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**“Pray for us and speak for us”:
Liberals and African landowners in northern Natal: 1953-1965**

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Introduction

This paper traces the historical development of early opposition movements against the apartheid government’s policy of forced removal and resettlement in Natal province from 1953 to 1965. By doing so, the paper attempts to examine the origin and characters of organised social movements in land question in Natal.

In analysing opposition movements against forced removals, we need to distinguish three different levels at which opposition was organised. They are community level, provincial level, and national level. The first level refers to struggles by those who were directly affected their lives by forced removals. The second level refers to movements primarily deployed by outside supporting organisations which had direct contacts with communities affected by forced removals. In case of South African land-related movements, the territorial boundary of their activities roughly corresponds to that of the province. Therefore I refer the opposition movements at this level as provincial one. The third level is the movements organised nationwide. In this paper, the discussion focuses on opposition movements organised at provincial level, though the dynamics between affected communities and provincial supporting organisations will be discussed as well.

In Natal, movements against the government policy of forced removal and resettlement were undertaken by so-called “liberals”. In the 1950s, the chief organisation which embarked on addressing the issue was Natal branch of the Liberal Party, which was formed in 1953. The Party advocated non-racialism and had racially-mixed membership from its inception. Although offices of provincial leadership were largely occupied by white liberals, certain black members of the Party also played critical role in advancing the Party’s activities. As it would be shown below, it was the Party’s African leaders who played a large amount of role in alerting the Party to the issue of removals of blackspots. The Party’s efforts in organising African landowners in northern Natal resulted in the formation of new organisation called Northern Natal African Landowners Association (NNALA) in 1958.

The Party’s activities in organising campaign against the removals of blackspots increased African membership of the Liberal Party in Natal considerably, and a number of branches were established in blackspots areas. This created a new challenge to white liberals who dominated the provincial leadership of the Party. How the Party handled the challenge and what kind of change that process brought to the Party would also be discussed.

1, Liberal Party and land question in Natal: 1953-1956

The Liberal Party was formed in 1953 by mainly white liberals who were greatly disillusioned about the United Party’s incapability in being a meaningful opposition to the National Party that came into power in 1948. Although the formation of the Liberal Party was a direct and prompt response to the tremendous

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victory of the National Party in its first defending election in April same year, the gatherings of liberal-minded people had already taken place in different parts of the country in previous year. The leadership of three regional groups – Johannesburg, Natal, and Cape Town – which had been formed separately in respective province and decided to form the national body, had distinctive character from the beginning, and the difference largely remained until mid-1960s when the Party's activities were immensely curtailed due to the mounting pressure and banning orders to its most active members from the government.

In Natal, two liberal groups were formed in Pietermaritzburg and Durban respectively, which came together to form a region of the South African Liberal Association (SALA) in March 1953 that was to be a predecessor of the Liberal Party. The first meeting of “suspected liberals” in Pietermaritzburg was called by Peter and Phoebe Brown in June 1952, and Mr Brown was destined to perform the central role in the Liberal Party not only in Natal, but also at national level as a national secretary of the Party until his banning in 1964. Alan Paton, an internationally famous writer and another key person to play a role in the Liberal Party in Natal as well as nationwide, began to visit the meetings organised by Browns and thus came to bridge Pietermaritzburg group and Durban group.

In 1952 Peter Brown was in his late twenties and working at the YMCA in Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, organising sports events and so on. He stayed at YMCA job until 1953 when the Liberal Party was formed and he began to work full-time without pay as a secretary of Natal region of the Party. Brown's family owned a wholesaler importing business in Durban and several farms in Natal midlands. Although he himself did not work for the family business, he was in a position not need to worry about financial situation of his family even if he did not earn monthly salary. After serving the army during the Second World War, he went to University of Cape Town to study “Native Law and Administration” in order to work for welfare of non-white in South Africa. This decision was made on advice from Edgar Brookes, senator of Natal at that time. At the University he also studied Xhosa, which gave him sufficient knowledge to communicate in Zulu both in writing and speaking. His command in Zulu became one of the greatest merits of him in his Party activities at later stage².

Through working at the YMCA in Edendale, he was able to establish both African contacts and Indian contacts. One of the most important African contacts he established there was Selby Msimang, a founder member of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912, who remained close to the ANC, but did not like the Communist influence on its new leadership³. Msimang was elected as a vice-chairman of the Natal region of SALA at its inaugural meeting in March 1953 and became a member of the national committee of the Liberal Party in 1954. He was the person who brought the issue of the forced removals of Charlestown in northern Natal to the Natal branch of the Liberal Party. Charlestown was a blackspot where Africans bought land in freehold outside the reserves. Msimang's family was also one of those who bought land in freehold in the 19th century, and had a background of amaKholwa as members of Methodist Church. Selby Msimang himself was born in Edendale on freehold land, but his family also had land in Driefontein near Ladysmith and he inherited a piece of land there⁴. Through his connection with Driefontein, he was also able to provide the Party with various contacts with people there.

Msimang had already been involved in Charlestown as a member of the Natives Representative Council

² Alan Paton Centre: KZN Oral History Project, Transcript of interview with Peter Brown, conducted by Norman Bromberger, Tape 1: 14th and 21st August, 1995, Hilton, Pietermaritzburg

³ Randolph Vigne, *Liberals against Apartheid: A History of the Liberal Party of South Africa, 1953-68*, Palgrave: Basingstoke, 1997, p. 15

⁴ Killie Campbell Africana Library: Oral History Programme, Transcript of interview with Selby Msimang, conducted by D. Collins and A. Manson, 3rd May 1979, Edendale

that was to be abolished by the apartheid government in 1951, before the Liberal Party was formed. In 1948 he presented a petition to the Administrator of Natal, on behalf of “the African property owners and ratepayers of Charlestown”. The complaints of petitioners were related to hardships experienced by African residents of Charlestown and its adjoining areas known as Clavis and Clavis Extension. The residents of Charlestown consisted of both whites and blacks and in fact the latter constituted of the great majority of its population and therefore the bulk of rates were paid by them. In spite of this, Africans were receiving unfair treatments in terms of the provision of services by the Town Board compared with their white counterparts. As a result of the petition, the Administrator of Natal appointed the “Charlestown Enquiry Commission” in September 1948. Although the Commission did investigation and released several recommendations, not much was improved after that⁵.

