

# reality

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL OPINION

## **IN THIS ISSUE...**

## **GARFIELD TODD WRITES FOR "REALITY"**

# EDITORIAL

## The Two-Tongued Cabinet

The policy speeches of Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman at Stellenbosch and Dr. P. J. G. Koornhof at George are important material to all students of South African affairs. These two men are Ministers of State. They both support without reservation the policy of Separate Development for each African race group in its own homeland. Furthermore, both Ministers are working for the substantial reduction of the numbers of Africans in the cities, towns, industries, homes, and gardens of "white" South Africa, and the repatriation of substantial numbers to their separate homelands.

Here the agreement between these two Ministers comes to an abrupt end. For while Dr. Koornhof says categorically that the only honourable way in which to do this, is by developing the resources of the homelands, Mr. Froneman states equally categorically that it is no part of the white man's duty to do so. Dr. Koornhof speaks of the moral and altruistic elements in the policy of separate development. Mr. Froneman speaks in the harshest and most callous terms of millions of "surplus" Africans, who must be sent back to their homelands, no matter what awaits them there. He says that African labourers in "white" areas must not be burdened with "superfluous appendages", such as wives, children, and dependents who could not provide service.

## PRETTIER TALK

These two men are in the same Cabinet. If one has been rebuked, it was done in private. And if it was done, it was no doubt done in a semi-jocular manner — "Fronnie, old boy, we all know what you mean, but you must learn to talk prettily." These two men do not represent two irreconcilable wings of the Nationalist Party, they represent the two essential elements of the policy of separate development. And these two elements are essential to each other. Either by itself would be dangerous. Either by itself would be unacceptable. Neither Mr. Froneman nor Dr. Koornhof has reached the stage when one cannot bear to be in the same Cabinet as the other.

Although each of these two elements and each of these prototypes, is essential to the other, they do not co-exist in perfect harmony. The one is a naked baas, the other is a bass clothed in soft raiment. The first thinks the second is a sissy, the second thinks the first is a barbarian. They do not say so publicly, but their newspapers do, and that is not good. In the absence of any official pronouncement we must assume that they have been told that the sissy and the barbarian are essential to one another. The sissy will get the barbarian into nice company, the barbarian will protect the sissy if the nice company turns nasty.

Why is it that although the barbarian and the sissy do not co-exist in harmony, they are (in spite of the dreams of rift-seekers) essential, the one to the other? Why do the callousness and the altruism not go to civil war? The answer is that neither of them is a fundamental. They are both imposed on something that is fundamental, and that is the preservation of white supremacy (which can be more gently called self-preservation, a soft word that turns wrath in some circles). Neither the callousness nor the altruism is part of the deep monolithic core. The cracks can show, the paint can peel, the fragments can flake off, but the core remains untouched. In times of ease (such as the present), one sees and hears and reads much of the cracking and the fragmentation. In times of danger (which will come), one is conscious of the monolithic core, which is like an ironwood heart in a softwood tree.

If we accept the view that Mr. Froneman and Dr. Koornhof have something deep and fundamental in common, is there therefore nothing to choose between them? Or are Dr. Koornhof and his kind, bearers of hope for the future? For Mr. Froneman and his kind certainly are not. Their dream of the total separation of the races, if one chooses to dignify it by the use of such a term, is a dream which must be realised at whatever cost, and the cost will be the bitterness, and inevitably the hatred, of millions of Africans towards the white masters who make such heartless use of their power. It is claimed by our rulers that such bitterness does not exist except in the imaginations of sentimentalists and agitators, and it is true that the patience of Africans appears to be infinite. It takes a train disaster to strip the mask from the smiling face.

## NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIFE?

Are Dr. Koornhof and his kind, bearers of hope for the future? Like Mr. Froneman, Dr. Koornhof believes in the policy of separate development. He does not attempt to conceal that this is to be done in the interests of self-preservation. If the homelands are developed, then more and more Africans will leave "white" South Africa to return to the places from which they were driven by the need for work, money, and food. Although Dr. Koornhof did not say so, it is justifiable to infer that he believes that white South Africa will be more secure if it sheds itself of its Africans, surplus or otherwise. There will be no competition in the labour market, no crime by rootless young black men in the beautiful white suburbs, and most important of all, no night of the long knife.

But Dr. Koornhof wants this transformation to be made with justice. There must be work and food and hope in the homelands, and they must be helped to achieve autonomy, political and cultural and economic. It is the economic autonomy that poses the greatest difficulty. Even if it does not mean economic independence, it should mean a healthy economic relationship with "white" South Africa. This is where Mr. Froneman parts company with Dr. Koornhof.

And this is where REALITY parts company with Dr. Koornhof too. The recognition that there can be no political and cultural autonomy unless there is at least a healthy relationship with "white" South Africa, is for REALITY a recognition by its political opponents that there are moral considerations which transcend those of naked self-preservation. These considerations were blue-printed (inadequately) by Professor Tomlinson in the nineteen-fifties, inexplicably ignored by Dr. Verwoerd (his biographer may one day explain why), and are now, in 1969, alternately honoured and dismissed by a two-tongued Cabinet. In any case REALITY rejects the Tomlinson or any other similar blueprint. The wealth of "white" South Africa was created by all of us jointly, and it belongs to all those who created it.

## PIPE-DREAM

In so far as Dr. Koornhof is on the side of the angels, REALITY approves of him. REALITY parts company with him because it regards the economic autonomy, and even the healthy economic interdependence, of the homelands as a pipe-dream. REALITY sees no hope that the economic status of the homelands can ever be more than that of almost

complete dependence on white South Africa. At the moment the economic future of their inhabitants seems to lie in their providing cheap labour for the booming towns and cities, and their less immediate future, if Mr. Froneman and Dr. Koornhof are successful, will be to provide cheap labour for the border industries and the white-financed industries of the homelands. The economic viability of South Africa cannot be broken up into a dozen viabilities, planned on racial grounds. It is a unity, and the only hope for any South African to enjoy a reasonable standard of living is to be part of this unity, to the prosperity of which all South Africans contribute.

Justice and self-preservation, these are Dr. Koornhof's absolutes. REALITY, while standing for the first, does not sneer at the second. But they belong to two completely different, and in the ultimate, incompatible categories. To couple them together is to com-

mit a deception, even if only on oneself. For in any time of crisis — and white South Africa is in perpetual crisis — self-preservation is the absolute and justice the casualty. REALITY sees little difference between the call for separation with justice, and the call for white leadership with justice. A more honest call for Dr. Koornhof would be **Self-preservation always, and justice where possible.** REALITY reaffirms its belief that there can never be justice until the non-white people of South Africa have an effective say in the planning of the future of our common country.

