowned political scientist.

AN ADMISSION OF GUILT ?

The announcement by the Minister of Justice that the Government is to be indemnified against all damages arising from the State of Emergency and the events leading up to it, settles once and for all two matters which have occasioned much heated debate recently.

The first is the question of blame for the Sharpeville massacre. For many months now there has raged the most acrimonious controversy as to whether the shooting of the 250 Africans at the Sharpeville police station was an act of self-defence or an act of aggression. Mr Erasmus has now removed the matter from the realm of speculation by announcing that he will prevent the Sharpeville victims from taking their cases to court - a move which is nothing less than an implied admission of guilt; a confession that the Government has good reason to fear the consequences of the case being placed before an impartial public tribunal.

Secondly, this most callous and inhuman announcement finally puts in perspective Dr Verwoerd's regular and increasingly frequent assurances of goodwill and justice towards our non-white citizens. Is this the New Deal? Mr Erasmus has given us the answer.

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DIE TREKARBEIDSTELSEL: 'N ONGURE GOLIAT

"Ek is bereid om toe te gee dat heelwat gesê kan word vir 'n regverdige en gelyke verdeling van land, gebaseer op gesamentlike besprekings en wedersydse ooreenstemming, tussen die verskillende rassegroepe. Op sulke voorwaardes kan apartheid selfs regverdigbaar en gesond wees. Ek is nie so verknog aan die idee van 'n materialistiese Westerse beskawing as om te glo dat dit die reddende Messias vir alle mense oor die hele wêreld is nie. Ons mag eendag vind dat baie hulle sterre dank dat hulle nooit daardeur besoedel is nie.

"'n Regverdige gebiedsverdeling het egter niks in gemeen met 'n sataniese beleid wat huisgesinne verbreek, wat weier om die gesin as 'n eenheid te erken, en wat al sy kragte toespits op die skepping van goedkoop trekarbeid met goen regte van sy eie nie.

"Ek spreek namens Christene wat uit hoofde van hulle Christelike geloof hierdie verdoemenswaardige beleid moet weerstaan. Ek spreek ook vir die duisende wat, hoewel hulle nie Christene is nie, nogtans menseregte respekteer en saam met ons staan in hierdie stryd. Om 'n man se arbeid uit te buit en hom die teenwoordigheid en ondersteuning van sy gesin te weier, is immoreel en onmenslik. Dit is ons uitgesproke doelstelling om hierdie ongure Goliat, trekarbeid, wat te lank al 'n smet op ons skone land is te oorwin." - JOOST DE BLANK

NTWA KA NTLE GO DIHLABANE (NON-VIOLENCE)

Ka ntle go dihlabane, bao e song Makhoa, ba Afrika e Borwa ba ka fenyaa. Ka dihlabane ke go ikgogela morago feela. Ka bo byang ?

Dikete-kete ga di thuse sepe dibetseng tsa Mehla ya lehono. Dithunya, Disaracene le dikolo di ka fenyaa bontsi ya batho.

Makhoa a Afrika Borwa ba ne dibetša tša mehla ya lehono, Ma-Afrika ga ane sepe e bile a bokoletswe Malokaseng kgole le tulo ya Makhoa - kafao dibetša tse di ka šumišwa ka botlalo hlakoreng lo bona. Tšomišo ya dihlabane hlakoreng la Ma-Afrika ke go ipolaya ka noši.

Ka ntle go dihlabane, bongato ba Ma-Afrika bo ka fenyaa. Makhoa a Afrika Borwa kantle le Matla a basobetsi ba Mnala o Motso ga go sepe seo ba ka sedirang. Matla a basobetsi ba-batso ge a ka lokišwa gore Makhoa a itse gore Ma-Afrika ga a hlole a ipakanyeditse go emela bom-adimabe go seising, bo e long kgale ba phela tlase ga bons. Gore Ma-Afrika a itse Matla a ona, mme ba ipakanyetse go a šumiša, diphetoga tse kgola-kgola di ka ba teng Afrika Borwa.

A re se hlweng re uthva polelo ya dihlabano ntweng ya rona ya tokologo. Ke polelo e hlokgong boikarabelo, e kotse, e senang boteng, e e dika-dikišang batho tirong ya nnete - Tokišo ya Ma-Afrika e hlokgang lerata, dihlabane, e ka fenyetsa bothle batso le basweu faseng le bophelo bo lokileng, bo thsephileng bo thlonegileng.

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WHITEHEAD PANICS

Southern Rhodesia, we are sorry to say, has done it again.

First it showed the Nationalists the way by proclaiming a State of Emergency and imprisoning people without trial for up to a year; now Sir Edgar Whitehead is seeking to introduce a Bill which makes the worst that Messrs Swart and Erasmus have done in the past seem like kid stuff. The Bill has fortunately raised a storm of protest, not from the apartheid-minded opposition of course, but from people of all kinds and persuasions throughout the country including the pro-Government press, and has caused the resignation of the Chief Justice of the territory.