Msimang’s connection with Charlestown was retained, and in early 1954 he learned that many Africans who had bought or rented land in Charlestown, Clavis and Clavis Extension were to be removed. Those who worked in the town were to be relocated to a “location” attached to the town. Others were to be resettled in a place called Buffalo Flats, more than 50 miles away from Charlestown by road⁶, which was to be renamed as “Osizweni” as one of KwaZulu townships at later stage. The issue of forced removals of Charlestown people was discussed at the provincial committee of the Party in August 1954, and the Party set on investigation into the threat to the freehold rights of Africans living in northern Natal by visiting a number of African freehold areas at the end of 1955⁷.

Following year, the Natal provincial committee established a sub-committee consisting of Peter Brown, Selby Msimang, and Jordan Ngubane, another prominent African member of the Liberal Party in Natal, to work out a campaign against the forced removals of blackspots. Brown visited Charlestown, Khumalosville and Newcastle, and Msimang Besterspruit, outside Vryheid, the people of all these places had been served notices to be removed⁸. Soon after this, Brown recollected that he “went to see Chief Lutuli [of the ANC] to discuss with him the possibility of the Liberal Party and the ANC cooperating in a joint campaign against the removals. The Chief gave his provisional consent and this was later put onto a formal basis.”⁹ Chief Lutuli, provincial president of the ANC, Natal, had shared concern over the dispossession of African owned land in northern Natal by this time, who asked in February 1956 the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) to undertake a study on socio-economic conditions of Africans living in freehold land in this area. The aim of this study was “to show the economic cost of such removal would entail to these Africans.”¹⁰

The relationship between the Liberal Party and the ANC in Natal was not bad, at least at leadership level. Although liberals, in particular African liberals such as Ngubane and Msimang who came to keep certain distance from the ANC, did not like at all the Communist influence on new leaders of the ANC, “there were formal discussions and informal social meetings with leaders of both groups” in Natal. In fact in early days, the ANC and the Indian Congress were hostile to the Liberal Party, which had not been expected at all by the latter. The two former organisations saw the Liberal Party as a rival organisation which sought to break

⁵ Alan Paton, *Charlestown Story*, Liberal Party of South Africa: Pietermaritzburg, 1956, p.7-9

⁶ Alan Paton, *Charlestown Story*, p.10

⁷ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, unpublished manuscript, held at Alan Paton Centre, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, p.70 (The manuscript was written by Peter Brown while he was serving his two consecutive banning orders from 1964 to 1974.)

⁸ Randolph Vigne, *Liberals against Apartheid*, p.91

⁹ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.80

¹⁰ Letter from A.J. Lutuli, provincial president, ANC, Natal, to the Director, South African Institute of Race Relations, 15th February 1956, PC 14/5/2/4 (John Aitchison Papers, Alan Paton Centre)

the unity of Congress movements. Because of this, “consistent efforts were made to improve relations between the Party and the ANC and the South African Indian Congress.” At one meeting which took place at Chief Lutuli’s house at Groutville in October 1953, where Chief Lutuli, Alan Paton, Peter Brown and Selby Msimang were present, Chief made it clear ANC’s position: “There would be no complete identification between the two organisations but there could be profitable cooperation on specific issues”, and “the ANC would not encourage its members to join the Liberal Party but it would not prevent them from doing so.” In rural blackspots, there were many members of the Party who also belonged to the ANC¹¹.

One of the problems in organising the Party’s campaign against the removals of blackspots in northern Natal was its distance from the provincial office in Pietermaritzburg. The provincial congress of the Liberal Party in October 1956 adopted a resolution to appoint someone to organise African landowners who were affected by the government policy of blackspots removals. Present at this provincial congress was Elliot Mngadi, who had joined the Party at a house-meeting in Ladysmith in March 1954. Brown, who was not only comrade who worked together in the Liberal Party, but also became life-long friend of Mngadi, described him as “a bright-eyed, bristle-moustached, immaculately-dressed (in jodhpurs and leggings) young man.” He asked many questions at the meeting, and at the end of the meeting, he joined the Party. Mngadi “confessed later that he had come to the meeting reluctantly and close to the point of being anti-white, and that the meeting persuaded him that non-racialism was the only course for the kind of country he wanted to live in.”¹²

After coming back from the provincial congress, Mngadi proposed himself to be an organiser for blackspots. He himself was a landowner of a blackspot called Roosboom near Ladysmith. He explained his reasoning of taking up this job as follows: “I am beginning to think that working in the Native Affairs Department [as a messenger of court] in making the machinery of oppressive laws towards non-white succeed. I would, therefore, be too please to resign in favour of becoming an organiser of African landowners. I feel there Africans desperately need an organiser, before they are removed to the reserves, where they will fall under the Bantu Authorities Act, and that will be the end of their freehold title deeds.”¹³ As a joint project between the Liberal Party and ANC in Natal, Mngadi was to be paid by the former, but to get whatever support they could give from ANC members in northern Natal. His job was to try to build up an organisation of landowners who would oppose the destruction of African freehold rights in the blackspots¹⁴.

2, Formation of Northern Natal African Landowners Association: 1957-1958

After resigning from the Native Affairs Department, Elliot Mngadi started his job as an organiser for blackspots in April 1957, beginning with Roosboom No.1 and No.2 where he lived. Within the first month, he got in touch with 10 farms, namely, Roosboom No.1 and 2, Goodhope, Welcome, Rietkuil, Khumalosville, Trekboer (Cremin), Ruigtefontein, Lusitania and Jonono’s Kop¹⁵. All of these farms were scattered in the Ladysmith district.