**But whatever be the case, Mr. Froneman and his views should be totally repudiated, by no less a person than the Prime Minister himself. They are cruel and archaic, and belong to the era of slavery and child labour and the chatelism of women. This is no time to teach Mr. Froneman to talk prettily.**

## FOCUS ON: THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING SOUTH AFRICAN

# “Ye Alone Slink to the Rear”

by Prof. Edgar Brookes

One day the great Kreisler was walking with a friend in New York. It was somewhere in Twenty-third Street, and a fishmonger's shop exhibited a marble slab on which six fish looked up at the world with glazed and vacant eyes. "Oh! heavens, that reminds me," said Kreisler, "I have an audience waiting for me."

Those glazed and vacant eyes are a magnificent symbol of most of English-speaking South Africa, so far at any rate as political thought is concerned. They may light up when watching a segregated cricket match, figures under an amorous moon, or a reassuring profit-and-loss account, but for political ideals never. The villains of the piece in present-day South Africa are not the Nationalists or the Communists, the Liberals or the Progressives, but the apathetic and fish-eyed "decent" people who do nothing, say nothing, and have no last ditch to die in. Many ministers of religion might be reminded of their congregations by that piscine stare; for apathy is the characteristic of so many "good" people.

## LOVE-OF-COMFORT

The pedigree of apathy, if one may turn from rod and line to boot and saddle, is by love-of-comfort out of intimidation. The propaganda of apartheid has done its work well, and the Security Police have reinforced its lessons. The results have been shattering. While people are worried about the intransigence of student leaders, University teachers are challenged by the docility of ordinary students. In some strange and confused way people have transformed the Christian duty of not using force against the Law into an unchristian acceptance without criticism of every decision of the Nationalist Government which is given statutory form by a disciplined

caucus and a subservient Parliament. They have turned the doctrine that rebellion is wrong into the heresy that it is a sin to be part of an effective and vocal opposition.

It is the bulk of the English-speaking population which has thus put itself into a position where it can earn only contempt.

**"Shakespeare was of us, Milton was  
for us,  
Burns, Shelley were with us, they  
watch from their graves.  
Ye alone break from the van and the  
freemen.—  
Ye alone slink to the rear and the  
slaves."**

I would say to you, my fellow South Africans of English speech, you are worse than the Nationalists. They at least have ideals, false though these may be, for which they are prepared to give everything; you give nothing at all. You are more to be blamed than the young men who languish in gaol for bombing pylons. They acted wrongly, but they acted because you knew deep in your hearts what you ought to do, and did nothing. Some of them spoke wild and whirling words, but they did so because you were silent. Some of them pursued false policies, but you had no policy at all. For injustice to triumph, it is sufficient for just men to say nothing, and you said nothing. When the great reckonings of history are made, you with your respectability and riches, your occasional generous impulses which are no compensation for settled injustice — what shall be, what can be, said for you? You are beneath those who did wrong: you did nothing.

### **HOT WORDS**

These are the hot words I would speak if I could address the mass of the English-speaking people of South Africa. They will

probably not do anything so dangerous as to read "Reality". Are these charges then simply wasted? I trust not, for it is well for all of us to see just how matters stand in South Africa. Not all English-speaking South Africans are like this. Some, with even more heroic Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, are fighting for justice. They take their careers and reputations in their hands, but their fellow-citizens do not care. Some have had their Passports withdrawn for saying the things that others ought to have said, but do these others care? Some of the best student brains of South Africa have taken exit permits and been forced into exile. What do the mass of English-speaking South Africans care about this tragic loss? A deported Bishop caused less comment than a scratched race horse. A banned student arouses fewer protests than an abandoned cricket match. There are men of ability who could have filled almost any post in public life but have given up their careers to witness bravely for what is right. Their reward from their fellow citizens is to be dubbed cranks and agitators, though indeed cranks are needed by a society whose self-starter will not work, and winds are needed to agitate the waters where society's yacht is becalmed with drooping sails.

I return to Browning:

**"The sin I impute to each frustrate  
ghost  
Is the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin".**

Can nothing awaken to action those who have been so lacking in spirit and imagination and valour that they have betrayed their ancestry and leadership? Or have they sat on the fence so long that the iron has entered into their souls? Let the words of the American poet ring in their ears, for they are true:

**"They betray their children's children  
who make compromise with sin".**

# A PROTEST

by Yvonne Burgess

They did go voluntarily.

Threatening them with prosecution was  
Just a joke.

Laughter makes the world go round, doesn't  
it?

Oh no, that's love, but it's all the same.

Love. Laughter.

With their fat round bellies, children  
Loving and laughing in

The sun.

Their arms and legs are  
Bent and thin?

You get rickets and malnutrition in  
The city too.

Packed into a city slum

What chance have they got? I'm telling you:  
All over the world  
They're moving to  
The suburbs.

Well okay then, look at the Jews  
If you insist.

They're not going to gas-ovens.

Nothing as cynical as that.

Ask anyone.

Just ask them which they'd prefer:  
Going to gas-ovens or  
Using the bush  
Or a tree.

No, Hitler didn't like the Jews.

What's that got to do with it?

The Jews, the Jews, you're like a parrot.  
Perhaps transporting them around  
Is demoralising.

But don't keep saying "like cattle".

You got a guilt complex, a fixation?

You're not German

Are you?

This Solution is not meant to be  
Final. Please.

You get typhoid, enteritis, T.B. with  
Types like these.

Rome wasn't built in a day

You know.

They've got more to think about  
Than blasting rocks for  
Pit latrines.

Nobody kills my flies for me.  
Insecticides're expensive I know  
But Good Lord  
How much does a swatter cost?  
And it can't all be rock.  
No I don't have to walk for miles  
To get to my lavatory.  
Why can't you be  
Realistic?

Think what fun it'll be for the kids  
When they do get around to blasting the rock.  
Seven-fifty of them with  
Enteritis?

Breed like flies these people.  
Need a swatter for them, hey?  
No but seriously that's Nature's way  
Of keeping the numbers  
Down.

Of course they're people.  
But how can you make a policy  
When you're thinking of Lizzie's bad knee  
Or the fact that Jonas is blind?  
Think in terms of numbers not  
Identities.  
So many removed so many resettled  
So many loving  
Laughing . . .

That's all you think about.  
Blasting rocks for pit latrines  
And Hitler.  
No one's suggesting a double ledger  
So many gone so many for good.  
That's immoral.  
No I haven't lost any children  
From hunger, disease or anything else.  
I know enough about latrine  
I mean hygiene and I'm  
Realistic.

# THE STUDENT REBELLION

by Alan Tonkyn

# AN INTERNATIONAL PLOT? NO!

- ♦ In the first part of this article the writer attempted to capture the general spirit of the student rebellion by a discussion of the American Port Huron Statement, and by giving the main reasons for the growth of "Student Power".

