

Fort Hare, B2.81
Alice. C.P.
3rd. Sept., 1952.

My Dear Papa,

I think this letter is a bit late. I should have posted one to catch the Pan-American on Sunday. But we have been so busy as a result of Njongwe's visit to Alice this last week-end that I missed my day.

I just do not know how to transmit to papa the mood of the country just now. We are in the midst of a decidedly revolutionary situation and the African National Congress has not only maintained its initiative but has gained ground in the past few days. On the legal front in which we have not got much interest the Cape Supreme court has ruled against the government and declared the High Court Of Parliament invalid. The government has appealed.

On Tuesday the 26th August the biggest demonstrations ever took place in Johannesburg to protest against the arrest of the leaders. The Courts were absolutely jammed with two thousand people inside the building. Outside thousands more gathered on an open square just a few hundred yards away and a meeting began which lasted until 6 p.m. that day. Inside the court the unprecedented happened (according to an Afrikaans paper) when the court was adjourned for fifteen minutes to allow Dr. Moroka, at the request of the prosecutor to address the people. The courtroom door was opened and accompanied by court officials Dr. Moroka ~~appeared~~ appeared amid shouts of Afrka! He stood on a chair and asked the people to leave the building quietly so that their case could go on. They left immediately in perfect silence. They went and joined the crowd outside in a meeting which was orderly throughout-- a lesson to the Whites who seem incapable of having orderly meetings these days. Whilst the preparatory examination was going on 461 volunteers went into action (245 from P.E.) in various centres in the Union. An important batch consisted of women who went to defy permit regulations at Germiston. Miss Ida Mtwana, Mrs. I. Cachalia, Mrs. T.N. Naidoo, were among the important women arrested. In Capetown 31 were arrested for travelling in a European coach. This 461 were put in following the meeting of the national executive on Sunday 24th which decided to intensify the campaign and to extend its scope. The total number of people arrested since June 26th is 3,200. To this number must be added the 113 which went into action yesterday at East London and also the distinguished batch which went into action in Natal when 21 defied railway apartheid regulations at Berea. This batch included Dr. G. Naicker (president N.I.C.) and P.H. Simeane (Assistant-Secretary A.N.C. Natal., A. Choudree N.I.C. executive and leading women in both African and Indian groups. The group when it went ~~into~~ into action was watched by thousands of Africans who shouted Africa and marched from Berea to the offices of the A.N.C. to volunteer. I am quite sure that in the long run Natal will beat everybody in the response they get. I only hope it will be possible to keep down the spirit of Chaka and infuse the spirit of Ghandi among the Zulu masses who will experience a great spiritual release as a result of the campaign.

In the Cape we are of course in top form. The organisational lessons of Port Elizabeth are being passed on to every branch in the ~~the~~ Cape and we are already a mass organisation run of efficient party lines. The longer the campaign goes the greater becomes our skill in administration, propaganda etc. To give papa an idea of the strength of the movement I will give the figures for the membership of the A.N.C. (apart from volunteers) in the P.E. area. In New Brighton the membership is thirteen thousand. At Korsten the membership is five ~~thousand~~ thousand, and Dassie-kraal three thousand. So that in that area alone the membership is 21,000. This excludes the Walmer, Fairview, Veeplaas branches. Can Papa believe that Grahamstown has sent in 316 so far. In Grahamstown too they have forced the Council to close down the beer-hall. For days the people stood in front of the beer-hall, praying and singing the African National anthems until the place was shut up. It was built at a cost of eight thousand and brought the council a revenue of 240 a ~~month~~ a week. That is one good bye-product of the ~~campaign~~ campaign-- it has dealt a death-blow to tsotsi-ism and to drunken thereby bearing out the contention that it is the conditions of the people which cause these things. The rural areas of the Ciskei are ready for action and we will be sending in chaps as from this week-end.

I cannot give papa details of the discussions in the National Executive meeting but I can say this that given time we will win the battle from the reserves. The Congress is capable of bringing the countries economy to a stand-still. And yet the A.N.C. has not

promised the Africans anything but liberty. We have told the masses to expect death, hunger, difficulties perhaps for years, and in spite of this they are giving themselves as a sacrifice willingly and in such huge numbers. It is an indication of the absolute failure of White Rule that so many people should have reached a point where all these difficulties do not deter them from making a determined effort to get freedom. The most remarkable thing is the near-unanimity of the African people. Even those who are not either members or volunteers cannot tolerate criticism of the A.N.C. Mind you it is a fact that the overwhelming support given to the A.N.C. all over makes it dangerous for anyone to disagree with Congress. ... dictatorship of the majority has come into African politics at last.

This week-end we had the pleasure of hearing the views of the Cabinet on the Defiance campaign. Malan's was the voice of despair. He appealed to White South Africa to stand together and warned them of the danger presented by the A.N.C. The Congress he said aimed at supplanting White rule. In the interests of the Africans themselves he said he could not hand them over to a group of unscrupulous politicians. He traced the history of British rule in India and the Gold Coast and said that this could not be allowed. He made a statement to the fact that the Indians wanted Natal for themselves. The way he said this evoked comment from the foreign office in Delhi which said that Malan's intention was to make Africans in Africa suspicious of India. Naude the minister of Posts and Telegraphs could only point to the fact that White girls were walking with Africans when the Wits students demonstrated on August 26th against the arrest of Mji and Motlana.