¹¹ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.43; Alan Paton Centre: KZN Oral History Project, Transcript of interview with Peter Brown, conducted by Norman Bromberger, Tape 2: 21st August, 1995, Hilton, Pietermaritzburg

¹² Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.38

¹³ Letter from Elliot Mngadi to Peter Brown, 5th November 1956, PC 2/9/14 (Liberal Party Collection, Alan Paton Centre)

¹⁴ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.80-81

¹⁵ Letter from Elliot Mngadi to Peter Brown, 1st April 1957, PC 2/9/14; Monthly Report by Elliot Mngadi, April 1957, PC 2/9/14/1

In organising African landowners in blackspots, he started by asking them to what extent they were determined to resist against the removals. Leaders of some farms, most notably Roosboom No.1 where he lived and where there was strong ANC presence, had already initiated in organising themselves against the removal. Several trustees of Roosboom No.1 were members of the ANC, and when he approached them he found that they were “busy preaching to the community not to move”, which was “in line with the ANC meeting which had been held at Newcastle”. Therefore in Roosboom No.1 what he had to do was to explain to them the purpose of his mission and ‘encouraged them to go ahead with what they were doing, namely, preaching the gospel of resisting to be removed from their properties”. The influence of the ANC was also strong in adjoining farm of Roosboom No.2, where one of the trustees was “the local chairman of the ANC and also a member of the Liberal Party.” Local leaders of Lusitania farm also sent two delegates to a meeting of the ANC held at Roosboom. As a resolution to resist against removals was passed at this meeting, people in these farms were already determined to uphold it. However, in other farms such as Jonono’s Kop, Mngadi found that people were not united and therefore he had to speak to different parties in the farm on his subsequent visits¹⁶.

In May 1957, his coverage was extended to Siwangu farm in Dannhauser district, where he was helped by Gabriel Nyembe who was a member of executive council of ANC and became Chief Lutuli’s deputy while the Chief was involved in the Treason Trial. As a leading figure of the ANC in northern Natal, Nyembe was not only able to introduce Mngadi to leaders of Fairleigh, Lennoxton, and Milton in Dannhauser-Newcastle area, but also he became Mngadi’s counterpart from ANC side in forming a central body of all the blackspots in their resistance to removals. Mngadi also paid visits to Charlestown, Clevis and Clevis Extension where the Liberal Party had already had African members, Steincoalspruit, Lyell, Meral, and Matiwane’s Kop¹⁷.

On 22nd July 1957, Mngadi went to Nyembe’s home with Leo Kuper and Selby Msimang of the Liberal Party in order to discuss the possibility of convening a meeting to establish the central body. They decided to call a meeting of all the trustees and leaders of these affected farms at first, which was planned to be held at Fairleigh near Newcastle in September. And then another meeting was to be called early next year in order to ratify the Constitution of the organisation. The secretary of the Rate Payers Association of the Fairleigh who was to help the arrangement of the meeting was also a member of the ANC¹⁸. Thus, thanks to the assistance which Mngadi was able to get from the local network of ANC leaders, his job to establish the organisation for African landowners seemed to proceed smoothly.

However, just before convening the meeting of landowners of blackspots, a friction emerged between Nyembe and Mngadi over whether the new organisation should have a Constitution or not. While the latter argued that it should have a Constitution, the former said that he had been instructed by the ANC that this new organisation of landowners should not have a Constitution. In the end, Mngadi succeeded in persuading him not to bring a political issue into this “non-political organisation”¹⁹. Nonetheless, the question of the character of a new organisation to be created to oppose the removals was brought to the Liberal Party later again from Chief Lutuli.

The meeting of landowners in northern Natal was held in October 1957 in Fairleigh, at which 26 delegates

¹⁶ Monthly Report by Elliot Mngadi, April 1957, PC 2/9/14/1

¹⁷ Monthly Report by Elliot Mngadi, May 1957, PC 2/9/14/1

¹⁸ Monthly Report by Elliot Mngadi, July 1957, PC 2/9/14/1

¹⁹ Monthly Report by Elliot Mngadi, October 1957, PC 2/9/14/1

from 12 places attended. At this meeting, a working committee consisted of seven members including Mngadi, Nyeme, Jordan Ngubane and Franklin Bhengu, another African member of the Liberal Party from Roosboom, were elected to establish the organisation for northern Natal landowners²⁰. The first meeting of the Working Committee was held in Fairleigh following month, where three office bearers – Chairman J. Sithole, Secretary Mngadi, Treasurer Nyembe – were elected. They discussed the five pounds once-off registration fee for farms and different annual subscription fees for landowners (one shilling) and tenants (six pence). Membership was divided into three forms – corporate bodies [like trust], individual landowners, and tenants – and it was considered that each farm would send five delegates – one representing corporate body, three representing landowners, and one representing tenants -- to the meetings. In contrast to the lengthy discussion over the membership fee and representation of each farm, they were able to identify only one program of action – that the secretary would “issue a circular letter to all African owned farms and to the press”²¹. By the time the Constitution was ratified at the general meeting of the Association on 21st June 1958, about 40 African owned farms in northern Natal agreed to come together to form the Northern Natal African Landowners Association (NNALA)²². The total number of blackspots who had shown their desire to join the NNALA reached 55, but of these only 13 paid their full contributions of 11 Rand by early 1960s.²³

From the Liberal Party’s side, the formation of NNALA in 1958 should bring to an end the main job for which Elliot Mngadi had been engaged. With the ratification of its Constitution, the organisation should become independent as its own, and should formulate its programme of action in opposing against the implementation of forced removals by the government. However, the Party was in a dilemma. Although the “Party was anxious to take Mngadi on as its provincial organiser, it was equally anxious not to upset the ANC by appearing to have used Mngadi to make contacts of value to the Party while ostensibly working with the ANC on the blackspots campaign.”²⁴

In addition, the ANC was not happy, if the NNALA became politically independent organisation. In his letter to Peter Brown dated on 22nd September 1958, Chief Lutuli wrote: “We learnt that [Mngadi’s] labours have resulted in the formation of a Land Owner’s Association whose object, broadly, is to seek means and ways of safeguarding their interests which are being assailed by the Removals. We have no objection to any African Community forming Socio-economic Associations. But politically we would like to see African Communities aligning themselves with National or major political body or bodies of their choice. We would not like them to form parochial and isolated political groups. This would weaken United African political progress. ... We feel that in the unsettled state of these Areas brought about by the threat of removals their major need is united action under the advice or direction of a faithful political body.”²⁵ In his reply, Brown had to reassure Chief Lutuli that there was no real danger in NNALA to become such a parochial political body, given the composition of the committee in which Mngadi of the Liberal Party was a secretary and Nyembe of the ANC was a treasurer²⁶. Thus, Mngadi was to stay as a secretary of NNALA and to supervise and direct its activities, while his major job became the Liberal Party’s provincial organiser.