Is the rebellion an "International Plot"? Are the Men from Moscow behind it all, as the S.A.B.C. infers? To answer this question we must look at the various countries where unrest has occurred. Such an investigation reveals that though there are certain common matters about which students everywhere feel concern, it is the local manifestations of these matters, together with other uniquely national factors, which have driven the students to action.

## FRANCE

In France, as is shown in the book "French Revolution 1968" by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, young people have for some time been fanatically interested in politics. Even the High Schools, the lycees, have formed their own "Comites d'Action". The focal point for this political interest has been the Vietnam War. This political concern was fused, from November 1967 onwards, with grievances in the French education system, feeding on its inadequacies, especially at university level. Anyone in France who passes the end-of-school "baccalaureat" can enter a University. This resulted in overcrowding of the universities on a huge scale, as well as a high first-year failure rate of up to 50%. Lecture halls could not cope with the intake, libraries and laboratories were overrun, and student-teacher relationships collapsed. The French government has been slow to expand its university network to cope with the inflow and, where it has expanded, as at the Nanterre campus where the trouble started, it has created barrack-like institutions that further exacerbate student grievances. In addition, there is the appallingly centralised French bureaucracy system whereby all decisions must be made in Paris. Local university administrators are impotent to deal with demands for reforms from students and teachers alike and thus more grievances pile up. A situation developed by May 1968 which could be exploited by men like Cohn-Bendit and by organizations like UNEF (French National Students' Union). For some time the rioting

students were supported by a bourgeoisie fed up with years of Gaullist dictatorial rule and by workers fed up with low pay and poor conditions. However, Pompidou began his policy of appeasement of the students after initial repressive police action by other ministers. In addition, the bourgeoisie saw its own interests threatened by violence, and the CGT (the huge Communist-led Labour Union) revealed itself as a workers' union more interested in increased material benefits than in overthrowing materialist society. Thus the student revolution could not last, though in many universities the old administrative structure has been overthrown.

U.S.A.

In the U.S.A., as the Port Huron Statement shows, students have been critical of their highly capitalistic, highly materialistic society for some time. The radical American student movements were forged in the early years of the civil rights struggles of the 1960's, culminating in the Mississippi Summer project of 1964, where students saw in action the worst aspects of American society in the South. Black militants began to take over the main civil rights struggles and the students shifted their attention to issues like the draft and the grim war in Vietnam. They saw themselves as being recruited to fight a far-off, meaningless, and endless war, bringing freedom and honour to no-one and misery and homelessness to thousands. The Vietnam war showed the worst aspects of the Establishment in operation: its war-profiteering and war-mongering. Here also a strong current of

political feeling merged with a current of educational grievances, centreing on the lack of student participation in university administration and in arranging curricula.

At Berkeley University (part of the California "complex") between September 1964 and January 1965, a dispute with the authorities developed which began as a result of the latter's ban on political recruiting and fund raising in an area where formerly permitted. However this dispute grew to include other more general issues. A confident body of student and non-student organizers emerged to pilot subsequent huge anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations and demonstrations in favour of greater student power within the universities. Of late, the Black Power movement has also stepped in with demands for "Black Studies" courses at the universities.

### WEST GERMANY

The West German student rebellion of 1968 grew out of a few flare-ups, but behind it all was a detestation of the blind materialism of the "economic miracle" of the 1950s, as well as of the inherent conservatism and nationalism of German society. Student despair grew when the Social Democratic Party joined the Grand Coalition, leaving no real opposition party to the political establishment.

Said one young commentator, talking of the generation just below him:

**"This revolutionary generation opened its eyes in the summer of 1961 or the spring of 1963. It saw the asphalt jungle of reconstructed German cities, and the neon wilderness of a mass culture. It stood on the edge of the autobahn and counted the Mercedes limousines speeding by and then, when it took a good look at the drivers, those Philistine Spiessburger with their over-fed bodies and under-fed minds, it began to throw stones. Life was intolerable! . . . Go try and tell them that Hitler was worse, that Stalin was worse. They have arrived with a fire in their bellies. They can hate and destroy only the status quo they know . . ."**

At Berlin in 1965 the Rector of the Free University barred a journalist from the campus who had criticized the anti-Communist basis of the university — 4,000 students signed a Berkeley-style resolution demanding Free Speech. In June 1967 many students were injured — one fatally — when the police attacked a demonstration against the Shah of Persia. Students rallied round their radical leaders, and a left-wing student movement

grew in power in Germany with its focus the German S.D.S. (German Socialist Students' League). After the Grand Coalition of 1966, an extra-Parliamentary opposition (the "Republican Club") and a Critical University were founded in West Berlin. The student leader, Rudi Dutschke, came to prominence after his opposition to the Coalition. He advocated non-violence and maintained that society should "become conscious of its own abuses through permanent discussion". After the attempt on his life, wild student riots broke out in many German cities. Violence was often directed against the offices of the near-monopolistic Axel Springer newspaper group which often aims vitriolic attacks against students. Students not only regard this group as a fitting representative of an immovable Establishment, but also feel that it has stimulated an inherently right-wing society to dislike students and their aims. Many students feel that the attempt on Dutschke's life was a result of cumulative Springer spite via the columns of such papers as the mass-circulation "Bild Zeitung".

### BRITAIN

In Britain there has been some student unrest, but on nothing like the scale of the Continental or American riots. This is perhaps due to the fact that there are less causes for specifically university grievances in Britain. (It is often these grievances which have acted as a springboard towards more general unrest in other countries.) Stiff entrance competition ensures that student numbers are kept within reason and the average staff-student ratio of 1:10 is good. (Compared with an average of 1:98 at the Sorbonne, and 1:50 at the Berlin Free University — reaching 1:300 in some popular subjects). The British grants system is the most generous form of student finance in the world.

Another vital factor has been the reasonable behaviour of the British police at student demonstrations. In France, Germany, the U.S.A. and Italy, the police have usually acted with much brutality towards students. In France and Germany even innocent passers-by were maltreated, while in totalitarian countries like Spain and Poland, students were not only beaten up but received heavy prison sentences or, in the case of Spain, were sent to do military service. Police brutality in these countries has contributed much to student solidarity and has confirmed students in their opinions about the "inherent violence" of their societies.

British student activism first took shape in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and has since increased, stimulated by the Vietnam war and disillusionment with the Labour Party because of its failure to be a truly left-wing Socialist opposition. Students have also demanded, and have usually been granted, a greater say in the administration of their universities.

The British "Berkeley" occurred in March 1967 when two students of the London School of Economics were suspended for holding a protest meeting over the appointment of Dr. Walter Adams as Director of the School. Mass boycotts of lectures and a five-day sit-in followed. The original complaints expanded to a demand for student representation on the governing bodies of the school.

Two major radical student organizations, the Radical Students' Alliance, and the Revolutionary Socialist Students' Federation have emerged, but have gained nothing like the support of the radical UNEF in France. The vast bulk of British students support the moderate National Union of Students which firmly opposes violence and which is in favour of negotiations with the authorities, both at a national and a university level. It has won some notable successes with this latter policy, including an amelioration of the grants system and an agreement from the Vice-Chancellors of British Universities to discuss a nine-point list of university grievances. Where violence has flared up in Britain, it has been the work of a few individuals.

### ITALY AND JAPAN

Student unrest in Italy has been focused mainly on University grievances. The Italian university system is hopelessly outdated and faulty. Italian universities are institutions for the elite rather than for the many — 9% of the students come from industrial workers' families as against 33% in Great Britain. 60% of the students come from the wealthiest 10% of society. Spending on university research is hopelessly low — 5.8 dollars per head of population as compared with 27 dollars per head in France and 39.8 dollars in Great Britain.

Despite this state of affairs, reform has been painfully slow, and this fact has brought Italian students into the streets. The University Reform Bill, itself an inadequate document in student eyes, was held up in Parliament in 1968 by filibustering from the Communists who were anxious to prevent the coalition government from winning an important reform suc-

cess. Campus unrest at Rome, Pisa, Milan, Florence and Palermo was often put down very brutally by the police.

In Japan students have objected to their universities (especially Horei) being mere processing plants for big business and to the military alliance with the U.S.A.

### THE TOTALITARIAN STATES

Three countries where the student revolt has been of a different nature from those so far mentioned are Spain, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

In these totalitarian countries the students are fighting for basic democratic rights taken for granted in most Western countries. In all three countries the bulk of the students have dissociated themselves from the more cerebral movements of the West. Czech students found Rudi Dutschke's ideas "comic" and "absurd" and "worthy of rejection by a fifteen-year-old", while one said: "It's embarrassing, really, to sit down with Western students and find **them** quoting Marxist phrases at **you**! Just when we're reaching out for a new, pragmatic approach . . . We need advice neither from Herr Ullbricht, nor from Herr Dutschke's friends."

Czech students, with their demonstrations on political and university issues, helped cause the fall of the Novotny regime. Under Novotny the demonstrators were very roughly handled by the police, but since his fall, apologies and compensation for police brutality have come from the new government.

There is a similarity between the student struggles in Poland and South Africa. In both countries the student movements are very moderate and use non-violent means of demonstration. Both face governments which attempt in some way or another to control information coming to the people, and which attempt to set the people against the students. Both face plain-clothes policemen on the campuses and some form of official racism. In Poland the "Zionists" are officially the source of all evil.

The arrest in Warsaw in March 1968 of two student demonstrators led to subsequent large demonstrations and much police brutality against students.

Subsequently, 3,000 students met at Cracow Polytechnic and passed a resolution calling for freedom of speech and the release of some of the arrested students. Some excerpts from the resolution show the tenor of the student movement in Poland.

● "We declare that, in deep concern for the democratic shape of socialism and dissociating ourselves from the irresponsible provoking or political elements, we stand in solidarity with all the students in Warsaw's higher schools."

● "We demand the observance of the rights and liberties of citizens as guaranteed by the Polish Constitution."

Students in Eastern Europe do, like their fellows in the West, face a hostile Establishment. For them, however, it is a struggle against the repression of a Communist bureaucracy instead of against the "repressive tolerance" of a capitalist bourgeoisie.

Hence the "International Plot" theory (which will be briefly discussed in another light in the concluding section) cannot be said

to hold water. Idealism underlies the student revolt, but it is often an idealism fostered by local conditions. The Student rebellion has its common factors — which I will discuss in the final section — but it is also a variegated upheaval. As has been seen, there is a gulf between the protests of Western and Eastern Europe. Within Western Europe itself there are also wide differences. The British student radical is less accepted by the mass of students than his French counterpart. The Spanish student activist is fighting a battle that was fought years ago elsewhere in Western Europe. My use of the term "The Student Rebellion" is dictated by convenience and by the fact that student unrest has occurred at roughly the same time throughout the world. We should perhaps speak of "the Student Rebellions".

# "Thank You South Africa"

**by R. S. Garfield Todd — Former Prime Minister  
of Southern Rhodesia**



Mr. GARFIELD TODD  
(Natal Witness)

A great wave of gratitude swept over the white population of Rhodesia when it was seen that the rebellion against the United Kingdom would be supported by the Government and the electorate of South Africa. Whatever may have been the official attitude of that Government their actions showed that they backed Rhodesia and would give what assistance was needed to make sanctions ineffective. Mr. Ian Smith has just returned from a holiday in South Africa, during which he saw the Prime Minister. Mr. Smith has publicly stated that South Africa is more strongly than ever behind Rhodesia. After the illegal declaration of independence "Thank you, South Africa" stickers appeared on car windows and large "Dankie" signs were erected on main roads. South Africa would help us win the rebellion.

Britain claims she was assured that, in the event of rebellion, though South Africa would not be prepared to stop trade with her

neighbour, she would not increase that trade. It was to be "business as usual." How the flow would be measured or a limit set and

maintained was not discussed. Time so spent would have been wasted. As South Africa was prepared to defy the British/United Nations policy in principle, why in practice should she limit her trade. The only limits apparently set were that Rhodesia should pay for what she purchased and that the flow of imports from the north would not be permitted to embarrass South African businessmen.

### Mr. VORSTER

The Prime Minister Mr. Vorster has stated that the dispute between Rhodesia and the United Kingdom is a domestic one and he has publicly urged the two parties to negotiate a settlement. Those Rhodesians who condemn their present government and who work and pray for the restoration of the rule of law are grateful to Mr. Vorster for one grain of comfort. Mr. Vorster's statement acknowledges that there are differences which call for negotiation and it also shows that Mr. Vorster himself does not agree that the Smith regime had the right to declare Rhodesia independent. When the Republic of South Africa was formed the nations of the world did not challenge the legality of the action taken. When Mr. Smith declared Rhodesia to be an independent country not one nation accepted his claim. Mr. Vorster evidently believes that wrong has been done and that through negotiation an acceptable solution should be sought.

**However, in apparent contradiction to the plea for negotiation we find Mr. Vorster giving such aid to Mr. Smith as makes it unnecessary for him to seek terms from Britain. So South Africa makes possible the continuation of the rebellion.**

The dispute is primarily between Britain and Rhodesia but South Africa has implicated herself, perhaps unwillingly, to such an extent that the whole course of history in Southern Africa may well have been changed. Not only has South Africa intervened to keep our economy from collapsing but almost more significant is the presence in Rhodesia of South African security forces. Rightly or wrongly most white Rhodesians believe that South Africa is guaranteeing the survival of our economy and that through police and military aid she will guarantee the political supremacy of our 220,000 whites over their 4½ million African fellow citizens.

### BOUNDARY—ZAMBEZI

If South Africa accepts this situation she must recognise that Rhodesia will increasingly become her responsibility and that her effec-

tive boundary will be the Zambezi River, not the Limpopo.

South Africa's support of Mr. Smith has put in jeopardy Mr. Vorster's plans to come to terms with Black Africa. Even if the Rhodesian catastrophe had been avoided it is by no means sure that Mr. Vorster would have been successful in developing such terms with Zambia and countries to the north as would have encouraged trade and other communication; but while South Africa continues in her role of saviour of white Rhodesians she denies herself the possibility of an understanding with the north.

Three years of sanctions have demonstrated our inability to maintain the rate of development of earlier years and, despite all the help given by South Africa real development lags far behind our increasing population. Ten years ago there were almost the same numbers of jobs available in Rhodesia as there are today. This means that we probably have half a million people either under-employed or unemployed.

**WE CANNOT MEET THE NEED FOR EDUCATION AND THE INTRANSIGENT ATTITUDE OF OUR GOVERNMENT DENIES THE PEOPLE AN EXTRA £5 MILLION PER ANNUM WHICH BRITAIN HAS OFFERED AS ONE OF THE TERMS OF A SETTLEMENT.**

In Rhodesia today many thousands of people are suffering because of the collapse of the tobacco industry, because of the shortage of development capital, because hard currency is not available for the import of machinery and even building materials.

It is true that Africans have been harder hit by sanctions than has the white community, but everyone has been affected.

### MORAL ROT

Alongside a falling economy develops an unwelcome authoritarianism and a moral rot. The Chairman of one of our major companies has told me of directives received from a government which has acted under the authority of Emergency Power ever since Mr. Smith's declaration of November, 1965. The Chairman of one of our largest exporting companies sadly declares himself to be "just a smuggler." Every underhand device is being used to break sanctions and white Rhodesia today boasts of business methods which in law-abiding countries would be hotly condemned.

In Rhodesia today we live under emergency laws and regulations, we imprison people without trial, we endeavour to

separate races, we connive with any foreign spiv to break the embargo on our trade.

Rhodesia used to be a free and honest country enjoying the liberties enshrined in law. So much has altered for the worse and we must look to our true friends wherever they may live to bring increasing pressure to

bear both on the British Government and on our own so that agreement may yet be reached.

So much depends upon South Africa, and I hope that the day will come when all the people of Rhodesia will say "Thank you South Africa."

# THE TRANSKEI DEMOCRATIC PARTY — HAS IT A FUTURE ?

by Mary Corrigall

ON APRIL 23rd 1969 THE INAUGURAL SESSION OF THE SECOND TRANSKEI LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY WAS OPENED WITH THE POMP AND CEREMONY WHICH ACCOMPANIES SUCH OCCASIONS. IT IS PERHAPS WORTH WHILE AT THIS STAGE TO LOOK BACK ON SOME OF THE EVENTS OF THE ELECTION OF THIS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The Transkei General Election in 1968 was marked by almost as much controversy within the main contending Parties as it was by clashes between them.

A former Chairman of the Transkei Public Service Commission, Mr. P. M. Sobahle, who won an Eastern Pondoland bye-election for Kaiser Matanzima in 1967 and who was hailed as a rising star in the governing Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP), had his candidacy for the new Assembly vetoed by Chief Matanzima. This was probably due to the fact that in his speeches he had put forward some original ideas, which differed from official TNIP policy. This deprived the Transkei of the member most likely to question government policy from within the governing Party. Mr. Sobahle stood as an Independent but was defeated. He was not the only prospective candidate rejected by the TNIP who stood as an Independent. Some twenty others came forward on nomination day and were expelled from the Party.

## ASSEMBLY A FARCE?

The troubles within the TNIP did not, however, give its opponents useful electioneering ammunition. They had similar troubles of their own. Long before the election campaign started Dr. H. P. Bala of Butterworth, left the Democratic Party. He was at one time National Treasurer of the Party and one of its most incisive speakers and thinkers. He had clashed with some of the Party leadership be-

cause of his refusal to take part in the public demonstration of mourning required of Transkei Legislative Assembly members when Dr. Verwoerd died. But the differences between him and the Party were more deep-seated than this. Dr. Bala continued to sit in the Assembly as an Independent, until its dissolution. He refused to stand again for election on the grounds that the Assembly's proceedings are farcical.

In Tembuland, seat of the Democratic Party's vice-chairman, Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, the official candidates were challenged by rebel candidates, standing with Paramount Chief Dalindyebo's blessing.

In Butterworth too the Democratic Party's candidate, Chief Whip O. O. Mpondo, was unfortunate. He arrived too late at the Nomination Court on nomination day, because he had left his reference book at his home and had to rush back for it to be able to produce it at the Court. The explanation did not help him but one point was made abundantly clear — *you may be the Chief Whip of the opposition in the Transkei Legislative Assembly, but if you can't produce your pass, you're nobody.*

The election campaign itself was unexciting. The governing TNIP followed the only course it could, extolling its own achievements and the virtues of apartheid. The manifesto of the Democratic Party reiterated the Party's belief that the future of the Transkei was "full of promise as long as it remained an integral part of the Republic" and pledged the Party's

continued support for a policy of "multi-racialism". The main plank in the platform of the small Transkei People's Freedom Party (TPFP) was its demand for immediate and total independence for the Transkei. The TPFP's leaders made fiery speeches but these were not matched by competent organisation and an embarrassingly large number of their candidates failed to put in an appearance on nomination day.

### A SAD DECLINE

Pre-election prophecies ranged from cautious optimism on the part of the Democratic Party to TNIP claims that the government was heading for a landslide victory, Kaiser Matanzima and his Party were, of course, assured of a majority before voting started. They knew that the bulk of the 64 Chiefs nominated to the Legislative Assembly, whose appointments are approved by S.A. Government, were his supporters. This meant that the opposition would have to win almost 100% of the elected seats to take over the government. This it clearly had no prospect of doing and in fact came nowhere near it. On election day the TPFP was eliminated completely and the Democratic Party retained only fourteen of the twenty-seven elected seats it had previously held. For the Democratic Party this was a sad decline from the election of 1963 when it could justly claim that two out of every three Transkeians had voted for it. In this election of 1968 the TNIP won more than twice as many seats as the Democratic Party though it polled only 8% more of the votes.

