

Ed.

LIBERAL NEWS



MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE TRANSVAAL DIVISION
OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

VOL. 4 N^o. 7

1962 - THE YEAR OF DECISION

JANUARY
1962

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This year may well prove to be a decisive one for both the South African Government and the Liberal Party.

The Nationalist Government faces a year of challenging developments on our borders:

In South West Africa decisive steps aimed at prising the territory from South Africa's stubborn grip can be expected; in Southern Rhodesia the last vestiges of legalised racial discrimination will disappear and the new Constitution (under which Africans take their place alongside Whites in the Rhodesian Parliament) comes into force; in the Protectorates sweeping political and economic changes can be expected aimed at preparing the territories for self-government and eventual independence; in Mocambique the long sleep is over - Africans are awakening to an awareness of their rights as human beings and unless Portuguese policy changes radically 1962 could be for Mocambique what 1961 was for Angola.

On the home front the Government faces a year in which it has committed itself to measures which carry the seeds of its own destruction:

After a delay of 10 years it is to make a start with the development of the Bantustans; the Act which makes "White" liquor available to non-Whites comes into force; the admission of Japanese and Chinese to "White" facilities and entertainments is the thin end of the integration-wedge.

But, while 1962 will certainly be a year of challenge to the Nationalists, it will be no less so to the Liberal Party:

The Government is well aware that the only real alternative to Apartheid is the policy which we advocate - it recognises that of all its opponents only the Liberals have accepted in full the implications of a positive alternative policy and it realises therefore that the spreading of Liberal ideas is of the greatest danger to it. A combination of factors will probably turn the Whites against Apartheid in the end, but only crystal-clear evidence that non-racialism does work will make it possible for them finally to reject Apartheid and accept the alternative. Territories outside our borders will undoubtedly present this evidence in the coming year, but within South Africa only the Liberal Party will be doing so and we must inevitably be one of the Government's priority targets.

This year is therefore likely to be crucial for us. Police intimidation is sure to increase and legislation is mooted which may prohibit activities essential to our very existence. If this happens the Party will face a most fateful decision - to continue as at present in spite of the new restrictive laws, or to submit to them and change the form of the Party. It is important for South Africa that the Liberal Party should survive in its present form - no other organisation has been able to do as much for inter-racial understanding in the past and none is likely to do so in the future - and it would surely be better for the Party to go down with colours flying than to accept continued existence in an emasculated form which prevented it from fulfilling its true function: the promotion of a liberal, non-racial democracy in our country.

Whatever the outcome 1962 cannot fail to be a year full of incident, an exciting and eventful year.

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QUALIFIED FRANCHISE has been eagerly investigated by political thinkers for many years now but has seldom been taken seriously in the end because it has proved to be a thoroughly undemocratic and temporary expedient.

In standing as it does for rule by the privileged it is the very antithesis of democracy. In South Africa the Progressive reply is that all will have the opportunity to become privileged in their society, but they cannot deny that all will not have an equal opportunity to do so. Non-Whites would be at a serious disadvantage under this system and millions of them, having already reached adulthood without the necessary qualifications, would remain permanently without the vote.

The qualified franchise is a classic example of a group of privileged persons meeting, taking the decisions for the people, and then informing the people of those decisions. It is therefore an imposed system which is essentially unstable and which always moves either towards an increasingly restricted electorate (as in the Cape) or to one-man-one-vote (as in the Western Democracies).

GOA

The Indian invasion of Goa has caused a sharp division of opinion among the nations of the world. It has been welcomed by some (mainly the Afro-Asian and Communist blocs) as an overdue action against a Colonialist tyranny. It has been attacked by others (mainly the countries of the West) for being a flagrant breach of the United Nations charter, which India is committed to uphold.

Liberals, who wish to avoid partisan loyalties and judge the issue solely on its merits, have, in our view, no choice but to condemn the invasion as being both morally indefensible and politically ill-advised.

In the first place, India undertook, when signing the United Nations charter, to settle its international disputes by peaceful means. By resorting to unilateral aggression it has now broken this pledge. We are not shedding any crocodile tears over Portugal in its bereavement: it has for centuries been running a petty tyranny in Goa, and, unlike Britain and France, has flatly refused to get out. This is an anachronism which could not for ever be tolerated. But the road to a solution lies through negotiation and, if necessary, United Nations action. If every country should decide to follow India's example and adhere to written treaties and pledges only when it finds it convenient to do so, we would soon be ruled by the moral standards of Adolf Hitler.

Secondly, Nehru has destroyed at one blow his reputation as a preacher of non-violence and compromise. He has even broken his own word. On Goa he once said: "We will negotiate and negotiate and negotiate to the bitter end", and "...there must be peaceful methods. This is essential unless we give up the roots of all our policies and all our behaviour...we rule out non-peaceful means entirely." And now? In the words of Krishna Menon: "We have never renounced violence against any country when it is to our interests."

In these critical times the world has in rapid succession lost the two citizens who could best be termed peacemakers - the one by death and the other by voluntary abdication - Dag Hammarsjököld and Pandit Nehru.

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

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

A F R I C A S U R V E Y

SOUTHERN RHODESIA presents a contradictory picture at present: Within the limitations of its new double-roll-franchise Constitution it is moving towards an end to legalised racial discrimination - public swimming baths are open to all, laws barring non-Whites from living in White suburbs are being repealed and the ruling U.F.P. is campaigning for mass African membership.

The other side of the coin is that Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (which replaced his banned N.D.P.), has been banned from attending meetings for 3 months together with many senior party officials and other opponents of the Government, and that the Z.A.P.U. is boycotting the new Constitution and has called upon Africans not to register on the voters roll.

Sir Edgar Whitehead had hoped for 50,000 "B" roll registrations, but 6 days after the lists opened only 384 Africans had enrolled in spite of a personal tour of African villages by Sir Edgar urging people to "claim your vote". This is hardly surprising. "B" roll voters (all non-Whites) will have no real power and can always be overridden by the "A" roll voters (the vast majority White). Since they will be politically impotent the Africans probably see little point in troubling to register, as was also the case under the old Constitution where a limited number of Africans had the vote and where relatively few of them exercised their privilege.

Southern Rhodesia is therefore proving something which is only acknowledged amongst South African political parties by the Liberals (and possibly the Nats.): that once you start conceding rights to people you have to concede them all the rights. They are never content with half a loaf.

TANGANYIKA: After 15 tranquil years under British trusteeship, Tanganyika last month became an independent nation. While the new state holds exceptional promise for the future it also faces serious problems. Most important of these is the need to tackle effectively the economic backwardness of the country: continued poverty could, in the long run, provide fertile ground for the growth of racism. Also disquieting though not as yet of relevance in Nyerere's championing of the one-party state - the future advent of a real opposition could tempt him to follow Nkrumah's path.

For the present, however, Western Nations have undertaken to finance Tanganyika's ambitious development programme, and Julius Nyerere remains one of emergent Africa's essentially statesmanlike leaders. To the country and its leader go our best wishes for the future.

THE CONGO: Indications are that the crisis in the Congo is now moving towards an end, and that the way is at last open for the U.N. to turn from military operations to the task of rebuilding the economy of this wealthy territory. That this happy turn of events has been reached is due almost entirely to the courage of the Kennedy Administration, which stood firmly by the United Nations in the crucial days of December and January when that organisation was being undermined by almost every other of the great powers - Britain included. In taking this stand, Kennedy exposed himself to attack from both the right and the left. The former (composed mainly of such elements as the John Birchites in America, an influential group of Conservative M.P.s in England, and Welensky in Africa) were quite prepared to see the rest of the Congo slide into economic and political ruin, provided that Katanga was saved. The latter (composed mainly of Soviet Russia and its sympathisers) attacked Tshombe for endeavouring to secede from the Congo, yet assiduously assisted Gizenga's efforts to do exactly the same. America alone, refused to take the line of least resistance.

So once again, as at the time of Suez, the honour of the West has been saved by the White House.

KENYA: Since his release and re-emergence into politics Jomo Kenyatta has not proved himself the strongman he was expected to be. He has been indecisive and has not curbed his less responsible followers in the Kenya African National Union. It is probably all to the good therefore that Kenyatta's popularity appears to be waning and that Tom Mboya, K.A.N.U.'s secretary-general, is said to be moving either to take over the leadership or to form a new party.

As Kenyatta's lieutenant Mboya has suffered much from being in the great man's shadow, but his speeches have been free of the implied threats to Kenya's non-African population which have characterised those of other K.A.N.U. leaders such as Mau Mau veteran Oginga Odinga, and he himself carries no taint of Mau Mau. If freed from Kenyatta's hampering presence Mboya would appear to be the leader most likely to set Kenya on a democratic, non-racial road, and his performance at next month's Constitutional talks in London will therefore be watched with special interest.

HE WHO PAYS THE PIPER.....

The Government's decision to re-classify Japanese as White recalls a retort made by Hermann Göring in 1934, when told that a favourite Munich art dealer whose services he valued was a non-Aryan:

"I shall decide who is a Jew around here."

K N O W Y O U R L E A D E R S

The National Vice-Presidents of the Liberal Party of South Africa

JORDAN NGUBANE - Journalist, married, family. Born 1917 in Ladysmith. Attended Adams College. Helped edit The Bantu World in Johannesburg where he became leading member of A.N.C. Youth League. Returned to Durban and was instrumental in having Luthuli elected President of A.N.C. Broke with A.N.C. because he felt the Congress Alliance was becoming Communist-dominated. 1949 Zulu/Indian riots in Durban convinced him that non-racialism was essential in a Party before freedom, and not only afterwards. Joined Liberal Party. Attended Accra Conference in 1958 with Patrick Duncan on behalf of Liberal Party. Was charged for his part in the All-in Africa Conference last year and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. Now on bail pending appeal. Is an amusing and warm personality who believes methods must be as ethical as aims; a popular and respected vice-President. We wish him success with his appeal.

JACK UNTERHALTER - Advocate, married, 3 children. Born Johannesburg 1914, educated Athlone High and Wits. University. Admitted to Bar in 1937; Field Representative in Displaced Persons camps in Austria after war; Foundation member Liberal Party in 1953; Chairman of Transvaal Division 1955-1961. Chairman of Inter-racial Affairs Committee when Transvaal Division first started building up non-White membership; prominent in fighting against Sophiatown removal; defended all the Sharpeville people charged with public violence. The Transvaal was fortunate in having Jack as Chairman during the difficult Emergency months of 1960. He was never panicked; he was available at any hour of the day or night and his calm, collected presence and careful advice was a great source of strength in those troubled times. A modest, quiet, endearing personality - a pearl amongst Chairmen, a worthy vice-President.

JEAN VAN RIET - Farmer, married, family. Staunch Party member in Nat. stronghold - farmed in the Free State for many years. Practices what he preaches - farm is run on liberal lines, workers are properly housed, payed, share profits and running of farm. Result is a model farm which so impressed son that after attending Potchefstroom Agricultural College he came back and followed his father's methods. Son now runs Free State farm while Jean has moved to Bechuanaland. Lives his Liberalism, always takes up cases of ill-treatment of Africans and is inveterate writer of liberal letters to Afrikaans Press. In the Free State where even the U.P. is considered a traitorous organisation this required great courage. A warmhearted, "ware Afrikaner", a friend in need, a vice-President to be proud of.