²⁰ Monthly Report by Elliot Mngadi, October 1957, PC 2/9/14/1

²¹ Monthly Report by Elliot Mngadi, November 1957, PC 2/9/14/1. Later once-off 10 shilling affiliation fee payable by each farm was added. Monthly Report by Elliot Mngadi, June 1958, PC 2/9/14/1

²² Monthly Report by Elliot Mngadi, June 1958, PC 2/9/14/1 (In his letter to Peter Brown, he stated 25 delegates representing 12 farms attended the meeting. Letter from Elliot Mngadi to Peter Brown, 23rd June 1958, PC 2/9/14/1)

²³ Anon, “Blackspots report”, n.d. (1962 or 1963), PC 14/5/6/13

²⁴ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.121

²⁵ Letter from Albert Luthuli, Provincial President, ANC, Natal, to Peter Brown, 22nd September 1958, PC 2/9/14/1

²⁶ Letter from Peter Brown to the Provincial President, ANC, 26th September 1958, PC 2/9/14/1

Partly due to the change in emphasise in his job, the contents of his monthly report became much less informative after the ratification of the Constitution of the NNALA in June 1958. NNALA held several meetings in 1959, but he stopped reporting to the Liberal Party what was discussed at these meetings.

3, Growing number of Party membership in blackspots: 1958-1962

The Natal division of the Liberal Party, which had been the smallest when the Party was formed, had the largest membership by the end of 1956. Membership continued to increase in the following year, and the most of them came from Africans. In 1958, membership of the Natal division reached to 860 paid-up members, according to Peter Brown, which was a record. This was an increase by 15% from the previous year, and it was achieved by influx of new members, as over 300 paid-up members of the previous year did not renew their subscriptions. The non-renewal of annual subscription became a recurring problem for the Party in Natal, as even the two shilling and six pence annual subscription fee was sometimes too much for the poor Party members.²⁷ In spite of this, membership of the Natal division of the Party grew continuously until 1962 when it scored the highest of 1,500 and the number of branches reached to 40.²⁸

There is no doubt that the Party's campaign to organise opposition against removals of blackspots boosted the number of African membership of the Party. Besides Charlestown where the Party had already had active branch, by the end of the 1950s quite a few number of the Party branch were established in places such as Khumalosville, Ekuphumuleni (Roosboom), Rookdale, Acton Homes, Greenpoint, Hambrook, Bethany – all of these were blackspots in Ladysmith and Bergville districts.²⁹ In addition to northern Natal where the Party had paid concentrated efforts to organise African landowners in blackspots through the activities of Elliot Mngadi, the Party's activities in this field widened territorially when a new branch was formed at Polela near Bulwer in 1959. The chairman of Polela branch was Neil Alcock, a local farmer and former chairman of the United Party branch in the area. The Polela branch of the Party had a few white members, but most of membership came from African farm labourers and residents of blackspots in Himeville-Underberg area.³⁰ Born on a farm, Alcock was completely fluent in Zulu. Mngadi and Alcock began to work in collaboration in organising meetings in each of their areas.

Increasing number of African membership and establishment of branches where entire membership consisted of Africans created a new problem to the Party's provincial leadership. Peter Brown commented the problem of the political inactiveness of rank and file members of the Party in his letter to Roy Coventry, a white farmer and leading figure of the Party in Bergville district: "It seems to me that man of our branches only really come to life when they are visited by someone such as Elliot [Mngadi], [Roy Coventry] or myself. I am hoping that the Organisation School will do something to remedy this situation by confronting members squarely with their responsibilities, at the local level, as members of the Party. The branch should be something that lives all the time but it can only do so if the people of the spot keep it alive."³¹

As Brown mentioned in the above letter, one solution to this problem was to provide African members with political education and training through the Organisation School. The original idea came from both Neil

²⁷ Peter Brown, "A history of Liberal Party of SA", p.78, 94, 123

²⁸ Peter Brown, "A history of Liberal Party of SA", p.274

²⁹ The paid-up membership of each branch in 1962 was as follows: Charlestown (153), Rookdale (24), Greenpoint (17), Hambrook (68), Bethany (5), Khumalosville (51), Ekuphumuleni (10). Letter from Provincial office of Liberal Party to Elliot Mngadi, 23rd July 1962, PC 2/9/23/1

³⁰ National Chairman's report, "Report for the months of July and August, 1959", by Peter Brown, 20 September 1959, PC 2/2/7/3

³¹ Letter from Peter Brown to Roy Coventry, 30th September 1959, PC 2/9/15/2

Alcock and Hans Meidner, a founder member of the Liberal Party in Natal, who was an academic by profession. Leading members of local branches were asked to attend weekend training school and were given “the basic training which would enable them to organise the Party’s growing African membership.” In addition to political organisation stuff, Meidner included social stuff such as “how to share a meal, or how to behave at a meal if you were going to eat in a white house and so on.” The need for African members with organising skills became more pressing when the Party lost some white members to the Progressive Party which was formed in 1959 and some other white members decided to go overseas.³² However, the frustration of provincial leadership of the Party in Natal did not entirely disappear. Thus, in his memoir of the history of the Liberal Party, Peter Brown wrote that “in country areas, the liveliness of a branch often depends on the enthusiasm and drive of a single person. Take that person away and the branch goes into a decline.”³³

Although the 1960 State of Emergency, which followed the Sharpville massacre, brought the detention of several leading members of the Liberal Party in Natal, it did not bring serious blow to the Party at this stage. Besides Peter Brown (national chairman), Hans Meidner (Natal provincial chairman), and Derick Marsh (Pietermaritzburg branch chairman), a university lecturer, who were detained in Pietermaritzburg, “Elliot Mngadi, Franklin Bhengu, Zephaniah Zuma, Robert Zondi [of Roosboom], J. Gangai of Ladysmith, and Roy Coventry and Albert Cebekulu (Acton Homes), Jacob Mbonwe (Bethany) and Peter Khumalo (Rookdale), all of these from branches in the Bergville magisterial area” were detained. “However, as the Emergency was not applied to the Bergville magisterial district and so everyone detained in that area had to be taken home and released.”³⁴

It could be argued that the banning of the ANC in 1960 brought certain advantage to the Party in terms of African human resources. Certain active African members of the Party after 1960 came from former ANC local organiser. Selby Msimang was a founder member of the Party in Natal and therefore he was the leading figure from the very beginning of the Party in Natal. However, he “had been Natal Secretary of the ANC during the first period of Chief Lutuli’s office as Natal President” [and] “remained a member of the ANC until the organisation was banned in 1960. During this time he became steadily more active in Liberal Party affairs, serving on the Provincial and National Committees,” until he was finally banned and confined to the Pietermaritzburg district in early 1965.³⁵ Enoch Mnguni, who became a chairman of the Stepmore branch of the Party in Underberg district and was to be banned in 1965 because of his political activities, had also been active ANC organiser in that area until the banning of the ANC in 1960.