Most of the decline in popularity of the Democratic Party has been of its own making. Its leadership has known all along the immense influence on ordinary Transkei voters wielded by the TNIP through the support it enjoys from the Chiefs. Sympathetic Chiefs can do a great deal to get support for the governing Party. The Transkei's administration system is tribally-based — a legacy from pre-Nationalist days which the Nationalist Government has been reviving for years and busily nurturing. To offset this enormous advantage, the Democratic Party needed to produce an inspiring image and programme, and to build an organisation reaching into every district of the Territory. This they failed to do. The Party does not appear to have made serious attempts to collect the money so essential to building a party and fighting an election. Nor has it inspired its members. Its Legislative Assembly members have made

good speeches and scored sharp debating points, but most of this has been on a rather intellectual level. Nothing could have been drier or more dated than its election manifesto. The Democratic Party still talks about "multi-racialism" when the term has been in dispute for years. The trend of political thought in Africa has been to change the emphasis from "multi-racial" to "non-racial". Surely the Democratic Party is aware of this.

### TOO CAUTIOUS

Caution does not inspire, and caution seems to have been the predominating mood in the leadership of the Democratic Party throughout the five years of the Party's existence. One suspects that it is this mood which drove Dr. Bala to despair and which caused the emergence of the rebel movement in Tembuland and of Sabata's support of the rebels. This excessive caution, added to apathy and over-confidence, has meant that the Democratic Party has failed to put across its simple, over-riding message: the message that for Transkeians, anything short of full participation in the economic development of the Republic means life at a subsistence level for generations, if not for ever; the message that anything short of full participation in the political life of the Republic means that the vast wealth which Black and White have created in the most developed 86% of the country, will in future be reserved for "Whites Only". Black South Africa (including, of course, Transkeians) have a right to share in this wealth, which they have helped to amass.

THE FACT THAT CHIEF MATANZIMA AND HIS PARTY ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT FOR TRANSKEIANS A SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP AND A THIRD-CLASS ECONOMIC STATUS IN SOUTH AFRICA, GIVES THEIR OPPONENTS POWERFUL ARGUMENTS WITH WHICH TO ATTACK THEM. SUCH ARGUMENTS MUST HAVE A GREATER APPEAL THAN THOSE FOR SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. Curnick Ndamse, the Transkei's new Minister of the Interior, said during the election that "we would rather rule in hell than sweep streets in heaven." In fact, Mr. Ndamse will be "ruling" in Umtata in a privileged and reasonably comfortable position. Most Transkeians, however, continue to "sweep streets" in White South Africa. By accepting apartheid Mr. Ndamse has abandoned Transkeians to permanent inferiority in the Republic.

A far more laudable proposition than Mr. Ndamse's is to fight for full rights for all South Africans, wherever they live or work. It is also a good deal more difficult. This is what the Democratic Party has always insisted is its

policy. The policy is good. What it needs is to be put with fire and enthusiasm and to be backed up by dedication and organization. If the Democratic Party cannot achieve this in the next five years, its chances of survival are slim.

# THE AFRICAN PROFESSIONAL MAN

by Anthony Barker

"Up here," wrote a friend of ours from Ghana one time, "you can get an excellent lawsuit, some pretty good doctoring, but you can't get your car mended." If this was true of Ghana 10 years ago, it is certainly the case here in Southern Africa so far as the African population goes. By an anomaly it has come to pass that Africans in South Africa may be either labourers or professional men. Between these two poles: nothing. Or at least very little, and in a grudging sort of way at that.

Clearly we need to understand this anomaly, for it is not wholly perverse that it has happened so. There is historical reason for it, some of it mildly discreditable, some of it understandable, venal.

The professional training of Africans was originally the work of the missionaries. A little over 100 years ago the great wave of missionary activity that hit first the Transkei and Basutoland and later extended to Zululand, turned men's thoughts towards the establishment of an indigenous ministry which should present the Christian message in terms comprehensible to a people who, at the time, seemed almost incurably savage and uncultured. The missionary after whom my own hospital is called, Charles Johnson, trained the



(DEPT. OF INFORMATION)

first Zulu priest within the Anglican fold, and the Norwegians — always alive in Zululand — did likewise with Lutheran Pastors. Teachers were needed, too, to train the minds of the rising generation. They were trained locally, in an ad hoc manner, often becoming dark reflections of the forceful characters of the missionaries under whom they sat. Detractors of the missionary movement have latched on to this one, so that derogatory phrases like "black Englishman" are heard today often enough in parliament and elsewhere. Black Scotsmen are, they say, more often seen further north in Malawi. Since the missionary vision was a very complete one, a ministry to the whole man, medicine was soon included in the repertoire. The tripartite approach to

(I am tempted to say attack upon) man — body, mind and soul — governed the patterns of professional development for 50 years at least, and still has its influence today. Perhaps the Indian immigrants were the leaders of the break away, for the excursions into law which were acceptable to the then Government, began with the Indians, and only later extended to African students.

### ONE STANDARD

Professional training lost its amateurism (with the possible exception of training for the ministry) pretty early on, with the development of institutions such as Lovedale and the pioneer mission hospitals of which McCord Hospital is a famous local example. Here training became subject to an inspectorate and to professional boards, such as the Nursing Council. With a foresight and courage that has not been reversed even by retrogressive steps such as the registration of nurses by racial groups, one standard was introduced, to which the African candidate had to conform or fail to qualify. We shall come later to the commonly held criticism that this one standard is not in truth quite so even as appears, but the theory is there and it is just and reasonable, as well as a great credit to our country where discrimination is otherwise widely practised, in so many fields.

Such liberality in the fields of education and professional advance was unfortunately not paralleled by any growth of the artisan class; hence our friend's sad comment about his car not getting mended properly in a land equipped with more than sufficient barrister's wigs. There were a number of reasons for this. Partly the missionaries had little understanding of the working class situation. Indeed, since many of them were themselves professional men and women, possessed of a private income which enabled them to work for very little reward, they probably had a disregard for Trade which transmitted itself to their charges. The young African mission boy or girl had his sights set high for him, often dangerously high by the ambition of his missionary teacher. You too, my lad, can be a priest, a doctor, a teacher. To this end he might have been sent overseas — home — to a course of supreme loneliness and sadly often to a total breakdown of his uprooted personality. How few there must have been among those first missionary school children whose eyes were set at a vision of decent work, skilfully done with that combination of brain, eye and hand that distinguishes the true

tradesman! Mistakes there certainly were; some from the missionaries, by word or implied attitude; some from the erroneous ambition of parents and youngsters alike. If you went to school you did not expect to work with your hands nor soil your white collar with toil-wrung sweat.