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 P A Y Y O U R S U B S E A R L Y - 25 cents P L E A S E

P A R T Y N E W S

H A P P Y N E W Y E A R T O A L L O U R R E A D E R S

- It is never too late to make New Year resolutions - we commend these:
1. PAY YOUR SUBS (25 cents) - don't wait till you're asked; send a postal order, hand it in at the office or give it to your branch Chairman - but DO pay it early, we need the money.
 2. WEAR YOUR BADGE - be proud of your Party...you had the courage to join it, now have the courage to advertise it.
 3. Don't spend that last rand on a hat or drink - give it to your Party, its broker than you think !
 4. Come to every meeting, from wherever you may be; meetings without members will never make us free...
-

- o VAUGHAN STONE has organised the following housemeetings and has asked for the co-operation of members to help make them a success. You are urged to make every effort to bring or invite people to the meetings. Invite your friends and if they agree to come ask the office to send an invitation - this avoids sending out unwanted invitations. The presence of non-members is vital if the meetings are to be a success. Here is an easy job for busy members - get invitations for your friends and see that they attend. The not-so-busy-members are asked to volunteer for 'phoning work please.
 - January 24th - at 72, 3rd Avenue, Melville, Jo'burg - 8 p.m.
 Guest Speaker: A Headmaster, on "Multi-racial Schools"
 Party Speaker: Thomas Letlalo.
 - January 31st - at 2, St Andrews Road, Parktown, Jo'burg - 8 p.m.
 Guest Speaker: University Anthropologist.
 Party Speaker: Dr Farquharson.
 - February 14th - at 9, Stewart Road, Waverly, Jo'burg - 8 p.m.
 Guest Speaker: An Attorney, on "South West Africa :
 Public Violence and International Law".
 Party Speaker: Matthew Rathebe.
 - March 13th or 14th - exact date and venue from office later -
 Guest Speakers: Athol Fugard and Zakes Mokae - stories about the production and performance of "Blood Knot".
- o HUMAN RIGHTS DAY meetings were held in Johannesburg and Pretoria. In Johannesburg White hoodlums tried to break up the meeting and the police were called in. Speakers had difficulty in making themselves heard. By comparison the meeting in Pretoria was quiet although it was a great success - John Lloyd from Pietermaritzburg branch ably assisted local speakers and speeches were well received.
- o THE PICNIC on New Years Day was enjoyed by all in spite of the fact that the bus broke down on the way home - members slept in the veld!

- o THE SUMMER SCHOOL held on 16th & 17th December mainly for branch Chairmen, Secretaries and active members, proved extremely useful to all who attended. One of the most important results of the school was the acceptance of the idea of a "Branch Folder" as a regular monthly feature. This folder will be sent to Branch Chairmen as a guide for planning activities, running meetings etc. and as a means of keeping up to date with events.
- o THE GENERAL PURPOSES COMMITTEE which meets every month in the office has grown so much that between 50 & 80 people attend. It has become the "ideas" committee and many projects have originated in it. Discussion ranging from rentals to Summer Schools takes place and tasks are handed out to willing helpers. If you want to find something to do for the Party but don't know how to begin then attend a G.P.C. meeting and you'll soon be roped in.
- o A MEMBERS MEETING will be held in Johannesburg on TUESDAY, 6th FEB. to discuss an Action Programme for 1962. You will receive your notice in good time but please mark this date on your calendar now and keep it free so that you are able to come and join in discussion - it is no good complaining about decisions afterwards if you don't !
- o IN PRETORIA some members have lost their jobs because of their Party membership. If anyone is able to offer employment to these men it will be greatly appreciated if he will 'phone 74-3704. Political Education classes begin again on Friday, a members meeting has just been held and a housemeeting is scheduled for Wednesday - so Pretoria members cannot complain that life is dull.

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F U N D R A I S I N G - Yes, you've guessed it - we are short of funds again..How about helping us to a surplus for a change ? DAVID CRAIGHEAD, our Treasurer and RAY SPILKIN, Fundraiser, appeal to each member to give as much as possible. Apart from donations there must be many novel ways of raising money. We suggest Branches pep up their activity by trying out ideas and then passing them on to the Fundraising Committee. A FILM SHOW will be held as soon as a venue is arranged; here is a way to give to funds and enjoy it !

THE STAMP SYSTEM (which Reg Mayekiso will explain to branches) is the ideal way for those who are unable to give stop orders to make their contributions. All members want to donate something but many can only afford small amounts at a time. Under this system cards will be issued and members will be able to buy 10cent stamps which they must stick onto the card as a receipt. In this way we are confident that we will get at least 20 cents per member per month. If members take advantage of the Stamp System our financial worries will end.

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"Liberal News" is compiled and edited by the Pretoria Branch for the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party of South Africa.

Telephone: 22-8637
P.O. Box: 5495

45 Harvard Buildings,
Joubert Street,

JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Sir/Madam,

Will you please fill this renewal form and send it back with your renewal fee.

- (a) 1960 30c or ²⁵~~50c~~
- (b) 1961 30 or ²⁵~~50c~~
- (c) 1962 30 or ²⁵~~50c~~

Delete year not applicable to you. Send the money direct to the office or give it to your Chairman.

Name & Address:

Yours sincerely,

LIBERAL NEWS



MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE TRANSVAAL DIVISION
OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

VOLUME 2

FEBRUARY
1962

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RIDING THE TIGER ?

In making his announcement of self-rule for the Transkei last month, Dr Verwoerd took a carefully calculated risk. On the one hand he sensed that world opinion is rapidly losing patience with his failure to come to grips with the deteriorating racial situation; on the other hand, the solution which the outside world expects him to apply is wholly unacceptable to him. He decided therefore on a compromise. A well-publicised "concession" to the demands of African self-determination would be made: a concession carefully aimed at making the maximum impression on those who doubted his good intentions, while at the same time not materially altering the present disposition of White domination.

The resultant Transkei self-rule plan is as clever a piece of chicanery as even Dr Verwoerd has ever tried to put across. We believe, however, that he may this time have overreached himself. The outside world has not, subsequent to the announcement, shown the slightest sign of softening either its hostility towards Apartheid or its determination to force a change. But inside South Africa, the announcement has opened a door to African aspirations which the Government will not easily be able to close again. Developments in Pondoland and Tembuland have already made it clear that Dr Verwoerd is riding the tiger; his efforts to stay on its back will be one of the most interesting political dramas of 1962.

WILL MEMBERS PLEASE MAKE SURE THAT THEY ALWAYS GET
A RECEIPT OR STAMPS IN RETURN FOR ANY DONATIONS

PUBLISHED BY THE DIVISIONAL OFFICE, BOX 5485, JOHANNESBURG.
NEWS & COMMENT TO THE EDITOR, P.O. BOX 2321, PRETORIA.

THE PROGRESSIVES AT THE CROSSROADS

The defeats suffered by the Progressives in the recent by-elections have brought the party to its moment of truth: its policies clearly have no chance of widespread White support in their present form; is it to change them back towards those of the U.P. in order to gain this support, or is it to change them towards those of the Liberal Party to attract non-Whites ?

The basic facts to be faced by a political party in South Africa today are these: that any party which hopes to rule within the framework of the present parliamentary system must be acceptable to the Afrikaner, and that any party which hopes to rule within a new non-racial parliamentary system must be acceptable to the African.

It is obvious that not only are the Progs not acceptable to the Afrikaner now, but that their chances of becoming so in the foreseeable future are negligible, and that they have a severely limited appeal even amongst the English-speaking section. They were unable to win as favourable a seat as Parktown despite apparently unlimited funds and the unquestioning support of the Rand Daily Mail. What possible chance have they of ever winning Springs, Westdene or Wakkerstroom ?

The Progressive position with regard to Africans is even more untenable. The decisive factor in any bid for African support is the franchise, and here the Progs are committed to a policy which has been repudiated not only by articulate Africans, but by every representative non-White political body in the country. Even Chief Luthuli, lauded by the Progs as an example of the moderate African with no wish to dominate the Whites, is uncompromising in his insistence on one man, one vote.

The National Party is acceptable to the Afrikaner, the Liberal Party is acceptable to the African, but the Progressive Party is in the impossible position of being acceptable to neither. If it is to have any more than a nuisance value it must rectify this. The U.P. is a dying party today precisely because it refused to adapt itself to changing circumstance; if the Progressives continue to mark time their days are also numbered.

The choice before them is a simple one - to crawl back in sackcloth and ashes to the U.P., or to march forward in confidence and faith to the Liberal Party. If they remain true to their principles then the choice will be automatic and we stand to gain some useful allies in the struggle to obtain a decent way of life for all South Africans.

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Civilisation is a method of living, an attitude of equal respect for all men. - JANE ADDAMS

A F R I C A S U R V E Y

THE FEDERATION: The Commonwealth Relations Officer, Duncan Sandys, has recently been in the Federation for talks on the Constitution which the British Government has evolved, at the third attempt, for Northern Rhodesia. Their first attempt was violently attacked by Welensky as conceding too much to Africans and their second was rejected just as violently by Kaunda for favouring the Whites. The latest discussions are therefore critical and, if unsuccessful, could result in the break up of the Federation which Sir Roy states he is so anxious to avoid.

Mr Sandys has also had talks with Dr Banda, who is opposed to Nyasaland's remaining within a Federation where race discrimination is still practised, and who will undoubtedly take a great deal of convincing before withdrawing his opposition.

Welensky's recent utterances are unlikely to persuade Banda to do so. As reported, his talks always smack of the superior, irascible White impatient at the failings of the inferior, infuriating Blacks - a stereotype whose days in Africa are surely numbered. In Lourenco Marques recently, for example, he said of the Portuguese (who are anathema to the whole free world): "We may have different ideas and methods, but we are going along the same road together"; he praised their action in Angola and stated: "Angola is another symbol of what is in store for many of us if this sickness, this disease, is not checked". The "sickness" can only be the desire of the Africans for independence - hardly the way, one would have thought, to make friends of and influence Messrs Banda, Kaunda and Nkomo, the people with whom he must come to terms if the break-up of the Federation is to be avoided.

NYASALAND: In last August's Nyasaland election Dr Hastings Banda's Malawi Congress Party, with 97% of the votes, won control of the Legislative Council. Recently Nyasaland took a substantial step towards independence when a Civil Servant resigned the portfolio of Urban Development and was replaced by an elected Minister. When, next week, another Civil Servant Minister leaves, Banda's party will also control the Executive Council, with 7 of its 10 seats. The fact that these changes (which were provided for in the Constitution agreed to in August 1960) have come so soon after the election is a tribute to the good and stable government which the Malawi Congress Party has provided.

Dr Banda and his colleagues are now busy with an ambitious 3-year development plan that is to be made public in July and followed immediately with a 10-day Conference to which have been invited 20 leading economists, each of whom will answer a question about planning in underdeveloped countries. It is hoped that these measures will stimulate the interest of governments and businesses

which may be considering investing in Nyasaland.

A country whose voters should be completely uncivilised and irresponsible according to the Progressive Party has therefore returned a most stable and responsible government, again underlining the Liberal Party's assertion that the measure of a man's tolerance and responsibility is not necessarily his economic or educational standard.

