

teria in student action here. Perhaps most striking of all, one never sees here that element of desperate fashionable withitness which has characterised so many student manifestations overseas. The reason is that the issues are simpler here — more recognisable, more basic. The intellectual atmosphere of South Africa is that of the 19th century. The moral issues are clear. It was wrong in the 1810's to have slaves in much the same way as it is wrong in the 1970's to shunt around a migrant labour force at wages way below the poverty datum line. It was wrong in the 1850's and 60's to employ child labour in much the same way as it is wrong to deprive Africans of the minimal right to exist as families. The current problems of France, Britain and America are of a different order. No doubt the social wrongs to be put right there are extremely serious and great urgency is felt by those who wish to right those wrongs. But the moral issues are not so clear and the spiritual problems of highly developed and overpopulated urban civilisations seem extremely complex to the naive South African eye. Here, one feels the good and the bad are easily discernible, and they know each other.

#### Catchwords and slogans

So the liberal South African student is not so easily swayed by catchwords and slogans and hero-figures, and he is not so concerned to be with-it. He sees the world created by his parents and he disapproves, but he disapproves in the language of his parents. We need not congratulate ourselves that in this country the generation gap has not caused bloodshed on the streets. We may simply be thankful for it. It is the one benefit that we derive from the fact that we exist, morally speaking, in the 19th century.

We still accept as an axiom that the values of a liberal democracy are worth preserving. But how are we to preserve them. We have unique problems. The enemies of liberal democracy in this country are not so much outside our borders as within them. They are not so much outside our so-called democratic government as within it, in charge of it, in fact. The amazing thing is not that our government is not a liberal, democratic government, but that it is proud not to be a liberal, democratic government. The grasping of a great ideal by the youth of a country can change that country's history. Certainly this is our only alternative to despair, and despair itself is no answer.

Don't fall into defensive attitudes, or be tricked into adjusting your image and your character to the preferences of the old guard. There is nothing to be defensive about, there is everything to go on to the offensive about. Leave tired cynicism to others. Cynics are simply persons with limited intellects and limited reading habits. Don't join their ranks. Don't share their surrender. And don't drop the torch on leaving university.

The future of the nation — the land and the people — truly depends on you. Our very freedom to exist depends on you. Because only when our youth, our thinking youth, know and drive relentlessly for the South Africa we want, the South Africa we must achieve to avoid losing all, the real South Africa, can we achieve a healthy land, a healthy people, a nation with a potential and a destiny second to that of no other nation on earth.

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## The 19

Punishment without trial and Government interference with the administration of justice is fast becoming all too traditional in this country. The banning orders imposed on the nineteen people who have been twice detained, twice charged, twice acquitted is the latest example, so blatant that it has caused a public outcry.

But arbitrary detention, banning, banishment, house arrest, deportation, confiscation of passports have been tools which this Government has used drastically for many years to punish, re-punish, intimidate and silence. Legislation and Ministerial edict excludes the judiciary.

The Courts are a fundamental bulwark of democracy and their independence should be inviolate. The Government has seriously undermined this fundamental principle by treating the Courts as though they did not exist, not only ignoring their findings but actually countermanding them. There is no security for any single individual in a state which denies people the right of safeguard by the Courts.

It is time that the legal profession, individually and through their associations, publicly voiced their rejection of a system which denies the very principles upon which their profession is based.

*(Transvaal Region of the Black Sash)*