By 1961 the Liberal Party in Natal developed to the extent that it was divided into four regions – Southern, Northern, Midlands and Coastal and the Party was able to employ more black organisers. Besides Elliot Mngadi working in northern Natal, the Party recruited its second organiser, Christopher Shabalala for the Midlands region, and Jack Nkosi for the Coastal region in 1961.³⁶ Shabalala was “a security guard at the Howick Rubber Factory” and had joined the Party in 1958. He later became southern Natal organiser, based at Underberg, and worked among residents of many blackspots in the area.³⁷

³² Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.257-258; Alan Paton Centre: KZN Oral History Project, Transcript of interview with Peter Brown, conducted by Norman Bromberger, Tape 3: 31st August, 1995, Hilton, Pietermaritzburg

³³ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.340

³⁴ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.168

³⁵ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.38

³⁶ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.257

³⁷ Randolph Vigne, *Liberals against Apartheid*, p.97

In northern Natal region, Roy Coventry was elected as a chairman and Elliot Mngadi took the position of “study organiser” in addition to his usual role of the organiser for the region. Among six positions in the office, two were taken by white members and the rest by Africans. The northern Natal region of the Party began to produce its own newsletter called “Ivulandlela (path-finder)” which was written both in English and Zulu, with original English version compiled by Coventry and Zulu version translated by Mngadi.³⁸ “Ivulandlela” was produced at least four times in 1961 in which provincial leaders of the Liberal Party wrote their opinions on political events taking place at that time. Southern Natal region also produced newsletter titled “Sibanye (we are one)”, Coastal region “Inhlangano (coming together)”, and the Midlands region newsletter. However, this system did not work well, and in 1962 the provincial committee decided to go back to the old system – distribution of one newsletter for the whole province.³⁹

4, Yeas of climax: removals and the Roosboom prayer meeting: 1962-1963

In 1962, the Natal provincial congress of the Liberal Party passed a resolution to the effect that “the blackspots situation should be a major concern of the Party in the ensuing year.” The renewed efforts to organise blackspots campaign by the Liberal Party came as its response to the announcement of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr de Wet Nel, in the parliament that he was planning to eliminate all blackspots as soon as possible.⁴⁰ “In August Mngadi reported that the [NNALA] had decided to take the cases of blackspots dwellers as far as they could in the courts and to force maximum concessions from the government, even if in the end people were forced to move. In September the Natal provincial committee decided that the resistance to the removals, of the African freeholders in the blackspots, should [be] supported by all means the Party had at its disposal.” And the sub-committee consisted of Elliot Mngadi, Peter Brown, Selby Msimang, and Michael Gardiner was established to deal specifically with the removals.⁴¹ The most important and probably most effective strategy in opposing against forced removal at this stage was to raise awareness about what was going on in African countryside among general citizens of South Africa through publicity. Elliot Mngadi prepared an article on blackspots for *Drum*, which was published in November 1962.⁴²

The National Chairman’s report in late 1962 stated the odds against which the Party was trying to organise blackspots campaign and summarised its strategy: “The Natal division has made considerable progress in its work against blackspot removals – not in preventing the removals, it is true, but in assessing the amount of work to be done, and in starting in on it. There are 252 Blackspots in the rural areas of Natal. ... The pressures which the government can use are, as usual, enormous. Our plan is to make it as difficult as possible for the removals to be effected, by getting people a) to say they are quite happy where they are and don’t want to move; b) to stand out for maximum compensation and to take the matter to arbitration if the government insists on moving them; c) to make some additional non-violent show of resistance so that the world at large may know that people are being robbed of freehold homes that they don’t want to lose, and are being driven back out of free and independent communities into tribal straight-jackets.”⁴³

In spite of the Liberal Party’s determination to organise opposition against removals of blackspots, the year 1963 opened with the first mass removal of people of Besterspruit near Vryheid to Mondlo. There were

³⁸ “Ivulandlela”, Vol.1, No.1, May 1961

³⁹ “Sibanye”, July 1962

⁴⁰ Anon, “The Blackspots”, n.d. (1963), PC 14/5/1/3

⁴¹ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.271

⁴² “Blacspots”, *Drum*, November 1962

⁴³ “The Liberal Party of South Africa, National Chairman’s report, September, October, and November, 1962”, by Peter Brown, 27 November 1962, PC 2/2/7/3

some 4,000 Africans living in Besterspruit, consisting of some 400 families with their own freehold plots and another some 500 families of tenants.⁴⁴ As Besterspruit was one of those areas which had refused to join the NNALA to resist removals, the Party was not aware of what was happening there. However, through its connection with Reverend Richard Fallows, Anglican priest based in Vryheid and who offered his church in the location for a shelter for the sick, aged and pregnant among the evictees, the Liberal Party was able to include the tragedy of Besterspruit people in its booklet called “Blackspot” which was published in 1963 as part of the Party’s publicity campaign.

The removal of Besterspruit people to Mondlo received several press coverage, and other liberal organisations such as South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) began to pay more serious attention to the issue of blackspots removals. The Durban office of SAIRR made the presentations to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner and lodged the criticisms towards the fact that no adequate alternative accommodation had been provided before people were moved. Furthermore, it sent a letter of enquiry to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Natal, in which it asked several questions in order to find out “the social implications arising from the removal of the ‘Blackspots’ in Northern Natal”. Their questions were related to basic figures on the government policy of resettlements such as the names and the acreage of farms declared as blackspots, the names of farm which had already been expropriated and the proprieties for further expropriation over the next five years and the number of person who would be affected in each removal, and the compensation to the landowners.⁴⁵ The Durban office of SAIRR received a reply from Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, but the latter failed to give most of information concerning how the government plan of resettlements would be proceeded in coming years.⁴⁶