### THE WHITE WORKER

But there were other forces at work precluding the use of African skilled labour, and here blame must fall squarely upon the white artisans and the trade unions. There has been among these men a greater preoccupation with the threat of black labour than with the sense of the unity of the world's workers. Universalism under the red flag has not attracted the threatened white worker in South Africa, who has hastily aligned himself with reactionary forces and so, as a political force is today weaker in influence than in any country I know.

True, the white worker in South Africa has only to ask and he will receive, for successive governments have known his key importance and have been ever anxious to placate him. But as for his fighting for the rights of his fellow black workers, not he. Almost without exceptions (though those there have been, were tough and principled) the white trade unionist has failed to champion black labour. When the Free State gold mines were opening, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer desired most of all that a stabilised labour force be established at Welkom, men living with their own families, men sticking to their jobs, men learning skills and abilities for a decent wage. He was sat on, of course. Not alone by the government which had decreed another future for African labour, and therefore could not countenance such great changes as were envisaged, but also by the trades union who could see well enough that a settled labour force was an organised force. As such it would represent a threat to themselves; a threat which was quite unacceptable.

### THE MISSING GROUP

Thus it is today that African effectiveness within Society is at the opposite poles of Professional work and the humblest forms of labour. The great missing group is the middle group, the tradesmen and skilled workers who are, in a free society, the greatest producers, if not the most significant group within the economic framework of a society. This vacuum is maintained further by the persistence of migratory labour and by concepts of job reser-

vation. For the former principle — which has been continually restated and ratified by the Government — implies a mobile labour force continually on the move, eternally inefficient because perpetually uninvolved in the future; while the latter freezes the situation solid. Leaving aside the personal frustrations of this bar to African enterprise in skilled work there is here obvious danger to our country's development. While the population ratios are as they are today we can easily survive on a small efficient European artisan class. Later this will not be so easy; ultimately it will be impossible to maintain even essential services if job reservation is maintained in its present form. This is tacitly understood and recognised by Mr. Schoeman's recent and remarkable admission over Non-European employment on the railways. Such is indeed a hopeful sign.

Whether understanding is dawning or not, the fact remains that for the present the majority of African boys and girls who achieve even modest success in schooling — say J.C. and beyond — will be bound to go professional. This implies that the intake into the professions will be frequently half-hearted and without (whatever this overworked expression means) vocation. The position of motor salesman or works chemist which awaits the Cambridge graduate with a first class education and little academic feeling, is closed to our African young people, and very limited indeed are the openings that they are permitted to fill. I do not know so much about teaching among Non-Europeans, for this is not my line, but I do know a lot about nursing trainees, for I have taught for 10 years in our training school for nurses. And I know so many of these young women who would not be in nursing at all for choice. I have one recently qualified staff nurse who is a natural for modelling dresses — a sort of dark Twiggy — while another is an academic psychologist at heart who has lost her chance of university training and is doing nursing as a reasonably acceptable alternative. Over and again we admit young women for training who have little feeling for the humiliations or the glories of nursing. For who would really want to do bed pams if there were not beyond the sluice room a more excellent vision? And how is a girl to bear the schoolish-type of discipline and rough speech of command which she meets on the wards and in the nurses' home except she deeply wishes to serve? And of course such gemlike motivation is only seldom found. Perhaps she is in nursing from parental wish,

from hope (often vain) that she will be protected in hospital from the sexual decay and mess of contemporary society.

### TEACHING UNDER A CLOUD

The intake into medical school is more strict, for there are so few places available, so that selection can be more careful, more accurate. Of course parental ambition applies here just as surely as it does among Europeans, for a son who is a doctor is, in most societies, an accolade devoutly to be sought after. Teaching seems to me to be temporarily under somewhat of a cloud among our local Africans; certainly its status rating has fallen sharply in recent years to a position below the ministry and far below nursing and medicine.

At least as far as the Anglican church is concerned, vocations to the ministry are today overwhelmingly from Africans, European recruitment having fallen on evil times, a fact which has been noted among other church bodies. An increasing number of ordinands are coming from the ranks of teachers and others who only enter the ministry late. This seems a most healthy business, and since many undergo considerable hardship by so doing, this cannot be ascribed to crafty motivations. It is true there is some accretion of status by becoming a minister, but let us in this be wary of hypocrisy in ourselves; the line between legitimate self-realization and vaulting ambition is a narrow one. We cannot be judges of the motivations of others unless our critique be tempered with love and understanding.

### HEAVY STRAIN

Rightly or wrongly, then, hundreds apply for training as nurses (we have over 2,000 applicants a year for 25 places) and as teachers, doctors and clergy. How do they fare? Selection is often arbitrary; how does one select anyhow? some wrong-uns get in and foul the nest, of that there can be no doubt, but how do they make out, generally? The majority make the grade. Fall out rates, high as they are among African nurses, do not reach the figures for European nurses, and the reasons for fall out are in the two instances different. Fall out in medical school is lower by far, and not great. But there are stresses and strains, there is no doubt. African medical students appear to be under very heavy strain, which may produce physical symptoms. Peptic ulcer is rare among Africans; it is common among African medical students. Among

nurses, stress may be expressed in habits such as knuckle cracking, head tapping, ear scratching. Again it does us good to remember that the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge have disproportionate suicide rates over the run of young men and women of the surrounding town, and, in so remembering, point no accusing fingers.

*Strains may express themselves as mildly assertive behaviour. Doctor Alan Taylor tells the story of his staff nurse who asked him one day for a lift into the town. She was a quiet, decent, girl of modest appearance and sober manner but when she appeared she was dressed obviously to kill with a particular shade of coral lipstick and large earrings. "Good gracious," said Dr. Taylor, "whatever is this." "Do not worry," replied the staff nurse, "this is the Methodist Declaration of Independence."*

### AFTER TRAINING

When trainings are over, and degrees and diplomas are awarded, what then? What sort of professional man does the African make? The fact that far and away the bulk of the educational energy of the country is in the hands of Africans today must not be forgotten in this connexion. And there is obviously a lot of good work being done under the most unfavourable circumstances imaginable by African teachers. We hear little of this, much of the breakdowns; a sad tale of lechery and drink with enough truth in it to damn the whole profession in the eyes of those determined to see no further. I'm sure this is why teaching today, as I've already said, is no longer top-rating work. Perhaps it is like the imputation of cruelty in nurses; it damages without throwing too much light on the real problems of the African teacher. Nor does it help much to make excuse, because it only requires one scandal to damage almost irreparably the reputation of an individual and the honour of the whole profession.