KENYA: The Constitutional talks to prepare the way for Kenya's independence are now being held in London. The main participants are the Kenya African National Union, representing the Kikuyu, Luo and Kamba tribes which comprise nearly half the population, and led by Kenyatta and Mboya; and the Kenya African Democratic Union, representing the smaller and more nomadic tribes, and led by Ronald Ngala. K.A.N.U. demands a centralised form of government with a strong Bill of Rights and an independent Judiciary. K.A.D.U., fearing domination by the Kikuyu, demands a regional form of government divided along tribal lines. Mr Maudling, Britain's Colonial Secretary, has the unenviable task of trying to arrive at an acceptable compromise. The most hopeful prospect for the future would be the emergence of a moderate third party able to reconcile the differences and arrive at a Constitution acceptable to big and small tribes alike. If such a party does emerge, K.A.N.U.'s Secretary-General, Tom Mboya, would be the obvious man to lead it.

THE SINKING FOUNDATION

In spite of a generous expense account (it shares Mr Oppenheimer with the Progressive Party) the South African Foundation has had no apparent success in selling the "positive aspects" of Apartheid overseas. The few obscure Tory back-benchers who have come out on its "fact finding" tours have mouthed the expected homilies and then departed with no visible effect on anything except their sponsor's bank balance. Its only big gun, the retired ex-soldier, is fast becoming an embarrassment to it. His naïve and optimistic pronouncements have long been treated as a joke overseas and there are signs that he is now regarded in the same light in this country. The only exception is the Nationalist press, which, happy at having a famous foreigner saying nice things about Apartheid, is prepared to forget that he has said the same thing about every other country which he has visited including Russia, a habit which has caused Time Magazine to refer to the old man as "favorite guest Montgomery".

"History shows what the study of human nature would lead us to expect: that any set of men, entrusted with power over others, will abuse their power unless they have reason to fear that they may lose it." - from "A Scientist's Plea for Democracy" by

BERTRAND RUSSELL

J O C K I S A C O W I T Z

We deeply regret to record the death of Jock Isacowitz on January 30th. Jock was born in Benoni in 1915, attended Benoni High, qualified as Pharmacist, graduated B.A. (Hons) at Wits. Joined army at outbreak of war, wounded in action. Formed Springbok Legion to safeguard soldiers' interests, served on Govt. Committee for rehabilitation of ex-soldiers. Assisted in formation of Liberal Party in 1953, first Transvaal Chairman, later National vice-Chairman, detained during Emergency. Leaves wife and 3 children. His death has shocked the whole Liberal Party.

PETER BROWN, National Chairman, writes: I first met Jock in Cape Town in 1953 at the meeting at which the Liberal Party was formed. He saw clearly that the time for the Liberal Party had arrived, and in the end he, and those like him, carried the day. He was the driving force which laid the foundation from which the Liberal Party in the Transvaal grew and which was responsible for building the organisational framework of the Party as a whole. He was an outstanding chairman who could sum up, in a few sentences, the most confused debate, extracting from a welter of words the few points that really mattered. He was never afraid to take an unpopular line, never the least put out at failing to carry a point. Above all he was an unfailing optimist !

It is a commonplace to say that such-and-such a person is irreplaceable. It usually isn't true, but in this case it is. We cannot replace Jock as a worker, as an administrator, as a student of our South African situation - or as a friend.

LESLIE COOPER, past Chairman in the Transvaal, who worked closely with Jock from the very beginning of the Party, writes: It is difficult to imagine the Liberal Party in the Transvaal without Jock. Everyone came to him with misgivings, doubts, personal problems and political problems, and everyone came away cheered and encouraged. Jock was an exemplary leader. His capacity for work, no matter how menial or apparently unimportant, was prodigious, and because he was always prepared to do anything he asked of another he could get people to work like nobody else. He was a tough fighter, but whether in victory or defeat there never remained any personal bitterness within him towards those who had fought him. Because of this he was probably the most popular member of the Party in the Transvaal. He held his political ideas strongly but could always laugh at others and himself on the appropriate occasion. The best tribute anyone can pay to his memory is to put that little extra effort into the work of the Party, and help to hasten the realisation of the ideals for which he lived.

A tribute is due to Eileen, his wife, whose courage and cheerful devotion during the long months of his illness complemented Jock's own optimism and infectious good spirits. The Party extends its heartfelt sympathy to Eileen and her family.

7.

P A R T Y N E W S

- o JOCK ISACOWITZ'S FUNERAL, on 31st January at West Park Cemetary, was attended by many Party members of all races. The refreshing absence of apartheid was exactly as Jock would have liked it.
- o MEMBERS MEETING on 6th February at HANNAH JAFF's was well attended but somehow never got off the ground. We will have to do better than this; we cannot expect people to come from as far afield as Rustenburg unless something more stimulating is offered.
- o CORONATIONVILLE MEETING. The Party is holding a Public Meeting in Coronationville Hall on Monday, 12th March at 8 p.m. Main speaker will be MARY WALKER assisted by Prctoria Vice-Chairman, ALBAN THUMBRAN and others. This meeting is our first in this Coloured area - please come along and help make it a success.
- o VAUGHAN STONE has organised the following housemeeting. Your co-operation is essential if it is to be a success. Housemeetings are for the purpose of attracting new members so please make every effort to see that as many non-members as possible are present. Vaughan appeals again to members to keep lists of invitees and to notify the office when they wish to attend meetings. For information about future meetings please enquire at the office -- Tel: 22-8637. March 7th - at 6, von Brandis Street, Hamberg (between Johannesburg and Krugersdorp) at 8 p.m.
 Guest Speaker: Tom Hopkinson (late of "Drum") on "Running and African Magazine".
 Party Speaker: John Harris.
- o ALAN PATON, National President. hit the headlines again recently when he was the only South African author to be invited to a conference of the world's leading novelists in Edinburgh. (An Indian doctor - not a member - on being approached for a donation to the Party funds last week, asked "Is Alan Paton still a member of yours?" and on being assured that he was, said: "I'll give you £5. Alan Paton is worth a fiver any day!") Fundraisers please note !
- o LAZARUS MATHE and helpers deserve a vote of thanks for running the office so competently during JILL WHITE's absence on leave.
- o PRETORIA. After two years in a private house the branch is moving its office back into town. New address: 4, Prinsloo Street. Prinsloo Street runs at right angles to Church Street and is 4 blocks East of Church Square. All visitors welcome ! Hours 8.15 to 12.15. A successful public meeting on the Transkei was held in the Cape Reserve on 11th February. Local speakers were ably supported by ANN & JOHN HARRIS of Hamberg and ROSEMARY WENTZEL of Johannesburg. (A brush with the police earlier in the day, when they removed the ncticboard advertising the meeting and then returned and re-

fixed it after a visit from Alban Thumbran, Ad and Walter Hain, set the meeting off to a good start.)

The Branch will hold a meeting in the Tamil League Hall on Tuesday, 27th February, to discuss Coloured and Indian housing.

- o RUSTENBURG continues to flourish. It now has over 700 members, has an office and is in the process of acquiring some full-time organisers in addition to the ball-of-fire REV. RAMOROESI. Offers of furniture for the office are hereby solicited from well-wishers !
- o ORLANDO has held a Jumble Sale which greatly helped Party funds, and ZOLA is reviving the Women's Division.
- o HILLBROW. An election follow-up canvass of all the "Favourables" is being organised.
- o ERNIE WENTZEL, our Transvaal Chairman, is temporarily doing the job Press Officer, and appeals to any member who notices anything in the press which requires our attention to notify him immediately; he can usually be reached at the Party office - 22-8637.
- o A BINGO EVENING will be held at 2, St Andrews Road, Parktown on the evening of Tuesday 6th March. bring MONEY, its for FUNDRAISING !

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FUNDRAISING (and don't forget to pay your SUB !)

We need JUMBLE BOOKS ANYTHING you'll be throwing out. Contributions may be left at the following depots.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| SAXONWOLD - 78, Jan Smuts Avenue. | MELROSE - 101, 5th Street. |
| SANDRINGHAM -- 58, Athlone Avenue. | WAVERLY - 9, Stuart Street. |
| PARKVIEW -- 81, Kilkenny Road. | PRETORIA - 1127, Arcadia St. & |
| TOWN - 45, Harvard Eldg. Joubert. | 4, Prinsloo Street. |

Fundraising stamps @ 10 cents are for sale at the office and at all Branches - please try to give at least 20 cents per month to the Party. If you do this our financial worries will be over !

.....
NEW PUBLICATIONS

- o THE NEW AFRICAN - This new liberal monthly shows every indication of developing into a first-class publication; please support it. It costs 15cents a copy. Subscriptions: 12 months R2, 6 months R1.20 Address: The New African, Box 4232, Cape Town.
- o THE DOMINEE AND THE DOM-PAS, by Mary Ann Wall. This is a summary of the Rev. Charles Hooper's book "Brief Authority" which was banned in 1960. Obtainable from the office and Pretoria office @ 35 cents.

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"Liberal News" is compiled and edited by the Pretoria Branch for the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party of South Africa.

25 APR 1962

LIBERAL NEWS



MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE TRANSVAAL DIVISION
OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

VOL. 4 No 3

MARCH / APRIL
1962

LAST CHANCE FOR DEMOCRACY

With Mr Fouché's announcement last month that apartheid is now to be defended on a war footing, it is clear that Afrikanerdom is finally preparing, with mingled feelings of defiance and gloom, for its long-awaited last stand before engulfment. It would be wrong, and dangerous, for the rest of South Africa to ignore the serious implications of this development. It is true that Apartheid has entered the penumbral gloom which precedes total eclipse. BUT, unless the opponents of tyranny make a much more determined stand than they have ever done before, so has South Africa.

In its approaching death-throes, Nationalist domination stands a good chance of inflicting almost irreparable damage on South Africa. What are the millions of South Africans who call themselves democrats doing about it? The time in which it will be possible to meaningfully oppose, and perhaps deflect, an approaching military dictatorship is rapidly running out; with the passage of the next few months the last chance for democracy may pass. It is up to all responsible citizens to make use of this chance.

"In the difficult circumstances in which we are placed every good South African and every good Christian ought to take a clear stand on what he believes to be right irrespective of the personal consequences."

- DR EDGAR BROOKES

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A PASSAGE TO DURBAN BY B.J. VORSTER

The Minister of Justice made some very revealing suggestions to the second National Law Conference of the Association of Law Societies of Southern Africa, which met at the beginning of April aboard the Transvaal Castle on its voyage from Cape Town to Durban. Revealing, in that they indicate the direction in which his mind is working, a direction which signals "danger" to civil rights and liberties in South Africa.

In Cape Town, when opening the conference, Mr Vorster deplored the fact that some attorneys and advocates continued with what he termed "subversive" activities, and questioned whether they should be allowed to practise undisturbed in the courts; he suggested that the time was ripe to consider prohibiting a person who is not bilingual from practising as an attorney or advocate, and he regretted that there were practising lawyers amongst those who had criticised the Nationalists while on overseas visits.

In Port Elizabeth, he said: "If we in South Africa want to remain, we must reconcile the freedom of the individual with the safety of the State", and in East London he suggested that the Press should not be allowed to report on a case until after a man had been found guilty - in order, he said, to protect innocent persons from too much publicity !

The members of the Law Society appear to have missed their cue. They should have told Mr Vorster that a lawyer's right to practise his profession is quite independent of his political convictions, as it is also independent of his views on the government of the day, wherever he may choose to express them. They should have told him that his record is not such as to give confidence that any decision he may make between the freedom of the individual and what he considers to be the safety of the State will be the correct one. They should have told him (as did three distinguished ex-judges who were not at the conference) that the very cornerstone of any modern system of justice is that it should be open to the public, and therefore to the press.

Instead, they confined themselves to questioning the Minister on his reference to bilingualism, and quickly accepted his assurance that he was only appealing to them to ensure that future generations were bilingual !

Mr Vorster's ideas are a menace to personal liberty and public justice, they are not consistent with 20th Century standards and are unacceptable to South Africans. The Law Society should have told him so.

JOB RESERVATION : BLUEPRINT FOR BONDAGE

Last month Mr Marais Viljoen (Assistant Minister for Labour) made the remarkable statement that job reservation did not cause hardship to any racial group, but actually prevented friction and animosity by reserving for the different races the occupations that are theirs by tradition.

Job Reservation, as the name implies, is the principle (enshrined in the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956) that specified types of work may be reserved by the Minister of Labour for members of a defined racial group. No South African needs to be told which jobs belong, by tradition, to the non-White in general and the African in particular, and none will therefore be under any illusions as to the types of jobs which are to be reserved for each particular group. The evil consequences of this extraordinary piece of legislation (unparalleled in the rest of the world) are several.

Firstly, the history of Job Reservation clearly betrays its purpose - to protect the White worker from non-White competition - a policy which must inevitably lead to the mollycoddling of incompetents simply because they have white skins. The large numbers of South Africans who have emigrated to Australia and Britain, only to return because they were unable to face the competition, bear eloquent testimony to the disturbing lowering of standards which has already occurred.

Secondly, the restriction of certain occupations to specified races, instead of allowing the job to go to the most efficient worker, rules out the full and unimpeded development of the entire South African economy. The consequent damage will devolve not only upon non-Whites but on the Whites as well.

Finally, there are the ominous social consequences of the resentment and frustration caused by Job Reservation. If one were to deliberately plan to promote racial antagonism, it would be difficult to find a more effective method of achieving it than to allocate certain jobs to certain favoured races, to the legally enforced exclusion of all others.

.....

"Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the State...my department's policy is that there should be no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

- DR VERWOERD, when Minister of Native Affairs.

A F R I C A S U R V E Y

ALGERIA: PEACE AT LAST ?

With the virtual collapse of the Secret Army Organisation the last barricade on the road to peace in Algeria falls away.

For months an endurance contest has been waged between the White S.A.O. and the Moslem F.L.N. in Algeria. The S.A.O., desperately trying to prevent the coming of independence to this overwhelmingly Moslem country, has pursued a merciless terrorist campaign against the Moslems in an attempt to provoke them to violent retaliation. Once this happened, it knew that the powerful French Army in Algeria would almost certainly intervene on the side of the Whites with decisive effect. The F.L.N., on the other hand, worked feverishly on its Moslem followers to prevent any mass retaliation. The agonising question in the minds of onlookers was: who would hold out the longest ?

In the event, it was the White S.A.O. which made the first and decisive miscalculation. In an unprovoked attack, it killed six French Army soldiers and wounded twelve others, thereby putting paid to its chances of success. The Army moved swiftly and pitilessly, and dealt the O.A.S. a series of blows from which it is unlikely to recover.

Deeply though local right-wing opinion may mourn the liquidation of this ugly organisation, which seeks to further its ideals by machine-gunning hospital patients in their beds, there are few others who will regret the passing of yet another obstacle in the road to democracy and freedom in Africa.

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KENYA: A SETTLEMENT REACHED. (From reports in Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Times)

The London Conference on Kenya has agreed on a Coalition Government between the Kenya African Nationalist Union and the Kenya African Democratic Union.

Both sides at the Kenya conference made concessions to reach agreement on a constitutional framework for home rule during the interim period before the final constitution is drafted.

Each party will have seven ministerial posts, with Jomo Kenyatta, leader of KANU, as Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs. He will have equal status in the Coalition Cabinet with Mr. Ronald Ngala, leader of KADU. The new Government will not have a Prime Minister or Chief Minister and its executive head will be the Governor. The two key posts of Defence and Legal Affairs will remain in the hands of British civil servants. The British Government refused to accept Mr. Kenyatta's nomination of Mr. Oginga Odinga for the post of Minister of Finance. Mr. Oginga Odinga is the pro-communist vice-president of KANU.

This agreement between Jomo Kenyatta's KANU and Mr. Ronald Ngala's KADU means that there is some hope for stability in Kenya while negotiations are in progress for agreement on the final constitution.

But this does not mean that the drafting of the final constitution will go smoothly. Mr. Maudling said, "We must not exaggerate what we have achieved and we must not minimise the difficulties and dangers that still lie ahead. Fear and suspicion still exist."

KANU is the dominant political force and is confident of victory in the elections that will probably be held towards the end of the year. KANU is therefore prepared to make major concessions to hurry forward the passing of the final constitution, the elections and the granting of independence. KADU, on the other hand, hoping to strengthen its position, is determined to get as many of its demands met as possible.

According to Colin Legum, the Observer's Africa correspondent, a heartening factor of the London conference was the growth of genuinely inter-racial politics.

DR. EDGAR BROOKES: "WHY I JOINED THE LIBERAL PARTY."

"I have been asked to say why I have joined the Liberal Party. I do so gladly. In the face of the invincible obstinacy of Nationalism and of the pitiable blindness and weakness of so many South Africans who are not Nationalists, I felt that the time had come for me to take sides clearly, decisively and openly.

No-one can know in what way freedom will come to South Africa, but in all the mists of uncertainty and depression there is one clear and exhilarating thing that one can do, and that is to stand for what one feels to be right. The colour-bar is so clearly and utterly wrong that I am glad to join the party which has so decisively repudiated it. In the present situation to sit on the fence or even to be silent is to assist the forces of wrong. This is how it seems to me.

As a good South African I serve my country best by serving righteousness. I defend its reputation abroad best by showing that there is one more South African ready to fight for racial freedom equality and fraternity. Finally I am glad to belong to a party which admits all races on equal terms as members and makes it possible to maintain those contacts without which friendship is in danger of fading away.

K N O W Y O U R L E A D E R S

P E T E R B R O W N - National Chairman of the Liberal Party.

Peter Brown was born in December, 1924 and was educated at Michaelhouse. He joined the Tank Corps in 1942, was later transferred to the Signals and served in Italy with the I.L.H./Kim.R. After discharge in 1946 he went to Cambridge, returning overland in 1947; enrolled at the School for African Studies at Cape Town University in 1948; received B.A. in 1950.

Settled in Pietermaritzburg and in 1952 was employed by Y.M.C.A. to start a Y.M.C.A. in the African area of Edenvale. Secretary, Natal Division of the S.A. Liberal Association when it started in early 1953; attended inaugural meeting of the Liberal Party in Cape Town in 1953 as one of two Natal delegates. Became Secretary of Natal Division of Liberal Party; became Provincial Chairman in 1957; in 1958, when Alan Paton became National President Peter Brown succeeded him as National Chairman - a position he has held ever since. Stood as Liberal Party candidate in Natal Provincial Elections in 1954 and General Election of 1958. Detained for 3 months during the State of Emergency in 1960 - was offered his early release on condition he accepted certain restrictions but he refused.

Peter was married in 1950, has three children. Speaks fluent Zulu - an invaluable asset in the Northern areas of Natal in the early days of the Party, when he and Jordan Ngubane spoke regularly at house-meetings held hundreds of miles apart all over the area in an effort to build up membership. He is an enthusiastic Polo player (meeting dates are know to have been juggled to miss polo tournament dates)!!

Peter's most outstanding attributes are probably his friendly sincerity and his impartiality. No one (except perhaps his wife, Phoebe) has ever seen him emotional. His great friend, Alan Paton, has said of him, "He hates injustice neither hotly or coldly; he just hates it, and neither doctrine nor passion will take him off the course. His determination also has this strange natural quality. It is not fierce, or consuming, or steely. It just stays on this incredibly natural course."

A quiet, unassuming, dependable character, with a delightful sense of humour, Peter embodies all the fine qualities inherent in the term "gentleman" without any of the snobbery and patronage with which it is often associated.

It is a measure of the high regard in which Peter Brown is held among members that it is difficult for us to think of the Party without thinking of the man, as it is difficult to think of the man without thinking of the Party.

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 S U B S for 1962, are now OVERDUE - PLEASE PAY UP MEMBERS - 25c

P	A	R	T	Y	N	E	W	S
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- o CORONATIONVILLE MEETING, held in the Coronationville Hall on March 12th was a success. ERNIE WENTZEL chaired the meeting with all his old steam and there were good speeches from Party members. A questionnaire is to be distributed to obtain information on wages, etc, before we take any further action to improve Coloured housing.
- o JOCK ISACOWITZ MEMORIAL. Jock played such a prominent part in the development of Liberal thought in South Africa that it was felt that some permanent tribute should be paid to his memory. Accordingly a Jock Isacowitz Memorial Fund has been established and it is suggested that the memorial should take the form of a book on "The History of Liberalism in South Africa". Trustees of the fund are Alan Paton, Peter Brown, Jordan Ngubane, Leo Kowarsky, Jack Unterhalter, Leslie Cooper and John Wilson. Contributions should be sent to Messrs Routledge, Douglas Wilson, Auret & Wimble, Attorneys, P.O. Box 306, Johannesburg.
- o PRETORIA - The new office is proving a big success. It is right on the street and a continual stream of passers by reads our literature and comes in for information; non-White membership continues to increase steadily and more Whites are beginning to show interest; better contact with members has been established with the opening of the office. A housemeeting has been arranged for this week. Pretoria has a Housing Committee which is to investigate the housing complaints of all sections of the population. It has started with Coloured and Indian Housing and held two public meetings which drew packed halls; at the second of these ERNIE WENTZEL, JILL WHITE & LAZERUS MATHE attended. A Memorandum was drawn up and submitted to the Mayor and a questionnaire is being circulated amongst Indians and Coloureds to furnish data for a further approach. Next project is to look into Lady Selborne, where confusion reigns over the proclamation of the township as a White area. At a lively BAZAAR held in the Cape Reserve on March 31 nearly R90 was collected. A political Education evening at which DAVID CRAIGHEAD expounded on Trades Unions was voted the best class so far.
- o A SUMMER SCHOOL is planned to take place in May. RUTH HAYMAN has put forward a novel idea for this project. It is planned to hold 3 one-day schools of about 20 pupils each; the subject will be the Party policies and different pupils will attend each school; it will end with a 2 day Parliament on the 4th week-end, where pupils from the three schools will debate, in Bill form, the policies of the Party.
- o A BRANCH FOLDER is being sent to Branch Chairmen each month to guide them at their meetings. A series of articles on the History of Liberatory Movements down the centuries is planned. This should encourage members - it is good to know that others have also fought for freedom in the past and are doing so with us to-day !

- o NEW BRANCHES have been formed in the South Western Areas - some as result of division of growing branches and some entirely new ones; this is an encouraging sign that not only is our membership rapidly increasing, but that we are also gaining active members.
- o RENTALS CAMPAIGN - although nothing concrete has developed lately, hard work continues in this field and results are expected soon.
- o MRS JEANNETTE COHEN'S home was the venue for a very successful housemeeting organised by the Pilot Committee - JACK UNTERHALTER, DAVID CRAIGHEAD, ROSEMARY WENTZEL & CO - and attended by many members who have not been to meetings for some time. It was good to get together again and further meetings like this will be very valuable. Congratulations to the organisers on a good turnout.
- o THE YOUTH DIVISION has organised a fundraising party to take place soon - good luck to them, we hope they make a packet and have fun.
- o THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS will be held on 28th and 29th April at the Priory, Daisy Street, Rosettenville, Johannesburg. Members are encouraged to attend as observers and each Branch is allowed a certain number of delegates, calculated on their membership; but observers should try to provide their own transport. A PUBLIC MEETING to open the Congress will be held on Friday, 27th April - venue to be announced later.

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F U N D R A I S I N GAlthough the Fundraising Committee, under Mrs RAY SPILKIN, has worked wonders we are still short of funds. There is plenty to be done and everything we do costs a bit of money. Here is something EACH member can do - raise funds for the Party and hand it in at the office or to your Branch Chairman.

J U M B L E , B O O K S , P I C T U R E S , C A K E S - in fact anything you don't want or anything you can make we can sell.... contact the office, 45, Harvard Buildings Joubert Street or telephone 22-8637 for information about your nearest depot.

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C O N T A C T

C O N T A C T

C O N T A C T

CONTACT - is South Africa's non-racial fortnightly news magazine
 CONTACT - is edited by Liberals
 CONTACT - is a powerful weapon for freedom
 5 cents per copy or R1.40 for 12 mths. R0.70 for 6 months
AGENTS ARE NEEDED TO SELL CONTACT - good commission. Contact Mr John Harris, 45 Harvard Buildings, (22-8637) for information

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"Liberal News" is compiled and edited by the Pretoria Branch for the Transvaal Division, the Liberal Party of South Africa.

22 JUL 1962

LIBERAL NEWS



MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE TRANSVAAL DIVISION
OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

VOL. 4 No. 4

LIVING WITH THE SABOTAGE ACT

MAY /
JUNE
1962

S A B O T A G E
A C T
I S S U E

" Mr Vorster
can control our
bodies but he
cannot control
our minds "

- ALAN PATON

In spite of nation-wide protests the General Law Amendment Bill has become the law of the land in substantially the form in which Mr Vorster first introduced it. The aim of the Bill has been clear from the outset - to silence all real opposition to the Nationalists - and none of the small amendments which he has accepted has altered this.

All who seriously oppose Apartheid fall within the scope of the "Sabotage Act", and Vorster's oft-repeated assurance that it is only to be used against genuine saboteurs can safely be discounted. His first target will undoubtedly be the Congress Alliance, with the Liberal Party next on the list and, ultimately, the Progressives. Even the United Party, which provides the Nationalists with an invaluable facade of opposition while supporting them on discriminatory legislation, can only breathe easily under this law just so long as it continues to co-operate with the Government.

The Law is much more far-reaching and drastic than had been expected and there are now very few activities which the Minister cannot outlaw. On the face of it it would appear therefore as though this Act sounds the death-knell to effective opposition in South Africa.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. We should never forget that our struggle is not for men's bodies but for their minds, and that, while Vorster's Law may put us on the defensive activity-wise, in the realm of ideas we can and must remain on the attack. We should never forget also that

our liberal beliefs are a culmination of the knowledge, hope and faith of enlightened mankind down the ages; that they are the foundation upon which the free societies of the future are even now being built. In contrast, the Nationalist philosophy is of mediaevalism and the dead past, and is supported today only by the throwbacks - the Moseleys and Salazars. In the realm of ideology and ideas we are therefore immeasurably superior to the Nationalists and the "Sabotage Act" is an indication that Vorster is well aware of this fact; the Act is not a show of strength but rather an admission of weakness. And if we continue to hold our beliefs and to communicate them vigorously to others the "Sabotage Act" will have failed, regardless of the number of meetings banned or house arrests ordered.

As the country enters the valley of the shadow of the "Sabotage Act" we should take heart from this evidence of the Nationalists' weakness; we should take comfort also from history's evidence that victory will ultimately be ours, and from the fact that the World is not merely watching disinterestedly from the side-lines but is actively committed to the struggle on our side.

The struggle will be whatever we choose to make it. If we remember the axiom "the best defence is attack" and act accordingly we can have a profound effect upon the outcome, in spite of the "Sabotage Act". Liberals, with their strong emphasis on democracy and non-violence, must participate actively if the inevitable change is to be a peaceful one, if a catastrophe is to be avoided and a non-racial democratic society is to be achieved in South Africa.

.....

AS OTHERS SEE IT....

The South Africa "Sabotage Bill" reduces the liberty of the citizen to a degree not surpassed by the most extreme dictatorship of the Left or the Right....there is no doubt that if the Bill becomes law South Africa will have taken a major, if not final step towards the elimination of all rights of the individual and the rule of law.... This measure is the culmination of a determined and ruthless attempt to enforce the doctrine of Apartheid and is not worthy of a civilised jurisprudence.

"Its sinister provisions bring to mind similar provisions introduced under the regime of Nazi Germany.

"World legal opinion will at the same time support those forces in South Africa which are making a valiant effort to preserve their cherished rights and freedom under the rule of law."

- from a 2,000 word statement on the "Sabotage Bill" by the International Commission of Jurists (an independent organisation supported by 40,000 lawyers and judges in more than 60 countries, whose main object is to defend the rule of law.)

T H E C O M M U N I S T M E N A C E ?

Early this month Terence Beard, Chairman of the Grahamstown Branch of the Party and senior lecturer in Politics and Philosophy at Rhodes University, gave a speech in which he compared the Sabotage Bill with a Soviet Russia decree "On increased struggle against particularly dangerous crimes". The similarity between the two laws (the Russian was introduced in May 1961) is startling.

- : Both make sabotage a crime punishable by death;
- : Both hold anybody over the age of 14 to be a responsible person and liable to the death penalty;
- : Both require the accused to prove his innocence;
- : Both prohibit a banned organisation from appealing to the courts;
- : Both enable the authorities to banish people without trial;
- : Both enable the authorities to ban any publication or newspaper without recourse to the courts;
- : The Soviet decree includes acts which are intended to "undermine Soviet rule"; Mr Vorster's includes acts which are intended to "embarrass the administration of the affairs of State ";
- : Mr Vorster's Bill enables him to declare an organisation unlawful if it professes Communism or if in his opinion it carries on directly or indirectly the activities of an unlawful organisation; in Russia the State may dissolve any organisation at any time if its activities "cannot be reconciled with State interests".

There are other points of similarity, and all in all, Vorster gives the impression of having framed the Sabotage Bill with a copy of the Soviet decree in front of him.

Terence Beard's talk which was printed in the Port Elizabeth Evening Post of June 9th, started a chain reaction - Senator Sutter used part of it as ammunition against Vorster in the Senate on June 14th and since then many newspapers have published articles based on it.

The lesson is plain for all to see - totalitarianism speaks the same language whatever it calls itself. Like the colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady, Communism, Nazism, Fascism and Afrikaner Nationalism are sisters under the skin.

.....
 "They that give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety". - BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

T H E S A B O T A G E A C T

With the passing of the General Law Amendment Bill, known as the "Sabotage Bill", the last shreds of the rule of law in South Africa were destroyed. It is important that the citizens of a state know the laws which rule them; this summary therefore tells in plain language what the Sabotage Act means:

1. SABOTAGE

This Act creates a new offence in South African law, namely sabotage, which is defined in such wide terms as to include many actions not regarded as sabotage in democratic countries.

Any person who in any way interferes with the health or safety of the public; with the maintenance of law and order; with water, electrical, radio, postal, or telephone services; with the free movement of any traffic; with the distribution of food; with medical and sanitary services; or with any property, commits sabotage.

In addition, anyone who illegally possesses any explosives or weapon, or who is found illegally on any property, is guilty of sabotage.

If he is charged with any of the above offences, the accused person must prove to the court that he did not intend to cause disorder; to harm any industry or undertaking; to hamper the maintenance of law and order; to encourage forcible resistance to the Government; to endanger anyone's safety or cause anyone to lose money; to cause hostility between different sections of the population; to interrupt light, power, fuel or water services; to bring about any political aim (such as social or economic change); or to embarrass the administration of the state.

If the accused person cannot prove to the court that he did not intend any of these things, he can be sentenced to death. If the court does not sentence him to death, it is forced by the law to sentence him to at least five years imprisonment.

2. BANNING OF NEWSPAPERS

Under this law newspapers will have to deposit with the Government a sum of up to R20,000. If any newspaper is banned by the Minister of Justice, it will lose this deposit. This will make it virtually impossible for new anti-Apartheid newspapers to start up as they will certainly lose the money.

Under another law now being debated in Parliament, the Government will have the right to ban any newspaper, book or pamphlet.

3. BANNING OF ORGANISATIONS

The State President may ban any organisation which, in the opinion of the Minister, carries on with any of the activities of an unlawful organisation (like A.N.C. or F.A.C.).

4. BANNING OF PEOPLE

The Minister of Justice can ban anyone from attending any gathering (including parties, bioscopes, etc.). He can also order people not to leave their homes (except between certain hours); not to leave a certain area; not to communicate with anyone; and not to have any visitors. If any of these orders has been served upon anyone, the Minister can also ban that person from belonging to any organisation, including trade unions and political parties. He can also be ordered to report regularly to the police, and to notify the police of change of address or change of employment.

If the banned person breaks any of the above rules, he can be sentenced to a minimum of 3 years and a maximum of 10 years.

5. CURBING OF NEWSPAPERS

It will be an offence to record, print, publish, disseminate or reproduce by any means a speech or statement made anywhere or at any time by any person banned from attending any public meeting. The sentence is 3 years.

WHAT THE SABOTAGE ACT MEANS TO YOU

1. It means that if an African strikes for higher wages or for any other reason, he commits an act of sabotage and can be sentenced to death. Even if the court decides not to impose the death sentence, it must sentence him to at least 5 years imprisonment.
2. The Minister of Justice can, without trial, prohibit you from leaving your township, from leaving your home except during certain hours, from receiving visitors, from communicating with anyone, from attending any gathering, and from belonging to any organisation. If you do not obey any part of this order, you can be gaoled for 10 years.
3. It means that if a newspaper prints anything from Chief Luthuli's book, "Let my People Go", or from any of his writings or statements, the Editor, the bookshops and the streetsellers can be sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

TO SUM UP: ALL FORMS OF RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID WILL NOW BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, AND MANY FORMS OF RESISTANCE CAN BE PUNISHABLE BY DEATH.

P A R T Y N E W S

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS: The 1962 Congress which was held at the Priory, Rosettenville, in April was one of the most heartening and spirited in the history of the Transvaal Division. The gathering was sparked by the use of the simultaneous translation system for the first time in the Transvaal. Each delegate wore a pair of earphones through which he was able to hear a translation of the proceedings into his own language; all members were therefore able to participate fully in the discussions. The consequent interchange of ideas and opinions was most stimulating. ERNIE WENTZEL was returned unopposed Chairman.

SABOTAGE BILL PROTESTS: The Party played a leading rôle in the protests against the Bill. We assisted the Black Sash by taking responsibility for their vigil on the City Hall steps for two days; we were prominent in the lunch hour march of Johannesburg citizens to the Cenotaph; we laid wreaths "mourning the end of the rule of law" in Johannesburg and Pretoria as part of a nation-wide Liberal Party protest. Protest meetings were held in Cape Reserve and Lady Selborne, Pretoria. Pamphlets, both informative and protest were widely distributed. ALAN PATON'S statement on the Bill was prominently featured in the newspapers and appeared in the American magazine "Time". Our proposed broadly-based protest meeting on the City Hall steps was abandoned after both the Black Sash and Progressives had refused to share a platform with us, and after we were reliably informed that organised violence was intended.

A NATIONAL COMMITTEE meeting will be held in Pretoria in July. It is hoped that arrangements can be made for ALAN PATON to address a meeting in the City on July 6th. Members - keep this date free.

LEADERSHIP SCHOOLS: Two successful classes have been held on the lines mentioned in the last Liberal News. Congratulations RUTH HAYMAN.

RENTALS CAMPAIGN: The publicity which we obtained through our campaign has caused the City Council to discontinue the arrests of rent offenders. ERNIE WENTZEL, while welcoming this step, has said that it is high time the Council struck at the root of the matter by taking a lead in the substantial increase in African wages.

FUNDRAISING has become top priority. Our finances are in a parlous state. We have had to cut down the size of "Liberal News" and have had to restrict several vital activities. This is not good enough and members are expected to help put the matter right.

THE UNITED NATIONS Committee on South West Africa was handed a letter on their arrival offering the Party's assistance. This resulted in an invitation to ERNIE WENTZEL & AD HAIN to meet them.

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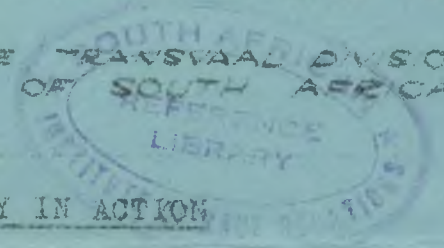
"Liberal News" is compiled and edited by the Pretoria Branch for the Transvaal Division, the Liberal Party of South Africa.

23 AUG 1962

LIBERAL NEWS



MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE TRANSVAAL DIVISION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA



VOL. 4 No. 5

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

JULY / AUG.
1962

One by one the lights of democracy are going out in South Africa. The Government is moving farther away from democracy almost by the day, while amongst opposition groups the reaction is to lose patience with democratic principles and to move towards the acceptance of totalitarianism and violent methods.

In these circumstances, the Liberal Party is more than ever emerging as the true guardian of democracy in South Africa. We alone have accepted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with all its implications - universal adult suffrage, and the complete destruction of the colour bar in all spheres. Our aim is a rigid constitution with a strongly entrenched Bill of Rights which will make discrimination virtually impossible, and we are inflexibly committed to non-violence to attain these goals.

NATIONAL
CONGRESS
ISSUE

At our annual National Congress next month we shall once again demonstrate that we not only preach these principles, we also practise them. As delegates of all races come together to decide on the future course of the Party, we shall again show that the Liberal Party is the only political organisation in South Africa in which those who believe in liberal values can work together, as equals, to bring freedom and equality to this country.

Democratic:
"Insisting on equal rights and privileges for all."

- CHAMBERS'S
DICTIONARY

In this crisis period we therefore urge members to make a greater effort than ever before to support Democracy in Action, by attending Congress and helping make it a success.

NATIONAL CONGRESS: THE PARLIAMENT OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

The Liberal Party is a "true democracy" in the sense that each member has an equal say (through his vote) both in determining the policies of his Party, and in deciding how these policies should be carried out. The occasion upon which members exercise their say is the Party's annual National Congress - the Parliament of the Party, and the manner in which they do so is through the representatives whom they elect to Congress - their "Members of Parliament".

The National Congress is therefore the counterpart, in the Liberal Party, of Parliament in a democratic country: it is a meeting place for delegates from every branch in each of the Provincial Divisions of the Party. Each delegate is elected at a meeting of his Branch immediately before Congress; he is expected to put his Branch's views to Congress and to bear them in mind when casting his vote.

The Liberal Party's policies are decided at Congress by the votes of the delegates and every member therefore has a direct say, through his delegates, in formulating the policies of the Party. His say in the actual carrying out of Congress decisions and in the day to day running of the Party is less direct, but he does choose both the person chiefly responsible for seeing that these decisions are implemented (the National Chairman, who is elected by Congress), and the body through which they are implemented (the National Committee, whose members are elected by the three Provincial Committees, which in turn are elected by the Provincial Congresses every year). The National Chairman and his Committee (the "Prime Minister" and his "Cabinet") have the power to decide on specific courses of action for the Party, but they can only do so within the framework of the decisions taken at Congress; they cannot go against Congress decisions nor can they change Party policy. Only the National Congress can do this.

As every Liberal has the opportunity to participate fully in the activities of his Party, the Liberal Party can justly be said to epitomise the democratic ideal. And the National Congress is the occasion when this ideal can be seen being translated into action.

This year's National Congress will be held in Johannesburg at the beginning of September. Observers - that is, Party members who may attend but not vote - are welcome, and we urge those of you who are not delegates but who nevertheless wish to see Democracy in Action, to attend in this capacity. Congress is an excellent opportunity to get the feel of your Party, to hear interesting and thought-provoking discussion, to meet with and gauge the calibre of your leadership, to renew old friendships and make new ones. Make the most of this opportunity, make this the biggest and best National Congress yet !

P A R T Y N E W S

- o NATIONAL CONGRESS: The 1962 National Congress will take place in Johannesburg - beginning on Saturday, 1st September. All branches have been allocated delegates on the basis of one delegate per twenty paid-up members as at the end of June. The Johannesburg office will greatly appreciate receiving names of delegates as early as possible; also the number of delegates who will require accommodation and transport. Observers will be able to attend the Congress (if they are paid-up members) but they will not be able to vote, use the earphones for the translation service or obtain accommodation through the office. This last is because the problem of providing accommodation for all the delegates grows with the party; it has now become a full time job dealing with delegates and observers must look after themselves. But please let the office know how many observers intend attending Congress so that the caterers may be notified. Congress will be run on the same system as the last Transvaal Provincial Congress in April. Reports on the various portfolios will be read, followed by discussion and resolutions. All resolutions must be handed in to the Chairman on the forms provided - neatly written out and signed by proposer and seconder. Please remember this as it helps ensure the smooth running of the Congress.
Discussion on the fighting of ADVISORY BOARD and TRANSKEI elections will take place during the Congress, and members are asked to think about this carefully beforehand and put forward their ideas to their delegates at their Members' Meeting.
The new Liberal Party handbook "Non-Racial Democracy" is now on sale at all Party offices. Members (especially delegates) are urged to buy copies and get "genned-up" on our policies so that discussion can be easily followed and not cluttered with too many unnecessary questions. This will save headaches all round!
- o FUNDRAISING PARTY/PLAY after Congress: It is hoped that a play will be staged after the Saturday sitting of Congress in order to raise funds - if this proves impossible a party will be held and all those attending will be expected to make a minimum donation to Party funds.
- o THE GENERAL PURPOSES COMMITTEE continues to draw record attendances. Regular reports are now given by office bearers from the S.W. complex and Alexandra township and branches are therefore kept up to date with all Party activities and makes for a stronger team spirit.
The next LEADERSHIP SCHOOL will take place soon according to RUTH HAYMAN, the Committee's Chairman, and will be followed by the MOCK-PARLIAMENT which we promised in the last issue.

- o RUSTENBURG Branch held a very big meeting recently in Phokeng. It is alleged that some of the members who attended this meeting were badly beaten up when they returned to their homes in Mabieskraal. The Executive is investigating this incident and it is hoped that it will be possible to take some action.
- o Last month the following office bearers were elected at the Transvaal Provincial Committee meeting to represent the Transvaal Division: RUTH HAYMAN & DRAKE KOKA, vice-Chairmen, THOMAS LETLALO, Honorary Secretary. Congratulations to all of them !
- o PRETORIA was the venue for the last meeting of the National Committee early in July. A grand spirit prevailed at the meeting - probably due to the record attendance (about 30 delegates) and the jolly party thrown by POEN & POPPIE AH DONG for the entertainment of delegates on the Saturday night. The meeting got off to a good start with a Public Meeting which was held in the Asiatic Bazaar and was addressed by PETER BROWN, ALAN PATON and BILL BENGHU.

A general discussion on the implications of the "Sabotage Act" took place at the Committee Meeting; the Party's lawyers were at the service of members to answer questions and explain legal points, and generally to clear up the cloud of confusion which surrounded many of the clauses. A clear picture emerged from this discussion of a Party determined to continue with its work as before, undeterred by Mr Vorster's attempt at intimidation.

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F U N D R A I S I N G

Month after month there is an appeal in Liberal News for members to make regular donations to the Party's funds, to buy stamps as a means of donating and to give Jumble, Books etc. which can be sold for funds. But the Party is still in a sticky financial state. It has been suggested that members have grown to feel that the active few can run the Party and that they need not bother. This is a wrong attitude. All members of the Party must realise that it is essential, if we ever want to achieve a non-racial, democratic society in our country, for the Liberal Party to continue to exist; if it has no money it cannot continue. The Liberal Party is not working for a few people's benefit, it is working for the benefit of all in this country, and all of you are expected to support it. You CAN support it by: PLACING A SUBSTANTIAL STOP-ORDER IN FAVOUR OF THE LIBERAL PARTY AGAINST YOUR ACCOUNT...BY MAKING A REGULAR CASH DONATION TO PARTY FUNDS...BUY BUYING STAMPS (10 cents each)...BY HELPING WITH THE ORGANISATION OF FUNDRAISING FUNCTIONS...BY ENROLLING NEW MEMBERS AND ENCOURAGING THEM, TOO, TO GIVE...BY PAYING YOUR 1962 S U B S !

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"Liberal News" is compiled and edited by the Pretoria Branch for the Transvaal Division, the Liberal Party of South Africa.

12 OCT 1962

LIBERAL NEWS



MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE TRANSVAAL DIVISION
OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

VOL. 4 No 6

SEPT. / OCT.
1962

C O N T E N T S

AFRICA SURVEY...

pages 2 & 3

KNOW YOUR LEADERS

page 4

PARTY NEWS.....

pages 5 & 6

MOCK PARLIAMENT: "THE ONE-PARTY STATE"

The Liberal Party has always recognised the necessity of providing political education for its membership and has consistently translated this recognition into action. On Saturday 20th it will do so once more when the Party's Mock Parliament meets to debate the One-Party State.

Some of the newly independent African States have tended to move towards the one-party system recently - a move which finds support among many Africans in this country - so that the matter has become of great importance. It is hardly necessary to state the Liberal Party's unequivocal opposition to such a system, but mere opposition is not enough: members must be acquainted with the reasons for our opposition and so be placed in a position to base their stands upon fact and reason.

This debate therefore deserves the maximum support and we urge all members to attend - it promises to be a highly instructive, valuable and entertaining afternoon.

Totalitarian:

"A form of government that includes control of everything under one authority and allows no opposition."

- CHAMBERS'S
DICTIONARY

The Liberal Party's Mock Parliament, full details of which appear on page 6, will be held at the Congregational Church Hall, 75 de Korte Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, on Saturday 20th October, 1962 at 2 p.m.

PUBLISHED BY THE DIVISIONAL OFFICE, BOX 5495, JOHANNESBURG.
NEWS & COMMENT TO THE EDITOR, P.O. BOX 2321, PRETORIA.

A F R I C A S U R V E Y

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: THE PARTNERSHIP-MASK SLIPS.

The story of the last five years in Southern Rhodesia is one of continuous White attempts to persuade Africans to accept something less than full participation in the life of the country in the face of African insistence upon economic and social equality through the medium of one man, one vote. White opinion is that since great advances have been made in Rhodesia during recent years Africans ought to be properly grateful to them and should therefore drop the demand for the full franchise.

But a brief examination of the status of the African in Southern Rhodesia today makes it painfully obvious that, despite the many real benefits which Sir Edgar Whitehead's U.F.P. Government has brought to the African under the qualified franchise, it has not brought enough. Racial discrimination still exists legally; African wages still average only R20 per month - Whites R176; R16 is spent per annum on the schooling of an African child as against R226 for a White child and in addition African parents pay school fees; there is a chronic shortage of schools for Africans while every White is assured of a place. It has long been obvious that Africans cannot hope for complete participation in the life of the country until the majority of M.P.s are elected by African voters. Hence the demand for one man, one vote.

This demand has proved a great embarrassment to Sir Edgar. For he has shown that he is only eager to improve the lot of the African within the framework of the traditional White -controlled political system, and the full franchise would certainly mark the beginning of the end of this system. In addition, one result of the new Constitution would be the removal of the safeguard which the British Government's veto on legislation affecting Africans has always provided; if Africans show themselves not prepared to accept the qualified franchise then Whitehall may be forced to reconsider the Constitution once more.

The reason for Sir Edgar's long vendetta against Nkomo's party is therefore plain. As the spearhead of African opposition to the qualified franchise it has always been a thorn in his flesh and its success in persuading Africans to boycott the new franchise can make the new Constitution unworkable. His banning of Z.A.P.U. is almost certainly a desperate attempt to kill African opposition to the Constitution by suppressing the principal champion of Universal Franchise.

But the indications are that Sir Edgar's hasty action may take him out of the frying pan into the fire. His past bannings have always resulted in the formation of new organisations more militant than those banned, and there is no reason to suppose that the pattern has changed for the formation of a new party is already reported. It is plain that there cannot be peace and prosperity in Southern Rhodesia until Sir Edgar realises that he must come to terms with the democratic aspirations of the African, and that the only way for him to do so is to extend the franchise to all adult citizens - to practise real partnership in fact.

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GHANA: DESCENT INTO FEAR.

There can be no better illustration of the sad pass to which Ghana has come than the fact that Dr Nkrumah, fearful of another attempt on his life, had one of his officials read his annual "state of the union" message to the National Congress last month instead of appearing himself. Five years ago Ghana held promise of developing into the first modern democratic republic in Africa: a beacon to guide and inspire the colonies which had yet to achieve independence and the possible nucleus of a future United States of Africa. Of these bright hopes little remains today. Ghana has turned out to be a totalitarian state with hardly a shred surviving of the liberties which were so proudly proclaimed five years ago - a country of imprisoned politicians, censored news reports, and a President who fears for his life. It is disliked by the West, distrusted by its neighbours, and is regarded as a bad security risk even by the Russians.

This downhill slide of a once promising state is a deep disappointment to Liberals; at the same time it should have a sobering effect on the growing number of South Africans who are succumbing to the attractions of authoritarianism.

A Ghanaian recently commented: "Maybe the President realises the danger of being elected for life. Only death can get rid of a man in that position." This is the classic predicament of leaders who have entrenched themselves for life, and it applies equally well to regimes which have placed themselves beyond the reach of democratic means of removal. If they cannot be replaced democratically the probable alternative is that they will be removed by violence.

This is a point to be pondered, not only by Nationalists but also by certain opponents of Apartheid. It is true that the difficulties in store for the future non-racial government in South Africa will place a great strain on democratic institutions and procedures. But events in Ghana demonstrate once more that the seemingly easy solution of authoritarian rule is a road leading, ultimately, to disaster.

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

K N O W Y O U R L E A D E R S

ELLIOT MNGADI - National Treasurer of the Liberal Party.

Born 1918 near Ladysmith, Natal, attended local Anglican school, after passing Std.VI went to work in Benoni for a year to earn money to continue studies, returned to school and passed J.C. then moved to Johannesburg where he took his Senior Certificate by correspondence course while working. Is now studying for a degree by correspondence. In 1947 appointed Ladysmith manager of Natal Bantu Provincial Co-operative Trading Society, in 1949 joined Native Affairs Department in Ladysmith. Joined the Liberal Party in March 1954 after attending a meeting at the Hain's house in Ladysmith - the first Liberal Party housemeeting to be held in Northern Natal. Those present were moved to hear Elliot say, when thanking speakers Alan Paton and Peter Brown, that it was a revelation for him to be treated not as a potential criminal but as a fellow human being, and that this was the first White house he had ever entered through the front door ! At the end of 1956 he left the Native Affairs Department and started to organise African landowners in Northern Natal to oppose removals under the Government's Black Spots removal scheme. In 1958 he became Provincial Organiser for the Party in Natal. Now organises mainly in Northern Natal, is a member of the Provincial and National Committees and has been National Treasurer for over a year. Has been Treasurer of the South African Football Association for 6 years, and is a trustee of the Black Spot in which he lives. Was detained for 3 months during the 1960 Emergency. Is married with 3 children.

Elliot has built up a massive following for the Party in Northern Natal and has won the loyalty and friendship of Party members throughout the country. Peter Brown, who has worked with him closely, says of him: "The things Elliot Mngadi believes in are the things the Liberal Party believes in, above all non-racialism. He is an incorrigible optimist, never depressed, always determined. The thought of more goal appears not to worry him at all !"

A small, dapper, friendly man, Elliot sports a flashing smile, a luxuriant moustache and twinkling eyes. It is impossible to remain gloomy when in Elliot's company - long may he rule over our rickety finances.

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"As long as human dignity is infringed anywhere in the world, peace - real peace - will be only an illusion." CHARLES MALIK

"THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE SHALL BE THE BASIS OF THE AUTHORITY OF GOVERNMENT " - from the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

P	A	R	T	Y	N	E	W	S
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- o NATIONAL CONGRESS 1962 went off very well with a good turnout of delegates from all Divisions. Congress was opened by ALAN PATON, ably assisted by SELBY MSIMANG and JEAN VAN RIET, at a packed meeting in the Vrede Hall on August 31st. Congress was run on the "Portfolio Report System" which, together with the simultaneous translation system ensured brisk and smooth proceedings with ample time for wide discussion amongst delegates. ERNIE WENTZEL (Transvaal Chairman) would like to thank all those people who worked so hard to help make the Congress a success; special thanks are due to AUDREY COBDEN (accommodation), JOHN & ANN HARRIS (transport), MIKE MACUBELA, LIZ & HUGH LEWIN (who worked round the clock on everything), the CATERING COMMITTEE and the OFFICE STAFF.
- o BINGO AT PRETORIA BRANCH: A series of fundraising Bingo parties have been held during the past few months and Pretoria has managed to pay its bills on the proceeds. This is a pleasant way of raising funds. Throw a party, enjoy yourselves and at the same time make lots of money for the Party! If you are in doubt about how to make a go of it get yourself an invitation to the next party in Pretoria by phoning 74-3704.
- o SUBS...it is almost 1963..if you have not yet paid your S U B S for 1962 you had better make it snappy, you haven't much time left.. 25 cents isn't a lot to ask a member, but it means a lot to the Party.
- o PLEDGES: Have YOU made a pledge ? (Thanks, but have you PAID it ?)
- o NEWS FORUM: From Friday next (12th October) a NEWS FORUM will be held every Friday at 1 p.m. in the Liberal Party office, 45, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg. A talk on the week's news will be given, followed by questions and discussion. It is extremely important for members who want to take active part in politics to be up to date with events and this lunch hour NEWS FORUM will be invaluable. Over the years members have complained that they need political education and the Party has recently done a great deal in this line. Cape Town and Pretoria hold regular forums, and lectures are given and schools run in other centres frequently. DONOVEN LOWRY has taken responsibility for organising this regular forum for Johannesburg members and you are urged to give him your support. It will also be a wonderful opportunity for inexperienced members to learn to speak in public by participating in the discussion.
- o JUMBLE SALES are always popular functions and it means cash for the Party; so if you have any spare JUMBLE, BOOKS, ORNAMENTS, PICTURES please telephone the office (22-8637 Johannesburg, 2-2854 Pretoria) and arrange to drop it off or have it collected. TOYS also sell very well, so please don't throw out anything before consulting us!

FUNDRAISING: If members ever feel a trifle peeved at the eternal demands for funds, they should stop to consider that campaigning for the creation of a non-racial, liberal society in this country means endless work and endless expenditure. It is not right that the burden of expenses should be met by just a handful of the active members; the Party needs YOUR support as well. If you give a stop-order be assured that it is greatly appreciated, but please consider carefully whether you are able to increase it by a rand or two...it probably will not mean much to you, but it will mean a great deal to the Party; if you have made a pledge, please see that you pay it regularly - a pledge on paper but not in reality does not help the Treasurer - in fact it upsets his budget.

The two recent fundraising drives were most successful. Those members approached paid up, but our income is still inadequate. The drives aimed at increasing stop-orders by R60 per month and has already been promised R30. This is encouraging until you see the figures which DAVID CRAIGHEAD (Treasurer) must face each month. Transvaal Division rents and salaries alone come to R330 per month; stop-orders and pledges amount to only R300 AND VERY OFTEN PLEDGES WORTH R15 to R20 ARE NOT PAID. On top of this there is the essential expenditure of postage, telephone, notices, Liberal News etc., not to mention Petty Cash! What are YOU going to do about it? It may interest some reluctant members to know of these cases: a teacher in Johannesburg gives R10 permonth; a student and his wife, who is the breadwinner while he studies, give R6 permonth; a Pretoria member who earns about R100 per month gives never less than R10 and often up to R20 to the Party. These people really make sacrifices for their convictions - and without them the Party could not run.

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MOCK PARLIAMENT

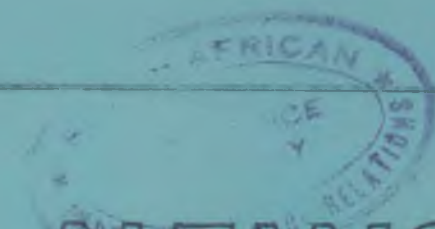
A session of Mock Parliament will be held at the Congregational Church Hall, 75 de Korte Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, on Saturday 20th October. It will be assumed that the People's Party is in power, and the Liberal Party in opposition. The Prime Minister, (we hope) Prof Le May, (leader of the People's Party) will introduce on behalf of the "Government" a Bill entitled "THE FURTHERANCE OF EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT (ENTRENCHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS) BILL, 1962", the effect of which will be to abolish the Opposition and establish a one-party state; the Liberal Party (leader Sydney Kentridge) will oppose the Bill.

Members of the Liberal Party will be able to attend as mock M.P.s (limit 75) or as observers. Please telephone 22-8637 if you wish to be an M.P. Lunch (25 cents) will be available for 100 people. Those who pay first will get tickets. (No lunch ticket, no lunch!) Please do not delay. Make arrangements early and avoid disappointment.

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"Liberal News" is compiled and edited by the Pretoria Branch on behalf of the Transvaal Division, Liberal Party of South Africa.

+ At the time of going to print we have not yet been able to contact him.



LIBERAL NEWS



MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE TRANSVAAL DIVISION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

VOL. 4 NO. 7

THE GAUNTLET IS DOWN

NOV./DEC.
1962

On December 8th the Minister of Justice made the following public statement with regard to the recent acts of sabotage: "The amount of planning involved, the initiative shown and the methods used, make it quite clear that White brains have guided the sabotage attempts.....it is no mystery who these Whites are: they are Communists and Liberals."

