My Dear Papa.

I think I have missed my usual writing time by a number of days. That was probably due to the truly eventful fortnight we have gone through. Here at home everything is getting on fine. Exam fever has just about reached its climax. I have written my Roman law and I really got fair papers about which there can be no complaint. The Latin is going to be the nuisance. Everybody is of course cautious about expressing definite hopes of passing, but there does not appear to be cause for any alarm.

I must tell para something about the terrible riots that have taken place within the last few weeks. We have had one in P.E. and this was followed by big ones at Kimberley, and East London. The cause of all these riots is the trigger-happy policemen who provoke the people. Now whilst we have taught the people in our volunteer corps to avoid trouble with the police the masses are not as wise. Everyone of these riots has started off with the shooting of some African and that one death inflames the people to such an extent that they retaliate.

There is no evidence that they are inspired by Agent-provocateurs who are aiming at discrediting the Defiance Campaign. They are spontaneous and I think from a political point of view they are a symptom of the fact that here at the Cape we are not keeping pace with feelings of the people. They are sick and tired of the Malanites and like all people naturally want what they think is a short cut. Our duty is to allow this feeling along channels that will aid us in the fight. The Kimberley Police started off with a fight between Africans in a beer-hall and by the time the police came it had become an anti-Police movement. They burnt out the Bantu Batho hall, municipal offices, creche etc. in number two location. The executive of the A.N.C. was placed under arrest and charred under the suppression of Communism Act. So Letele and Co. are now also arrested. I East London some Africans had gone to the District Commandant of Police to ask for permission to hold a meeting. I did not tell para that before this (actually last week) Swart had invoked the Riotus Assemblies Act and banned all meetings in the districts of PortElizabeth, Peddie, East London, Kingwilliamstown, Uitenhake and later on Kimberley. Now the East London people last week sought and obtained permission to hold a prayer meeting. They got permission and held the meeting. At some stage of the proceedings police arrived in trucks and rushed up to the man conducting the service and snatched the bible from his hand. They looked at it and left apparently satisfied. A few minutes later they returned and the African police with them started a baton charge after the people had been given five minutes to disperse. In course of the scuffle three people received wounds from tear gas bombs which the Europeans (who had by now joined the charve) had carried. The Africans ran away and the police got on their trucks and there followed a few minutes of terror. These as they drove through the location were just firing wildly into houses, at any people on the streets and killed a number of people. This meeting took place at Bantu square at Tsolo, but the shooting went on right through the other locations up to Duncan Village. In no time the people decided to retaliate and they did so, wounding three police and killing two Europeans. Then the people turned to municipal buildings, churches which had not supported the campaign etc. It is of course not possible to stop this because the only people who could be banned from attending meetings and meetings themselves are banned. In P.E. the strike called to protest against the imposition of the ban on meetings, and the curfew was a hundred percent success. The Whites are mad and P.E. resembles a city during war time. This is true of many towns in the Eastern Cape including our little Alice. Police, armoured cars, patrols, searchlights, Aeroplanes. But we refuse to be intimidated. You see the Whites are getting themselves in a state of panic. Shopkeepers in the reserves are leaving for the towns and all that sort of nonsense in order to create this atmosphere of a South Africa on the verge of revolution. The intention is to enable the government to proclaim a state of emergency and then to take drastic action against the A.N.C. It is being subtly suggested by liberals and openly by the Nats that we are responsible for the riots. And it is argued that to restore the position we must call off the campaign. But to call off the Campaign would rob us of all bargaining
power and would be a tacit admission of complicity in the riots. Why should riots which were caused by the police exercise a moral compulsion on the A.N.C. to call off the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. These riots mean the Campaign must go on and the government must call off its campaign of Apartheid and race hatred against the African people and their allies. We will intensify the campaign and not call it off. We are defending all those people arrested in connection with the riots. As papa can imagine those chaps are having a raw deal and the Whites actually suggested that the A.N.C. by taking up the legal defence of these chaps that they are connected with the riots. We discussed this matter and our attitude is that where white participants are in difficulties the A.N.C. must be with them. We feel the wrong people have been arrested for causing the riots and that the police and Swart who is egging them on are the guilty party. Anyway the situation is tense with the Africans calm and confident under their clear-headed leadership and the Whites jittery, panicky and race mad. Our organisation is powerful enough and our beliefs and ideology strong enough to sustain our people through any crisis. The latest action of minister Swart was to issue order on fifty two leaders in the Cape not to attend any gathering. These orders were served on us last Saturday. It is not clear what is a gathering and as far as the communism Act is concerned we are not entitled to be with our families now. Gathering in terms of the Act means any gathering, concourse, or procession in, through or along any place, of any number of persons having a common purpose, whether such purpose be lawful or unlawful? Papa can see what a ridiculous situation this is. Any way the movement will go on.

Our case also came on yesterday and I was in P. S. for it. We found however that the crown had made a fundamental change in the charge and we asked for a postponement in order to give time for the preparation of the defence. This after brilliant argument by Dr. Lowen we lost our case and the magistrate who contended that the requirements of the law relating to charges had been fulfilled. We asked for an adjournment for a few minutes and when we returned we elected to be tried by the supreme court. So that is where we are now. I do not know when the case will come up. The atmosphere in the court was so tense with armed police all round and strangely enough are large number of Europeans present. We have kept all the people away from the court avoid any clashes.

The need is for money and still more money. The movement has become so big now and expenses so heavy that we are a sort of government now. We have received all the moneys sent by papa. There has been great deal of tampering with the post as far as Joburg is concerned. The Council on African Affairs sent that nine hundred to the National assistance fund in Johannesburg. There is now definite proof that the government tampers with that mail so different arrangements have to be made. A letter has been sent to the Council explaining the position. The money might still be traced. I met Mr. Ngakane yesterday in P. S. and he told me the whole story. A five pounds cheque sent by Paton was never received and also a letter from the Rev. Blaxall was not received. What happened was that Rev. Blaxall was questioned by the police about the letter. It had never reached the right people. Papa method of sending it is safe. We see in India the fund has a target of two million pounds and the committee is headed by India's biggest Capitalists. These chaps have certain aims but I think they will be unable to use the Africans we will use them alright if we are vigilant.

I am afraid there is no possibility of avoiding the crisis of leadership in our ranks. We will get over it with hardly any disturbance but it is rather a pity. Chief Luthuli has been deposed and his daughters scholarship has been withdrawn. He is to make a statement this week-end. We had the pleasure of seeing the Mophapelo's here this afternoon. They are fine. We gave them your address.
I am not a student of medicine. There are several

We will go to the hospital for the present. It is

Very well. We do not know how to take care of

Yours truly,

R. D. Have
I have no Soma in mind. There are constant searches in our village and I have not seen them.

Well, poor lady! she for the present is at the hospital. They will phone us as soon as she goes to birth. She is very well. But I have to work.

Yours lovingly,

[Signature]

P.S. We see they would not leave you at U.N.O. They will carry the story today. We all will get a chance one of these days. There is some pressure of popular sentiment in a powerful political influence. There is a suggestion that peace will not stay there as long as possible. Until the situation is quite clear. We are to feel that when we are at home someone will protect the African from being betrayed. Yours are always trusted.

Negociations. We say "talks with independent African leaders." It is all

strong. Some oppositions want to come up. They will be swept aside by the people.

9.6.11