Excuses there are, of course, which throw the blame rather unexpectedly back on the

very society that created the teacher or the doctor. These men and women are placed under shocking tensions. I see this most among the doctors who have a similarly poor, dimmed image. Just imagine being a king in the busy ward of a great hospital like King Edward VIII in Durban; nurses running at your beck and call, colleagues respectful and open, seniors friendly, and then going out on to the street 25 yards over the cool lawns, boarding a segregated bus headed for a segregated part of the town to a family which knows nothing of your great position. A daily plunge in the frozen sea could hardly be more shocking. Consider the pain behind the recent work-to-rule in Durban and here in Pietermaritzburg. These men with the same qualification get half only of the pay of their white colleagues. You may say they are not equivalently good but to say this seems quite unwarranted against the extremely varied background of professional competence of whites or blacks alike. As an Indian consultant said in the paper the other day, "I can't ask for my car at half price because my standard of living is not so high as that of my white colleague." Martin Luther King rightly pointed out that it was supremely unjust to blame those discriminated against for the results of that discrimination.

### BLACK AND WHITE

We have today in our country not one but two professional threads which are tending to diverge the one from the other. I can only say for medicine and for nursing that this is a horrible tragedy. I dare to say that for teaching, too, it is a tragedy that there is so little, so very little contact between white and black teachers in problems of the greatest possible mutual importance.

**It matters to every white child how every black child is educated, for the concept of a white élite and a black proletariat of scrubbers and houseboys will not survive this generation. To see that ultimate contact should be made in respect rather than in blood and anger is the task of professional men, all professional men, here and now and urgently.**

## AN OPEN LETTER

Agterplaas,  
District Rd., 9,  
Magaliesfontein.

Ho, Ho & Partners,  
Attorneys at Law,  
12 Teddy Bear Lane,  
Magaliesfontein.

Dear Sirs,

Recently I had the misfortune of a fire in my office and files containing my Bantu employees' documents were destroyed. I employ Xhosa from the Transkei as they are more pure bred stock; and having less white blood they are far better workers.

However, the Government, wisely, in preserving this pedigree stock, requires considerable registration and the loss of these documents will mean that I have to pay a considerable fine. (My servants will have to serve a prison sentence of six months.)

Please will you therefore obtain new documents for my servants. (Your fees will be deducted from their pay.)

A list of the more important documents needed follows.

1. Birth and Marriage certificates will be necessary for registration of reference books, driver's licences, etc.
2. Baptismal certificates for the children attending the mission school.
3. Permission to work in the magisterial district of Magaliesfontein.
4. New reference books are needed, this will entail:
  - (a) receipts for all poll tax paid since 1907,
  - (b) Population Register I.D. card,
  - (c) signatures by all previous employers,
  - (d) signatures on the women's reference books by their Husband/Guardian/Kraalchief,
  - (e) they will all have to be re-registered as voters in the Transkei electoral division of Umzumkulu,
  - (f) all concessions my servants have in respect of curfew, native law and custom, and
  - (g) two photographs of each Bantu.
5. Copies of my tractor drivers' licences are necessary. Unfortunately they obtained their licences in Natal and they cannot remember the date they obtained them but know it was before the war and I am sure

you will be able to get copies from Pietermaritzburg.

6. Any appointments my servants have in the Bantu Affairs Office as indunas, tribal constables, kraal heads, executors of estates, etc.
7. Registration of all their cattle and horses which are in the location.
8. Certificates from the Veterinary Department certifying that the cattle and horses are not suffering from anthrax, palsy, rabies, East Coast fever, West Coast fever, Red water, Green water, Yellow water, distemper, good temper or bad temper.
9. (a) Dog licences,  
(b) receipts for dog tax,  
(c) permission to keep dogs on the location, and  
(d) certificates from the vet. that the dogs are not suffering from palsy, anthrax, etc.
10. Receipts for rent for their huts on the location to prove that my servants are bona-fide leasers and not squatters. (As the location is in terms of the Group Areas Act across the provincial border, please negotiate through Bloemfontein for this item.)
11. As no-one will accept a Bantu's word when he claims to have an educational qualification, please obtain copies of all their Standard 2, 4, 6 and 8 certificates. As they went to the Bavarian Mission school which is now closed down please negotiate through Berlin for pre-war qualifications and Bonn for post-war qualifications.
12. Please redraft any wills they have.
13. Please obtain copies of any Post Office savings account books which they have.
14. Passports and Work permits are necessary for my two Zambian employees; please obtain these documents from Lusaka.

I will send a list of the less urgent documents later, meantime please obtain these papers.

I realise that you will have to negotiate in Magaliesfontein, Umzumkulu, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Cape Town, Lusaka, Berlin and Bonn. However, as our Government has such a wonderful, concise, quick and efficient bureaucratic machinery for dealing with Bantu affairs, I trust that your fees will not exceed R20.00.

Yours faithfully,  
CLEFT STICK.

(Acknowledgements to "Olympus", publication of the U.N.P. NUSAS Local Committee.)

# This South Africa

South Africa has reached the stage where Whites should be given better jobs than delivering letters, flagging post office vehicles or carrying mailbags.

Sen. E. Woolf, U.P.

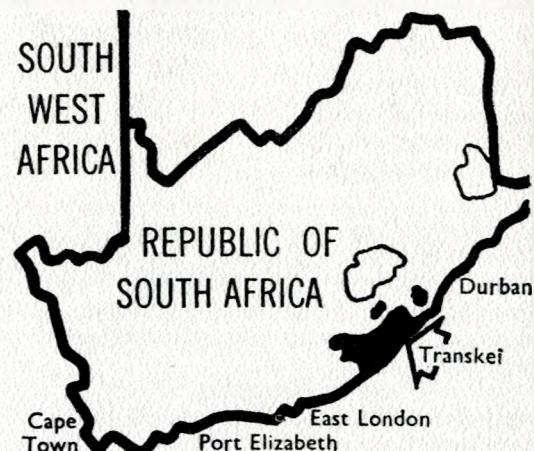
A Durban resident admitted yesterday that he often transported his African servant in the closed boot of his car. When he was told that one of his neighbours had complained about this, he said, "It is none of their business. Do you think I would have him here in the car with me? I always take him in the boot—that's his place."

*Report in The Daily News.*

"Ask any person outside this Chamber what boy or girl, or even what adults there are in South Africa who want training in one or other direction, but cannot get it.

"Where are such persons? I challenge Hon. Members. I shall see to it that any person who is brought to me, and who is capable of receiving training, and cannot get it, will get it."

Dr. Carel De Wet,  
Minister of Mines, Planning and Health,  
in the House of Assembly.



There is no discrimination between White and Non-white in South Africa because this is a Christian country, says the magazine Bantu, a monthly publication which the government issues and distributes to Europe and the United States — "Indeed the Bible acknowledges the diversity of nations and we who grant that each individual nation can develop in the same way as us whites who claim self-preservation and our own way of development, comply with the words in the Bible which states: Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

*Report in The Daily News.*

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