C O N T E N T S

THE LIBERAL ANSWER.....
pages 2 & 3

SANCTIONS AT U.N. & HUMAN RIGHTS DAY.....
page 4

PARTY NEWS....
pages 5 & 6

...and on earth peace, good will toward men.
LUKE 2:14

An incidental point of interest is Mr Vorster's curious belief that only Whites are capable of initiative and thorough planning ! But more serious is the unprecedented charge against a Party which has consistently opposed violence (whether coming from the governing group or from the oppressed) and which has striven hard to make non-violence both meaningful and effective.

The following statement was made by our National President, Alan Paton, in reply to this charge:

"I challenge Mr Vorster to give the names of the Liberals responsible. I challenge him to charge them and to bring them before the court. If he cannot do this then it is time for him to stop making these baseless accusations. If he cannot stop making baseless accusations then it is time for him to resign. On behalf of the Liberal Party of South Africa I ask him to be a man and to give the names of these Liberals. If he gives the name of a member of the Liberal Party we will sue the Minister immediately."

ADOLF HITLER : "The great masses of the people will more easily fall victims to a great lie than to a small one."

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In view of the vitriolic attacks which have been made upon Liberalism by the Government in the past few months, we publish the following typical Nationalist charges against us, together with the Liberal reply in each case. Much of this material is a condensed version of an article by our Pretoria Chairman, Walter Hain, which recently appeared in the Rand Daily Mail.

LIBERALISM IS AKIN TO COMMUNISM: The aspect of a party which indicates its true character is its attitude towards the individual vis-a-vis the state, for it is essentially this attitude which determines whether the party is democratic or totalitarian in character. And it is in this respect that the Liberal Party shows such a strong divergence from, and the National party such a strong affinity with, Communism. For both Nationalists and Communists share a tendency to exalt the state at the expense of the individual, to restrict individual freedom in the interests of easy administration, to circumvent the courts in order to hamstring difficult opponents, to silence unanswerable criticism with drastic and far-reaching legislation (Russia and South Africa share almost identical Sabotage Acts), to regard as treason almost any criticism of their policies, to disregard basic human rights; in short, to act in a totalitarian manner as opposed to a liberal (or democratic) manner.

EVEN THOUGH IT MAY NOT SHARE THE AIMS OF COMMUNISM, LIBERALISM, ALBEIT UNINTENTIONALLY, FURTHERS ITS INTERESTS: This accusation must be judged against the conditions which breed Communism. In essence Communism is an ideology of discontent; it has never flourished except in conditions of social, economic or political injustice. The question whether the aims of communism are promoted by Liberals, whose policies are designed to make social, political or economic injustice merely a bad memory in South Africa, or by the Nationalists whose Apartheid policies are an attempt to perpetuate the very White privilege and non-White underprivilege which result in ideal conditions for its promotion, is therefore easily answered. And the assertion that Liberals should not criticise the conditions which lead to Communism because such criticism occasions dissatisfaction amongst a satisfied and otherwise quiescent non-White community is laughable - those whom the shoe pinches are the last who need to be told that it is pinching.

LIBERALS ARE UNREALISTIC IN REFUSING TO ADMIT THAT THERE ARE INHERENT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RACES WHICH MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO LIVE AMICABLY TOGETHER: Most geneticists agree that the only characteristics which can with any certainty be said to be inherited are physical ones, and that social customs and attitudes can be directly attributed to environment factors. And since environment can be changed, it is possible to change people's attitudes. The U.S.A. is

a classic example of environment welding a diversity of peoples into one nation, and one need only look to countries such as Brazil and Hawaii to see races regarded by the Nats. as irreconcilable living together in harmony.

LEGALISED SOCIAL INTEGRATION WILL BE RACIAL SUICIDE FOR THE WHITES:
If a racial group wishes to maintain its identity it will do so regardless of the political situation; the Jewish people offer outstanding proof of this.

WHAT ABOUT THE FATE OF THE WHITES IN KENYA, TANGANYIKA AND THE FEDERATION ? Well, what about it ? Have the Whites been exterminated ? Has there been enforced racial "mixing" ? Have Whites been subjected to Pass Laws, to Influx Control, to Job Reservation, Group Areas etc. ? Since the answer is in the negative in each case one wonders whether the Nationalist leaders who ask this question so regularly, have any knowledge of conditions in these countries. It is clear that the Afrikaner Nationalists are not content to merely maintain their identity, but that they interpret "racial survival" as a perpetuation of the privileged status of the White Man. Their true quarrel with emergent Africa is simply that the White Man has lost his privileged position in these states.

LIBERAL OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID IS MERE AGITATION; AFRICANS ARE ACCEPTING IT GLADLY: This is preposterous. It is quite clear that Africans have completely rejected the Progressive's franchise; the Nationalists, in fact, are attempting to make political capital out of this fact. If Africans will not accept the restrictions on the vote proposed by a party which is sympathetic with their aspirations, then what possible chance is there of their accepting a no-vote policy from a party which appears to want to keep them in permanent servitude ?

From the above questions and answers, it is clear that the policies of the National Party, as well as the general run of its propaganda, betray a constitutional inability to accept the facts of life. This attitude stems from that party's knowledge - albeit unexpressed - that its racial thinking is an anachronism today; that the circle of people who share its mediaeval views is steadily shrinking; that whatever victories it chieives in minor skirmishes, it cannot win the war.

The question then is not will Apartheid go, but rather how will it go, and when. The increasing hysteria of the National Party seems to indicate that it is aware of the position.

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"The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subdueing again; and a nation is not governed, which is perpetually to be conquered." EDMUND BURKE

THE SANCTIONS VOTE AT UNO

On November 8 the General Assembly of the United Nations passed, with a two thirds majority, a resolution unprecedented in the history of that organisation, recommending diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa, and requesting the Security Council to consider the expulsion of South Africa from the world body should the sanctions fail to persuade it to abandon apartheid.

While few nations are likely to carry out the provisions of the sanctions resolution, it nevertheless bodes ill for Dr Verwoerd.

Firstly, it was remarkable that delegate after delegate of those countries which voted against the resolution, rose to make it emphatically clear that his government viewed Apartheid with distaste and dislike. More than ever, therefore, is Mr Louw's delegation the black sheep of the world organisation, repudiated by those it regards as its friends as much as by its foes.

Secondly, even though the resolution will probably not have much immediate effect, it is an indication of an increasingly pitiless attitude on the part of the so-called "moderate" nations with regard to the Verwoerd regime - a trend which can only end in the eventual destruction of Apartheid.

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HUMAN RIGHTS DAY - 10th DECEMBER

December 10th, 1948 will be remembered with gratitude by all those who value justice, peace and freedom; for this was the day that the representatives of all mankind joined together in pledging themselves to the destruction of the conditions which have in the past so repeatedly lead to disaster: when the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed. This stirring and noble document which lays down the rights, freedoms and dignities to which every human being is heir, surely ranks as one of the greatest man has ever produced, and should serve as a guide to those peoples who are struggling for recognition and true freedom in their countries.

"What are Human Rights ?

They are yours, as they are everyone's. Not gifts or laws, they were simply part of your inheritance when you were born, and they belong to you now - whatever the colour of your skin, whatever your religious beliefs, whatever your political opinions."

- from a UNESCO pamphlet.

THE LIBERAL PARTY ACCEPTS THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS THE BASIS OF ITS POLICIES

PARTY NEWS

• MOCK PARLIAMENT, which was held in October turned out to be an outstanding success, with 114 people attending. The subject of debate was "The Furtherance of Efficient Government (Entrenchment of Democratic Rights) Bill. The Bill, the effect of which would have been to abolish the Opposition and to establish a one-party state, was introduced by the governing People's Party, and opposed by the Liberal Party.

In opposing the Bill, the Liberal Party attacked the notion that, while the democratic system might be suitable for Western Europe, India, America, etc., the one-party state was the only workable system in Africa. This, according to the Liberal Party, amounted to saying that Africans did not have the same political competence and sense of responsibility as did the inhabitants of other continents - a baseless and unjustified assumption. If the population of Western Europe, for example, could exercise their political rights responsibly and in full freedom, so could Africans.

Liberal Party speakers also pointed out that it would be a mistake on the part of the "Government" to assume that, because the Opposition had been abolished in Parliament, it had really been eliminated. There would still be millions of citizens opposed to the "Government". If they were deprived of the right to express their opposition in Parliament, they would be forced to go underground and resort to illegal methods. The "Government" would then have to create a powerful and constantly expanding secret police organisation to cope with the underground, and this could lead only to a police state and the miseries associated with it.

Everyone present agreed that the debate had been vigorous, amusing and instructive. It is hoped to hold another Mock Parliament in early 1963.

• TRANSVAAL OFFICE: While LAZ MATHE (assistant office secretary) was away on leave, JILL WHITE was injured in a motor car accident; she was concussed, bruised and broke her collar bone, and was of course unable to go to office. LIZ LEWIN kindly stepped in and took over Jill's work with the assistance of THOMAS LETLALO, the Transvaal Hon. Secretary. The Division's thanks go to Liz for her very efficient presence and to all who have helped her to keep things going. To Jill we send good wishes for a speedy recovery...we hope that she will be fit and well when she returns from holiday.

• DAVID CRAIGHEAD, JACK UNTERHALTER, DRAKE KOKA and MARITZ VAN DEN BERG addressed a meeting in St Luke's Hall last month, to protest against Radio South Africa's propaganda campaign, and to state the case for liberalism. Although all the speeches were excellent, the attendance was poor.

- ⊕ PRETORIA BRANCH has held two Public meetings recently, to protest against bannings, house arrests etc., and to comment upon the many recent attacks upon liberalism. Members of the Branch also held a placard demonstration outside the Supreme Court on Human Rights Day. Although very little publicity was obtained in the press the demonstration attracted a great deal of public attention.
- ⊕ BECHUANALAND WORK-CAMP: Members who are interested in an active outdoors vacation, which at the same time serves a useful purpose, can do no better than join PATRICK VAN RENSBURG'S workcamp in Bechuanaland. This erstwhile Liberal Party member intends to start a non-racial school at Serowe next year, and from now until January 15th he will need all the assistance he can get to prepare the site and start building the school. The best road to take is via Thabazimbi and Mahalapye: then along the Palapye road to Serowe. Take along a stretcher or sleeping bag, eating utensils, and a few shillings a day for food etc. You will be expected to work in the mornings, with afternoons free. Interested members should please phone the office for information.
- ⊕ FUNDRAISING: As usual we need more money. Finances have improved greatly just recently, but we are still struggling to make ends meet. The sad part of it all is that lately our activities have been greatly curtailed because of lack of funds; and one has the feeling that all the Party does is raise funds! This isn't really true. Our activities continue to be numerous, but we really do need a lot more money. What about a New Year Resolution from all our members: "I will help keep the Party in the black for 1963!"
- ⊕ RUTH HAYMAN deserves a big hand from us all for the very hard and successful work she did as Chairman of the General Purposes Committee. After a long spell Ruth has now handed over the Chairmanship to MIKE MACUBELA, although she will continue to attend meetings when she has the time. We wish Mike good luck and good work!

THE CHAIRMAN & EXECUTIVE OF THE TRANSVAAL DIVISION
WISH ALL MEMBERS THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE SEASON....
MAY 1963 BRING PEACE AND FREEDOM TO OUR COUNTRY.

Members please note that both Johannesburg and Pretoria offices will close on about December 21st until after New Year's Day.

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