It had seemed at first as though those in charge in the Federation had not been panicked by the Congo débacle. With the introduction of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill, one can no longer be so sure.

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LIBERTAS

BULLETTIN VAN DIE PRETORIA-
TAK VAN DIE LIBERALE PARTY
VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

BULLETTIN OF THE PRETORIA
BRANCH OF THE LIBERAL
PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DES/DEC 1960.

BOX/BUS 2321.

MENSEREGTE-UITGAWE.....

Op 10 Desember 1948 het die volke by die VVO toegestem om 'n Universele Verklaring van Menseregte, waarin die basiese en fundamentele regte van elke individu uiteengesit word te aanvaar.

Alhoewel niemand die besluit geopponeer het nie, het die Sovjet-blok, Saudi-Arabië en die Unie van Suid-Afrika buite stemming gebly. Daar is 'n spreekwoord dat 'n man aan sy vriende geken word, en ons moet erken dat Suid-Afrika se vriende by die verwerping van die Verklaring maar van taamlik twyfelagtige karakter was.

Ons druk vandeemaand die volledige teks van hierdie Verklaring sodat ons lesers kan sien hoe wyd die kloof is wat blanke Suid-Afrika skei van die res van die wêreld. As Suid-Afrika se beleid 12 jaar gelede uitpas was met die Verklaring, is dit vandag des te meer tragies die geval. Die res van die wêreld beweeg voort op die gebied van Menseregte, maar ons gaan maar voort op ons krappegang.

Die Verklaring toon maar min beginsels wat nie reëlreg deur Suid-Afrika geopponeer word nie, en lewer ook klinklare bewys dat die Liberale Party die enigste liggaam in hedendaagse Suid-Afrika is wat elke enkele beleidsverklaring van hierdie historiese dokument sonder voorbehoud onderskryf.

HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE.....

On the 10th December, 1948 the nations at the UN agreed to adopt a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which were set out the basic rights regarded as fundamental to all individuals.

Although the resolution was unopposed, the Soviet Bloc, Saudi Arabia and the Union of South Africa abstained. It is said that a man is known by the company he keeps; it must be conceded that South Africa kept very dubious company in rejecting the Declaration.

This month we print the full text of this Declaration. We do so in order that our readers may appreciate the enormous gulf which separates white South African opinion from the rest of the world. South African policy was not in accord with the Declaration 12 years ago, it is even less so to-day. While the rest of the world moves forward in the field of Human Rights, South Africa moves backwards.

The Declaration reveals few articles to which Government policy is not diametrically opposed, and reveals also that, in South Africa to-day, only the Liberal Party subscribes to each and every article in this historic document, and could therefore accept it on South Africa's behalf.

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

WHEREAS it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

WHEREAS it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations among nations,

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

WHEREAS Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

WHEREAS a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realisation of this pledge,

NOW THEREFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROCLAIMS this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1 - All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2 - 1. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind,

such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

2. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether this territory be an independent, Trust or Non-Self-Governing territory, or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3 - Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

Article 4 - No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5 - No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6 - Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7 - All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8 - Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9 - No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10 - Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11 - 1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12 - No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection

of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13 - 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14 - 1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15 - 1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16 - 1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and its dissolution.
2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17 - 1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18 - Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19 - Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20 - 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21 - 1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage

and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22 - Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23 - 1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24 - Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25 - 1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26 - 1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27 - 1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28 - Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised.

Article 29 - 1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30 - Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

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1960 loop ten einde, en Suid-Afrikaners gaan die Nuwe Jaar in 'n ernstige gemoedstemming teenoet: die blankes effens vrees te vange, die nie-blankes met nuwe hoop.

Ons beskou 1961 met hoop sowel as vrees. Plaaslik is vooruitsigte teneerdrukkend; afgesien van enigiets anders, is daar gerugte van 'n Aanhoudingswet wat die Noodmaatreëls na bogspeletjies gaan laat lyk. Internasionaal, egter, is die prentjie rooskleuriger. Die druk van wêreldmening teen apartheid laai steeds op, en Dr. Verwoerd het die mag van die Afrika-state in hierdie opsig nog nie eens begin voel nie. Kortom, die afrekeningsdag breek aan.

Ons wens ons lesers 'n gelukkige Kersfees en Nuwe Jaar toe !

As 1960 draws to a close South Africans are peering into the New Year in a more thoughtful frame of mind than usual: whites apprehensively; non-whites with a measure of hope.

For our part, we are both hopeful and anxious. Locally, of course, it looks like being a bad year; for one thing, there is under-the-counter news of a Preventive Detention Act which will make the Emergency Regulations look innocent. Internationally, on the other hand, prospects are bright. World reaction against apartheid will continue to grow, and Dr Verwoerd has not yet begun to feel the might of African pressure. In short, the showdown approaches. We wish our readers a happy Christmas and a prosperous New Year !

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