

122 First Avenue,  
Greyville,  
DURBAN.  
28th October, 1957.

My Dear Papa,

Please find enclosed herewith copy of some of the material I wrote in connection with that UNO affair. It may help Papa in this multi-racial conference paper.

I read some more of this African Horizon furere in the Golden City Post. Some nonentity called Mr. Bennie has told the press that he will raise the matter at the "ational Conference in December. He is a Youth League chap - and a boxer. I do not know what he can do about the matter. The Sunday Express is continuing its campaign against cabinet ministers holding directorships and has quoted from American and British experience which is totally against the practice. I think the correct demand of our fellows should be that Naude should resign from his business associations not that Papa and Chief should resign theirs. Legitimate use of one's resources in any field of investment likely to yield a profit cannot be prevented.

From a purely political point of view, however, it might be a spectacular gesture for our leaders to get out of the company. But I do not think the present united front atmosphere is suitable for that. One would do that in a crisis.

I do not think I can take advantage of a scholarship to any overseas country next year. I have handed the application forms to Mofolo who wants to apply. Morejele is ~~here~~. He has just returned from Oxford where he was doing advanced work on statistics. I believe Cowan has been commissioned to draw up a constitution for a Basuto legislative council.

I think Jo'burg is determined on a big assault against Pass Laws. What we saw during our trial has convinced me that desperate remedies are called for on this pass issue. I am already sick and tired of what one sees in Durban streets these days. A Transvaal conference has called for a date before the general election on which passes will come to ~~and~~ an end.

I still have not heard from Cape Town. I have written a hot letter to Getz about it. It means so much to me financially and fellows delay like this! We are very busy at the office and I feel I should earn more.

How is Papa's book getting on? I do not suppose is getting any time to do it. Have you heard from the American side lately?

Will Fort Hare be able to survive? It seems everyone is leaving. As regards the principalship mess I think Papa should apply now. You have indicated to all and sundry that you are not after the post in the support you have given to the only good candidates we could have got. So now you can apply. The only question then will be after Papa - who? That we can leave to the Gods. Lets put the Governing Council in a mess. Perhaps I should also ~~xx~~ get a post then to strengthen the believers of a universal education. I am sure the Nats are going to do everything to get in.

We are getting ready to come down. Our bookings have not yet been confirmed. ~~ix~~ I will check today. I must close now Papa with greetings to all at home. Everyone is very well here.

*Your loving son,  
B. B. B.*



## GREATER TOMORROW (continued )

It must be understood at the outset that the African National Congress and its allies in the Congress Movement accept as a cardinal principle the fact that a Greater Tomorrow for South Africa can only be created on the basis of a multi-racial community co-existing in complete equality and mutual respect.

The question then becomes - accepting a multi-racial society what does the Congress Movement want to change in the present system and what does it propose to set up in its place .

recent and  
The most/comprehensive statement of fundamental aims and objectives by the Congress Movement is contained in the Freedom Charter - the full text of which is included as an appendix to this memorandum . We can therefore do no better than to elaborate on the Charter and simultaneously by comparison to indicate briefly the inadequacy of solutions proposed by other organisations and parties.

The Freedom Charter which is now the programme of the Congress Movement as a whole is a clear and noble expression of the ideals of freedom and democracy in a multi-racial country . Its call echoes throughout the land and it is no accident that it forms the kernel of the charge of high treason preferred in the mass trial of 156 leading democrats . No tyrannical minority government with a programme based on racial bigotry could ignore its portent.

The significance of the Charter does not, however, lie alone in its nobility or clarity of expression . It is a practical realistic document that states the main wants and desires of the people - exactly what they want to see abolished and what they will do to introduce sane government in the Union. The Charter says ~~xxThere~~ "The People Shall...", "There Shall be ..." All these to be done in a future South Africa.

The stirring preamble to the Freedom Charter which loses none of its power by repetition announces as



follows :-

( reproduce preable of Charter in full)

The first section of the Charter proclaims :-

" The People shall Govern " .

At the present time in South Africa only a section of the people has any responsibility for the government of the country .

It is not necessary for us to indicate the constitutional structure of the Union Government which has been sufficiently described elsewhere . We are merely concerned to put forward the view of the Congress Movement that all adults irrespective of race, sex , colour or creed Must have the right to vote for and make law stand as candidate for all bodies that ~~make~~ <sup>make law</sup> up to and the supreme legislature . We must digress here to say most emphatically that the problem is one of RIGHTS or NO-RIGHTS. It is the fashion in South Africa to obscure this fundamental fact about the South African situation. The United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in South Africa in its second report published in 1954 makes a division of the schemes or plans for the solution of the South African problem as follows :-

- L. Integration of ethnic groups
- ll. Seperation of ethnic groups.
- lll. Federation of ethnic groups.

[illegible]

Thus it will be noted that the Freedom Charter does not in the vital first section describe the form that the government



must take - whether , for instance , we envisage a unitary as against a federal form of government or whether it should be<sup>a</sup> republican or monarchical state ; whether it should be highly centralised or decentralised . The question of form in ~~the~~ South African <sup>Government</sup> ~~situation~~ is really an irrelevant consideration in the present <sup>context</sup> ~~historical situation~~ . The fact is that whatever scheme of government exists or is adopted in the country the complete democratic participation of ALL people in the country must be ensured.

The principle of equal participation must naturally extend to Provincial, regional or local organs of government. From this follows that the civil service will be composed of suitable persons drawn from all racial groups forming the population of our country . All bodies of government that do not conform to this principle of equal participation of all will be abolished .

The protagonists of the policy of Apartheid or <sup>a</sup> Separate Development do not admit the RIGHT of the Non-Europeans to equal participation in the supreme legislature . The most they are prepared to concede is that at some date in the future ( the year 2000 A.D. is most often mentioned ) it might be possible to give certain rights to Non-Europeans in "their own areas" . What those areas are supposed to be and what those rights will be is , of course, to be determined by a supreme legislative body in which Non-Europeans have negligible or no representation.

#### All National Groups shall have equal rights

In a country such as South Africa which is inhabited by members of different ethnic groups the question of Equal Rights for all national groups is of paramount importance.

"If we grant equal rights to the 'Natives' who form a majority of the population we will be swamped! So screams the White Supremacist in his demagogic appeals to European voters . He never goes on to say that if no



rights are granted it will similarly lead to disaster.

The two major White political parties in South Africa whose policies are based on White Supremacy hold out no hope for the creation of a democratic and united multi-racial society . They bluff the Europeans into believing that a democratic multi-racial community will mean the physical disappearance of minority groups and the survival of one - the African group.

The possibility , nay , the necessity for all groups in South Africa to co-exist within the bounds of a single polity on the basis of equality and mutual respect is not conceded by the advocates of white supremacy. