

truth—the inter-relation of order and justice. It is a truth that was recognised many hundreds of years ago by the Greek historian Thucydides. In the Peloponnesian War he makes Diodotus speak these words: "And we should recognise that the proper basis of our security is in good administration rather than in fear of legal penalties."

Order and justice are like two sides of a triangle connected by a third called law. Remove any side and the stability of the others is removed also. It is the lack of attention to justice in South Africa which has made it necessary to reduce drastically individual freedom.

What do we mean by justice? This is too big a subject to discuss here, but it may be said briefly that attention to justice would imply the elimination of the enormous inequality between different classes of people in the Republic. Gross and artificial political and economic inequality is not compatible with justice, and it is in this inequality that disorder has its roots.

So far as justice is concerned apartheid is a great Sahara. The "security" laws of this country have been enacted to save apartheid from inevitable failure. Apartheid is a hydra-headed monster and one of its faces represents oppressive laws. To get rid of these laws we must get rid of the whole growth.

HARD TIMES, GETTING HARDER — PARTY REPORT

In the three months since the last Liberal Opinion appeared Liberals and liberty have taken some hard knocks in South Africa. More threaten.

The campaign of intimidation and arbitrary action directed against Liberal Party members has gained great impetus since the beginning of July. On July 4th Republic-wide Security Police raids were directed at a great many South Africans, a great many of them Liberals. During July and early August between 20 and 30 Party members disappeared into the silent terrors which lie behind the 90-day detention clause. Some of them, after being held for weeks, have been released without there being any suggestion that they had ever committed any offence. Others now

face charges under the Sabotage Act. These matters are before the Courts, and this is not the time to comment on them. It is the time to comment on some other aspects of recent Government activity, especially, but not only, as they have affected and still threaten Liberals and the Liberal Party very closely.

SAME OLD GRIND . . .

Apart from members who have been detained, many have been interrogated by the police. Four leading Party members have been banned and confined, each of them for five years. They are Peter Brown, National Chairman; Walter Hain, Pretoria Chairman and National Committee member; Dempsey Noel, Pietermaritzburg member of the National Committee, and Ann Tobias, Cape Vice-Chairman, and latest in a long series of courageous CONTACT editors to be banned. The banning of Peter Brown was followed by a systematic police attempt to wreck the Party in Natal. One part-time Party worker was raided 12 times in a month, many members have been threatened with detention, banning or banishment. Every effort has been made to terrorise the families of active members. Police have visited ordinary members, one at a time, and told them that, now that Peter Brown has been banned, they needn't expect to hold any more meetings in their areas and, if they do hold them, they can expect trouble.

The response of Party members at all levels to these assaults has been quite magnificent. No doubt the Government hoped to deliver a knock-out blow. It used the prevailing white South African mood of July to ban Peter Brown, and it then set out to try to frighten the Party into inactivity and collapse. It could hardly have failed more dismally.

Protest meetings against the Brown ban in Pietermaritzburg and the Natal country areas have been very well supported and the National Conference of October 10/11 was attended by almost twice as many delegates and observers as the 1963 Conference. The public meeting which preceded the Conference was packed out.

. . . SAME OLD STORY

These direct Government attacks on the Party and its members are serious enough, but there are other things threatened, or already happening, which should be frighteningly familiar to anyone even remotely aware of the story of Hitler's Germany. During September a strange coincidence took place. Chief

NEXT YEAR'S LAWS

Kaizer Mantanzima complained about white interference in Transkei politics. What he meant was that his opponents should stop talking to people from outside the Transkei whose general aims they share. What he did not mean was that white officials of the Pretoria Government should stop putting pressure on Transkei chiefs to make sure that they went on supporting him, Mantanzima. In any event, Nationalist Cabinet Ministers immediately took up the refrain, complaining piously of the wrong which was done to Non-White people by White people who meddled in **their** politics, while they are not allowed to meddle in "white" politics. Alan Paton gave the answer to this spurious argument in his address at the National Conference. As he said then, the immediate pretext for these Nationalist threats and protests is the Progressive Party's participation in the Cape Provincial Council Coloured elections. **But that is only the immediate pretext.**

"NO FURTHER NEED"

No doubt the Nationalists will be glad to get the Progressives out of the way in these elections, but they are probably more concerned over the role Liberals of all races and members of the Congresses have played for many years in spreading non-racial ideas in their Bantustans, present and prospective. They are concerned over the build-up of non-racial opposition in what they would like to regard as Nationalist preserves, as well as in the Natal Blackspots and other sectors where Nationalist ideological measures have not had the smooth, easy and silent passage they would have liked them to have. The Nationalist assault on its opponents has moved from the Communist Party, through the Congress Movement, on to the P.A.C. and the Liberal Party until it has now reached the Progressives. Hitler followed the same course at a faster rate than Verwoerd, but that the goal is essentially the same was made clear by Verwoerd at Bloemfontein on September 16th, when he said he foresaw the time when the colour problem would disappear from South Africa's political life and went on, with a sinister casualness, to remark: **"When this goes there will be no further need for the opposition parties to remain in existence."**

The day after the Prime Minister dropped this hint, Mr. Vorster announced that next year laws would be passed to prevent Communists from practising as lawyers or from teaching at schools or universities. At a stroke of the pen the work and livelihood of some of South Africa's most illustrious legal and academic figures will be destroyed. The authoritarian's thirst for power is insatiable, and it is not confined to Mr. Vorster. Lesser lights like power too. But power corrupts, and this corruption seems to be seeping through the ranks of the Security Police, who are in the process of producing a Gestapo system in which they appear to be able to do pretty well anything they like and get away with it.

During September a young Indian detainee threw himself to his death from the "interrogation rooms" of the Security Police on the 7th floor of Johannesburg's police headquarters. Within the last three months allegations of treatment amounting to torture have been smuggled out of gaol by more than one detainee. Others who have emerged from detention to be charged have sworn affidavits alleging that they have made statements to the police after prolonged periods of ill-treatment. Faced with earlier allegations of police brutality, during the last Parliamentary session, Mr. Vorster refused demands for a judicial inquiry. His response to the allegations of the last weeks was that "it was interesting to notice that every person who was freed after a period of detention had told how decently they were treated, but that those who appeared in Court afterwards told how they were ill-treated." What could be more sinister or cynical?

WE'LL TAKE THE LOW ROAD

This is the kind of remark the French authorities used to make in Algeria. What happened in Algeria left a scar on the soul of the French people which has not healed yet. White South African indifference to what is happening in their country is leading them along the same road as that which, so recently, brought the French people face to face with total moral bankruptcy.