In 1963 the Party again seconded Elliot Mngadi to the NNALA for three months to organise a big demonstration to protest the removal of blackspots. This time, Selby Msimang, provincial secretary of the Party in Natal, was also assigned for this task. The mass demonstration was planned as a prayer meeting, and it was also hopefully planned at that meeting to organise the petition against the State President and an appeal to the conscience of the people of Natal. To make this realise, Mngadi, as a secretary of the NNALA, sent an appeal for donation in order to feed the participants, print the petition and appeal forms, and hire tenants.⁴⁷

After several months of preparation, a mass prayer meeting was to be held in Roosboom from 11:00am on the first Sunday in September 1963. At the same time the Roosboom service was being held, special prayers for the blackspots people were being said at many churches throughout the province.⁴⁸ Roosboom was chosen as a venue not only because it was Mngadi’s home ground and the Party had a local branch, but also because of its strategic location – it situated on the old main road between Durban and Johannesburg (R103) and therefore it was quite visible from passing traffics. The actual preparation for the big day started on Saturday morning, when they slaughtered and skinned three heads of cattle in order to prepare food. A giant marquee was brought from Durban and pitched. Pots, firewood, groceries and vegetables were supplied locally. On Sunday morning, people from all over northern Natal started arriving from 8:00 o’clock in the morning. Some white members of the Liberal Party also attended the meeting, though white leadership of the Party kept away in order not to give the meeting an obvious political mark. One of the

⁴⁴ Anon, “Blackspots”, n.d., PC 14/5/1/2

⁴⁵ Letter from D.C. Grice, Chairman, Natal region, South African Institute of Race Relations, to Chief Native Affairs Commissioner for Natal, re: “Blackspots” removals – northern Natal, 3rd October, 1963, PC 14/5/2/3

⁴⁶ Reply from Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner: Natal, to the Chairman, SAIRR, Durban, 19th October, 1963, PC 14/5/2/3

⁴⁷ An appeal letter by Elliot Mngadi, secretary, NNALA, July 1963, PC 14/5/1/8

⁴⁸ *Natal Witness*, 29th August 1963; *Sunday Times*, n.d. (1963)

white people who attended this meeting was John Aitchison, a theology student of University of Natal, who became responsible for blackspots campaign within the Party at later stage, and also became leading figure of the Party in Natal after Peter Brown was banned in 1964, until Aitchison himself was banned in 1965.

Estimated number of the attendance was given by reporters of “Golden City Post”, which was the only newspaper present at the gathering⁴⁹, as about 1,200. The service itself was conducted by Bishop J. Gwala of United Independent Bantu Churches, Estcourt, Reverend R. Fallows of Anglican Church, Vryheid, and Reverend I. Nyembezi of Methodist Church, Edendale. After the service, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: “We people of Natal faced with the threat of losing our land and property which we have owned for more than half a century, are assembled here to pray for God to help us and give us courage, and to ask Him that we should be left in peace on our lands. We make this appeal to our White fellow Christians and fellow citizens:

Pray for us that we may be given courage and be left in peace on our lands.
Speak for us who have no voice to speak for ourselves.
Intercede for us with the Government and the authorities.
Work for us so that this terrible plan of removal may be abandoned.
In the name of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ amen.”

After the service, the organisers of the prayer meeting was hoping to collect signatures from the participants, which was later to be sent to the State President. However, because of the presence of Special Branch, most of people were reluctant to sign the petition. The Special Branch sat next to the table where people had to sign, so that they could see who was signing the petition. Mngadi reported that “people were visibly frightened” and “only about 350 people were brave enough to sign the petition.”⁵⁰ A few white people who attended the meeting were also questioned by the Special Branch and had their names taken.⁵¹

After the Roosboom prayer meeting, Elliot Mngadi prepared an appeal letter which was sent to influential members of the white community. In the letter, after repeating the resolution adopted at the prayer meeting, he wrote: “We ask you to use every means at your disposal to have removed from us this terrible threat to dispossess us of all that we and our fathers have lived and worked for these past fifty years and more.”⁵² His letter was ignored by most of recipients, and when he did get reply, it was unsympathetic and ignorant, and suggested him to cooperate with the government. One recipient from Vryheid asked Mngadi by writing that: “It will be very interesting to learn your people’s feelings if you ask them whether they are in favour of Europeans and companies being allowed to buy up Zululand and all the other very fertile and vast Bantulands, if your organisation claims ownership in European areas.”⁵³

The final blow to the people of Khumalosville also came in 1963. They had been under the negotiation with officials of the Bantu Affairs Department since 1954 over the terms of the removal, in particular, the

⁴⁹ Although it did not bother to send a reporter to the meeting, Pietermaritzburg-based daily press *Natal Witness* produced an article about Roosboom prayer meeting several days after it was held. *Natal Witness*, 7th September 1963

⁵⁰ “Northern Natal African Landowners Association, Prayer meeting 1st September 1963”, by Elliot Mngadi, secretary, PC 14/5/6/13; *Post*, 8th September, 1963

⁵¹ Note by John Aitchison, “Special Branch Interference. Roosboom 1/9/1963”, PC 14/5/6/20; Draft article for “Contact” by John Aitchison, ‘Blackspot’ Prayer Meeting, PC 14/5/6/13

⁵² Appeal letter from Elliot Mngadi, Secretary, NNALA, September 1963, PC 14/5/6/13

⁵³ Reply to Elliot Mngadi’s appeal letter from J.P.C. Le Roux, M.P.C., Vryheid, 9th December, 1963, PC 14/5/6/13

amount of compensation they would get. Different officials came with different offers of compensation, and earlier offers were revised to the less until the landowners “found themselves in quarter-size but outrageously over-valued plots at Hobsland [Vulandondo], without school, church and family graves. There was, furthermore, no water supply, no shop and no stock were allowed [to take with them].”⁵⁴ Before the question of compensation had been settled, the land was expropriated by the government in 1962. By then, many of its residents had already left Khumalosville⁵⁵, but some 25 families who claimed that the compensation they were offered was not adequate, were still living there. Led by Mike Ndlovu, who was later recruited by Elliot Mngadi to work for the NNALA, with assistance by the attorney who was introduced and partly paid by the Liberal Party, the remaining residents of Khumalosville put in counter claim and went to arbitration.

