

Fellow-Members of the Liberal Party, Ladies & Gentlemen-

I welcome you to the 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Congress of the Natal Division of the Liberal Party. Last year our delegates represented a 50% increase in the membership of the Party. This year they represent a 50% increase over last year. This membership

~~We are as you know a non-racial inter-racial party & a non-racial party. Being a South African party, we cannot that be convinced of our inter-racial character; therefore it is with some pride that we learn that~~

is approximately  $\frac{1}{3}$  African,  $\frac{1}{3}$  European, &  $\frac{1}{3}$  Indian, with a number of coloured South Africans. I suppose that in a purely non-racial party we should not ~~boast ourselves~~ <sup>boast</sup> about our origins, <sup>but that is just what we do for</sup> ~~that~~ we are also an ~~multi-racial~~ <sup>inter-racial</sup> party, & regard our inter-racial composition as a sign of health, and are indeed proud of it.

~~Today we welcome the delegates of branches to our Conference, namely,~~

~~Some of our delegates are honest working-men, others are just intellectuals. We~~

We are all united by one thing, & that  
is our total rejection of racial discrimination, whether  
it be called separate development, divine law, or the  
Tomlinson report. Under other circumstances we might  
be found in other camps; under those circumstances  
we are found here. It is Racial Discrimination,  
not Capitalism or Communism or <sup>Westernism</sup> or <sup>or</sup> Orientalism  
that is our enemy; ~~we are bound together~~  
and it is so pernicious, & so meritorious in its  
destruction of life, liberty, & happiness,  
that it binds us together. <sup>Some</sup> Many people ask  
why we could not have fought this enemy  
~~separately~~ ~~There is no~~ ~~hard~~ ~~answer~~ ~~to~~ ~~that~~  
~~is~~ by the cooperative efforts of our separate organizations.  
The answer is that if we do so, we are  
giving him the choice of weapons, methods, & ground.

We represent also a wide range of occupations, varying from the most intellectual to those which are only useful. We are called a party of intellectuals, but the records show that this is not true. We are better described as a very intelligent party.

Today we welcome for the first time delegates from new branches at Red Hill, Centrich, Klief, & Venulam. Last year we had the pleasure of welcoming Mr. Patrick Denean as a visiting member; this year we have the pleasure of welcoming him as our National Organizer.

During the year we suffered a sad loss through the death of Mr. Mahatma Gandhi. We are glad to know that "Indian Opinion" is to be carried on <sup>by the family & trustees with the assent of</sup> ~~under the editorship of~~ another of our members, Mr. Jordan Ngubane. I have no hesitation in describing this paper as one of the ~~standards~~ <sup>strongest upholders</sup> of the free press in South Africa, & while we send Mrs. Gandhi & her family our sympathy in their loss, we <sup>also</sup> congratulate them

on maintaining the high standards of the paper.  
~~I might mention here that~~

We meet at a time of exciting events behind the Iron Curtain. It is too early to interpret them fully, but ~~it is~~ <sup>it is</sup> ~~clear~~ all liberals look forward to the emancipation of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, & Rumania from the Russian yoke, & to the emancipation of the human spirit from the bondage of <sup>doctrinal</sup> conformity which is imposed that goes beyond all reason, just as we look forward to our own emancipation from the Nationalist yoke, & from the bondage of another doctrinal conformity that also goes beyond all reason also.

Meanwhile there have been important events here at home, & I wish to deal with one of them in particular, namely the publication of the Tomlinson Report. This event led to another just as important, namely the <sup>All-African Conference called by the</sup> Interdenominational African Ministers <sup>Federation</sup> Conference, which produced a document even more important than the Report. And what these events may lead to, remains

yet to be seen, but their consequences could be creative in the highest degree. (By creative, I mean they could lead to the end of the Nationalist regime; ~~that~~ that to my mind is the most creative <sup>that any intelligent South could possibly</sup> ~~went toward~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~move.~~ <sup>look for.</sup>

As you all know, the Tomlinson Commission was set up by the Govt to report on the Socio-economic Development of what are known as the South Areas. But in Chapter 25 of the report, the Commission dealt with the whole question of South Africa's future. It based its whole case <sup>for separation</sup> on the unwillingness of the Col. pop<sup>n</sup> of SA to give up the practice of racial discrimination. It did not quite use those words. It stated that the unwillingness of the Col. people to sacrifice their right of existence as a separate entity, must be accepted as the dominant fact in the SA<sup>n</sup> situation. ~~It propounded a plan for the~~ It argued that there was no hope of achieving a united society through evolutionary means. It found hope only in the development of separate communities. It saw as the

This seems to me to pose a challenge to the upholders of total separation. They have always argued that <sup>or horizontal</sup> partial separation was unjust. But it seems clear that the alternative of total separation will never be achieved. When will they recognize this? And when they do recognize it will they join us here in the liberal Party? It would be a great day for South Africa if they did.

only alternatives ultimate complete integration and ultimate complete separation. The IV regarded the incorporation of the ~~Proter~~ High Commission territories as essential to complete separation.