The U.P. is confused. The Natal leader Mitchell said that if the Defiance campaign was successful then the Whites would stand with the Nationalist party. On the other hand Strauss whilst he "deplored the campaign blamed the government for it and demanded their resignation". What is probably happening is that the U.P. are debating among themselves regarding the strength of the movement. If they think the movement will only be strong enough to force the repeal of passes, Group Areas Act etc. they will take advantage of it. If however they think the momentum of the movement will threaten white rule they might rush to support the Nats. There is a group whose ideas were ably put in an article by Lewin in the press. He thought that some significant concession should be made whilst the moderates were in Control of the movement. He advised South African Europeans to revise all their ideas about the Africans. As for the poor Race Relations this thing has become too big for them.

The White press has the most amazing suggestions. I have sent papa some of these papers so that you can see how mad these chaps are becoming. S.A.B.R.A. says the Africans are now ready to rule themselves, but they are not yet ready to rule over Europeans-- therefore there must be apartheid with the Congress ruling over African Areas. The way in which this idea is being repeated in pro-government papers gives one the impression of government inspiration.

The Freedom trial so far has not revealed nothing. The correspondence between the A.N.C., S.A.I.C. and the Prime Minister was brought in the first day. Mr. Aucamp (private secretary to the P.M.) was the first witness. He is reported to have been visibly trembling as he read the letters. Then the second day letters were read from America to Dr. Moroka. These letters were advocating the need to establish a socialist state in South Africa. The rest of the week was devoted to evidence from African detectives who emphasized amid repeated questioning that in every speech the leaders said the campaign was not directed against any group and that it was non-violent. So far nothing has happened. Monday was a holiday and yesterday when the hearing was resumed the evidence of the witnesses in previous hearing was read back to them and the court adjourned. Apart from the magistrate there are five other senior magistrates present at the hearing. The trial in bringing the leaders together in Jo'burg will facilitate organization and the planning of the various stages. The presence of Dr. Moroka in person at head-quarters is a tremendous moral benefit to himself and the movement.

I thought that by moving from P.E. I would be spared a great deal of the work of political leadership. But the movement is right here and in practice I am directing the whole organisation and campaign from King to Fort Beaufort. I will be setting up a regional office to ease the burden. I have addressed numerous meetings at Mqalo's, Roxeni, Sheshegu, Dyamala, etc. Also at Fort Beaufort and King, which has already swung into action. At Victoria East we will be in action soon. Fort Hare there are about 96 volunteers. It's a real soup.

I think we will definitely not send in teachers here and students until they have written their exams. But the chaps are so hot it becomes difficult to control them. The police came round to ask questions about various meetings we have held. I refused to answer any questions until I am faced with a definite charge. The Magistrate has called all headmen and is trying to get them to co-operate but he will fail. The trouble is that the movement is coming from the masses and the headmen and chiefs find that they will lose everything if they do not move with the people. I have told them that from henceforth they must regard themselves as owing allegiance to the A.N.C. and not to the government and that if it is a question of the ten shillings a month we can give it to them. I told them that if the government removes them because of support of the A.N.C. they will remain headmen in the eyes of the people and Congress and the stooges will be isolated. Maneli who is the most hated man around here recently escaped with his life at East London. He accompanied the chief Native Commissioner to the Socio-economic commissioner at Umtata and from there ~~XXXXXX~~ he passed East London making certain remarks about the campaign. He is a ~~thoroughly~~ thoroughly chastened man to-day. I am working up to a membership of two thousand in Victoria and very soon I hope to have five thousand. I am afraid papa I could not avoid the struggle. I had leadership virtually thrust upon me by the fact that there is no one in the area between King and Fort Beaufort who can give resolute leadership and make decisions in an emergency that are politically correct. Omp Gqira is big enough in reputation but he has certain limitations. Taho bought Mr. Bazi's crock and we are using that a lot for moving around. The nation desperately needs honest leadership in this struggle and certain sacrifices are inevitable in the forward march.

The gang is all alright. I have told them all to write to papa. I am in the accounts mess just now. An old account came here for £19. It was from Padayachy in Kimberley. I think I will pay him part of it - about half. Then the current account was ~~XXXX~~ swelled by mama without my knowledge to forty pounds this month. The account rendered we had reduced to fifty eight. Now this is a bit of a set-back. I cannot think what mama bought. Apparently she went to town and got these girls a whole lot of stuff to last them a long time. Anyway the position is normal. I am getting two tyres retreaded. It will cost eight pounds, and then towards november I will buy a new one. That will put us in a good position. Jacobs has given me some help in Grammar and placed at my disposal certain notes which he says will enable me to answer any question in grammar. -- only three pages of notes! I hope I will make it with all the great happenings. One must prepare for the more normal periods in our lives they are the more enduring.

That's all for the present papa. Mama arrives in England fifth i.e. this friday. So she's near now and will give papa all the dope. Tell her I am thinking of sending in Aunt Rene soon. I am looking for a suitable moment when it will make political sensation and move the people. I do not know how we can get a confidential report through to papa. But we will manage before the U.N.O. session starts. Papa must be well informed. I hope papa will be ready to give national leadership immediately you arrive in the country next year. The campaign must be carried on no matter what happens. Love from all at home.

Your loving Son,

Sabure