In the end the resistance of people in Khumalosville did not succeed. The final notice was issued by the Bantu Commissioner in Ladysmith in September 1963. Both “Elliot Mngadi and Peter Brown were there, with them, at Khumalosville, on the day they finally moved out of the village [in October], leaving the mud walls of their homes to be flattened by the government’s bulldozers.”⁵⁶ However, those people including Mike Ndlovu who refused to move to Hobsland to the last, did not go there. Instead, they chose to move their own accord to the places of their choice, and Ndlovu moved to Rookdale, another blackspot in Bergville district, which was never expropriated by the government.

5, Intimidation, banning order and thereafter: 1964-1965

The political environment in South Africa which the Party operated was becoming more and more difficult for its activities after 1960. First of all, the Party began to face the problem of finding venues for its meetings in various places. The local Town Boards of Howick and Matatiele refused to let the Party to use the public hall. It was particularly difficult for the Party to find a place for meeting in rural areas where the hall owned by local farmers’ association was only suitable place to hold a meeting under the roof, but it did not allow the Party to do so if black people would be present. Even in blackspots, the government used the tactic of intimidation to defer the owner of the hall to lend their facility to the Liberal Party.⁵⁷ Mngadi reported in 1961 that “nobody wanted to take a risk of having a meeting with racially-mixed attendance and as a result its branch was ceasing to function.”⁵⁸

Harassments to the Party’s black organisers as well as ordinary members by the police were also frequently reported during this period. The Special Branch did not fail to attend at the Party meetings, and they began to report the names of people who had attended the meetings to their employers. Anonymous pamphlets saying disgraceful things about Mngadi and Peter Brown and encouraging people to move from their homes were distributed at Charlestown and Khumalosville before the Roosboom prayer meeting.⁵⁹ Both Mngadi and Christopher Shabalala, the Party’s second African organiser from Howick, was subjected to

⁵⁴ Randolph Vigne, *Liberals against Apartheid*, p.96

⁵⁵ Khumalosville consisted of some 200 families (1004 people). *Daily News*, 10th September, 1957

⁵⁶ Anon, “Khumalosville”, n.d. (probably 1963), PC 2/9/16/4; Anon, “Blackspots”, n.d., PC 14/5/1/2; Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.336-337; *Daily News*, 3rd October, 1963; Official source says that the number of families who remained until the last day of removal of Khumalosville in October was 38. Letter from Private Secretary, Office of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to The Chairman, Committee of the Anglican Society, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, re: Removal of black spots, 13th August, 1984, PC 14/5/2/4

⁵⁷ Peter Brown, “A history of Liberal Party of SA”, p.238, 310

⁵⁸ Report on Northern Natal Region by Elliot Mngadi, April 1961, PC 2/9/16/2

⁵⁹ “Northern Natal African Landowners Association, Prayer meeting 1st September 1963”, by Elliot Mngadi, secretary, PC 14/5/6/13

continual police harassments.⁶⁰ On 22nd July, 1963, Elliot Mngadi's house in Roosboom was raided by the Special Branch, who arrived at 11:00pm and stayed until 2:30am.⁶¹

Among Natal liberals who had committed to blackspots work, Elliot Mngadi became the first person to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, when he received the banning order in March 1964. In terms of his banning order, he was to be confined to the Ladysmith district where he lived for five years and was not allowed to attend any meeting during that period.⁶² Before his banning, notice of a petition organised by him was published in the Natal newspapers on the 12th March. It had been signed by 18 prominent Natalians including archbishop Denis Hurley, Alan Paton, and D.G. Shepstone who was a "former Administrator of Natal and Chancellor of the University of Natal. They opposed the expropriation of blackspots in Natal on following three grounds:

- (a) "These purchases were made in good faith under the law in force at the time and with no opposition from the Government of that period;
- (b) To interfere with freehold lawfully acquired is to shake to its foundations the sense of legal security in our land;
- (c) The people affected are precisely those whom every Government ought to encourage – the provident, responsible and hard-working."⁶³

The banning of Elliot Mngadi was "a great blow to the campaign of opposition to removals." The protest meeting at the banning of Mngadi was organised by the Party at Hambrook in June, 1964, which about 95 people attended from the places such as Rookdale, Green point, Bethany, Khumalosville, Acton Homes, Hambrook itself, Pietermaritzburg and Ladysmith.⁶⁴ His job as a secretary of the NNALA and northern Natal organiser for the Liberal Party was taken by Mike Ndlovu, but by this time the NNALA was also about to collapse without an effective committee.⁶⁵ Gabriel Nyembe, ANC counterpart of NNALA, was also banned in 1964.⁶⁶ Mike Ndlovu himself, who was raided by the police 12 times in August 1964, was also going to be banned in September 1965.⁶⁷

The banning order to Peter Brown, the national chairman of the Liberal Party and a white liberal who was most extensively involved in blackspots campaign within the Party in Natal, was delivered in July, 1964, four months after Mngadi was banned. He was the sixth Natal liberal to be banned. The banning of Peter Brown gave serious damage not only to the Party's work in blackspots campaign, but also the Party's activities in general.⁶⁸ John Aitchison took over the post of provincial secretary, and became responsible

⁶⁰ Peter Brown, "A history of Liberal Party of SA", p.237-238

⁶¹ Letter from Elliot Mngadi to Hans Meidner, 25th November, 1963, PC 2/4/16/1

⁶² Peter Brown, National Chairman, "The Liberal Party of South Africa – National Statement", 19th March, 1964, PC 14/5/1/7; *Contact*, April, 1964

⁶³ Besides three people whose names were mentioned in the text, the petition was signed by Richard Feetham, Vernon Inman, Calvin Cook, John Poorter, A.T. Shrock, C. Wilkins, M. Asher, Edgar Brookes, Peter Brown, Mary Corrigan, Peter Francis, D.C. Grice, W.G. MacConkey, Hans Meidner, and R.A.F. Swart. PC 14/5/1/3; *Natal Witness*, 12th March, 1964; *Daily News*, 11th March, 1964. Similar petition was also organised by students of the University of Natal. "Petition", PC 14/5/3/15; *Daily News*, 23rd April, 1964 and 24th April, 1964

⁶⁴ "Liberal Party protest meeting at the banning of Elliot Mngadi, held at Hambrook on the 6th June, 1964", PC 14/5/1/7

⁶⁵ "Memorandum on blackspots", by John Aitchison, n.d. (probably 1964), PC 14/5/3/15