By now it is well known that the Commission did not succeed in achieving ultimate complete separation. By the year 2000 A.D., there will still be 6 million Africans in European Areas, condemned to live without rights. By now it is well known that the Government did not even accept this degree of separation, & that it voted a sum of money for the first year of development very much less than the amount suggested by the Commission. It appears that the ideal of ultimate complete separation is unrealistic. It appears that the ~~best~~ so-called Bantustans will be far less, compared with the rest of South Africa, poor & backward.

The Alcazar Conference, one of the most representative African gatherings ever held in this country, rejected totally the Report as a plan for Apartheid. It said, inter alia, that

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the plan denied to the African people

- (i) A share in the government of the country.
- (ii) Their right to inalienability of home & person
- (iii) Their right to collective bargaining & to sell labour on the best market
- (iv) The right to freedom of assembly, travel, movement, & association.

The Conference rejected the preposterous claim of the Commission that Africans enjoy substantially the same civil rights as the rest of the population. This claim I believe does more to invalidate the whole report than any other part of it. <sup>They also</sup> rejected totally the idea of ethnic education. It asserted the right of the African people to regard the whole of SA as their home. And it drew attention to the contribution that Africans had made to the prosperity of the country.

Finally it called on all national organisations to mobilise all people, irrespective of race, colour, & creed, to form a united front against Apartheid, which it regarded as a denial of all Christian & human values.



What is the attitude of our Party to this call? We find ourselves responding to it without reservation. We are ourselves a responsible organisation, & we recognise the voice of responsibility when we hear it. ~~What is more~~ I should like to remind you that many ~~liberal minded~~ <sup>unattached liberals</sup> people have given up hope, & have regarded the gap between white & non-white people as unbridgeable. They say the liberal Party came too late. <sup>Let them</sup> listen to these words:-

"The Conference maintains that a proper reading of the SA situation calls for coop<sup>n</sup> & interdependence between the various races comprising the SA<sup>n</sup> nation, & denies that this arrangement would constitute a threat to the survival of the White man in South Africa."

What statesmanlike words these are! Dr. Arthur Blenall calls this a "noble document" & that is what it is. It offers new hope to an anxious country, & it is our honourable duty to respond.

I should like to express my own personal views on this call. I speak without a mandate and therefore, like a good party member, subject to correction.

~~It seems to me~~ The call of the Conference to the religious conscience of South Africa is so clear & so sound, that it seems to me that the Interdenominational African Ministers Federation, having performed this lone duty so well, should perform yet a greater, & ~~call into~~ invite to confer with it, under its own aegis, or under the aegis of itself & other religious organisations, people representative of all South Africa, with the object of establishing a united front against Apartheid. I do not think that it would be proper or even wise for a Party political Party or a semi-political Congress to attempt this duty. We are not ripe for that as yet. It would ~~be~~ seem to be a good thing for politically-minded people to work ~~for~~ with others for this purpose, for politically-minded people ~~are~~

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inclined to distrust <sup>public-spirited</sup> other leaders because they will not enter politics, & other leaders are inclined to distrust the politically-minded because they appear <sup>to be</sup> extreme. ~~Whether a common political front is a possibility is to my mind a second question, also of great importance; but it is hardly one to be dealt with by political bodies. Meanwhile~~ <sup>therefore</sup> let me appeal to the Interdenominational African Ministers to join with other religious bodies, & give the whole country a ~~spiritual~~ <sup>spiritual</sup> lead. That is what we need. Meanwhile I assure them that this Party is taking every step it can to break down the colour bar in group relations."

SPACE

I am sure that the opponents of Nationalism are slowly learning a hard lesson. I suppose that the strongest opposition this Government has yet provoked was the Torch Commando. Its birth electrified the nation. But it foundered on the rocks of race & colour. It taught us a lesson that no all-white body can hope to oppose the present Government. ~~The United Party is a living proof of this, for it is~~

consistently tempted to use colour prejudice as a weapon against the Government! It is pitiful to see the novice thus putting himself against the master.

I <sup>know</sup> admit that it is hard for a white South African to imagine that he can make common cause with a non-white person. Yet many non-white persons cherish the same values as many white persons. It is these values that are in danger. If the political struggle in South Africa is allowed to become a colour struggle, then the first casualties will be the values that so many of us are at pains to uphold. That is a hard fact, & people ought to take off their blinkers & have a good look at it. Then they should come & join us.

It is time for me to ~~make~~ <sup>bring my</sup> remarks to an end, for ~~there~~ we have a long agenda paper & many resolutions. But I wish to take advantage of this public meeting to draw the attention of the public to the latest development

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