⁶⁶ Randolph Vigne, *Liberals against Apartheid*, p.97

⁶⁷ Anon (probably Christopher Shabalala), "Ladysmith Bergville Area – August, September, 1964", PC 2/4/16/1; Peter Brown, "A history of Liberal Party of SA", p.375

⁶⁸ *Daily News*, 1st August, 1964

for the Party's blackspots work until he himself was banned in following year. After the banning of Peter Brown, police activities against the Party members "increased to a hitherto unprecedented extent." Many prominent members of the Party in local branch were raided several times, and people who attended the meetings were asked to come to local police station for questioning and interrogation where they were told that as Brown was banned, the Party was finished. From early 1965, anonymous notes and pamphlets written in Zulu began to be posted or thrown with rock to homes of African members of the Party, which invariably denounced the Party and its leading members and urged them to quit the Party.⁶⁹

During the second half of 1965, Christopher Shabalala, Enock Mnguni, chairman of the Stepmore branch of the Party in the Underberg district, and Mike Ndlovu – all of three extensively involved in the Party's work in blackspots campaign were banned. In addition, judging from the way the government issued banning orders to members of the Party, it seemed apparent that "any white member who became too closely identified with the rural branches would soon be banned, too." In the situation that the Party's principle contacts with blackspots dwellers were broken, it became impossible for the Party to maintain its contacts with ordinary residents of blackspots.⁷⁰

Conclusion

The banning of the leadership of both the NNALA and the Liberal Party finished their opposition movements against forced removals in Natal by mid-1960s. Moreover, even during the period of their existence, they were not successful in stopping the implementation of removals, as cases of Besterspruit and Khumalosville which we discussed above. However, there were certain achievements in their activities which should be seen with significance. I would like to raise three points.

Firstly, Elliot Mngadi's efforts in forming the NNALA not only raised the general awareness of what was to take place to themselves among the residents of blackspots, but also it gave local leaders of individual farms a platform to discuss the common problems for them. The Roosboom prayer meeting where more than 1,200 people gathered to pray for mitigation of their predicament, at least gave ordinary residents of blackspots sense of solidarity, even though it did not gain any immediate achievement. The running of NNALA meetings and branches of the Liberal Party also provided local leaders with experiences of organising skills. In rural circumstances where there is not many chances to be exposed to ideas of wider society, the significance of infusion of the ideas such as liberalism and multi-racialism through the activities of both white and African liberals should not be underestimated.

Secondly, it should be stressed with hindsight that people who had been active in opposition movements against forced removals in the 1950s and early 1960s did not abandon their struggles. The materials and information collected through their work in this period were utilised later by Cosmas Desmond in his work on the state of removals and resettlements countrywide.⁷¹ Moreover, exactly same people, especially same white liberals such as Peter Brown and John Aitchison, became central figures again in the 1980s when the land movement resurged in its new form. In connection with this point, I would like to stress the significance of first-hand experience about the lives of rural Africans that white liberals gained through their involvements in blackspots campaign in the 1950s and 1960s. Except a few farmers, the main constituency of white membership in the Liberal Party came from academics and students. In a country where the division is so stark not only in terms of race, but also in terms of urban and rural such as South

⁶⁹ Anon, "Intimidation", n.d. (probably 1966), PC 2/4/16/1

⁷⁰ Peter Brown, "A history of Liberal Party of SA", p.375

⁷¹ Cosmas Desmond, *The Discarded People: An account of African resettlement*, The Christian Institute of South Africa: Braamfontein, 1976

Africa, I would argue that the experience of visiting African countryside must have given white liberals in Natal tremendous psychological impact in defining their role in the society.

Thirdly and finally, increasing African membership of the Party in Natal, which was a result of the Party's campaign against blackspots removals, gave the Party a radicalising effect in terms of its fundamental policy of franchise. Emphasis should be given to the fact that as much as the Organisation School provided black members of the Party with political education, the interaction with black members through the Party activities provided certain members of white liberals within the Party with different sorts of political education. In the 1950s the question of franchise was crucial and contentious within the Party to the extent that the Party was about to split because of the differences of opinion about it several times. Peter Brown explained to the Cape vice-chairman in 1959 on how his personal opinion on the issue was changed through his activities in the Party: "On the question of the relative merits of qualified as against universal franchise my own personal views have changed a great deal since I have been in the Party. I started off as a strong advocate of a franchise on a high basis of qualification. ...[However,] I have canvassed many [white] voters who knew virtually nothing about what was happening in South Africa and who voted almost entirely by habit. On the other hand, I have attended [Liberal Party] meetings where nobody could speak a word of English but where the degree of responsibility shown in discussion has been remarkable."⁷² By this time, the provincial leaderships of the Party in both Natal and Transvaal were in favour of the adoption of universal franchise as the official policy of the Party.

We would also have to think the limitation of the NNALA and the Liberal Party in their opposition movements against removals of blackspots in terms of its strategy. Although the government made it clear its intention to remove all the blackspots as soon as they could⁷³, the pace of the implementation of its resettlement policy was rather slow in those days, due to its inability to find an alternative land for relocated Africans. Only nine blackspots in northern Natal had been removed by early 1964.⁷⁴ White farmers were still unwilling to sell their farms for this purpose, and they were energetically lobbying the government against the purchase of white farmlands by the government.⁷⁵ The strategy that the NNALA adopted was that of appealing to white conscience and asking them to act on their behalf, which was clearly illustrated in the appeal letter sent to prominent white citizens in Natal after the Roosboom prayer meeting. In a situation that they were deprived of their right to say their opinions in politics through vote, their action could be interpreted as a desperate behaviour of the rightless people. In a same way that the Liberal Party could not gain numerically significant supports among its white constituency during the elections – the idea of multi-racialism in practice through the universal franchise was too radical to average white citizen of South Africa at that time –, the desperate appeals from African landowners fell on deaf ears.

⁷² Letter from Peter Brown to Jack Causton, Vice-chairman of the Cape division of the Liberal Party, 8th June, 1959. (inserted in Peter Brown, "A history of Liberal Party")

⁷³ *Natal Mercury*, 13th August, 1963

⁷⁴ *Contact*, January 1964

⁷⁵ *Natal Mercury*, 30th May, 1962; *Natal Mercury*, 27th April, 1964

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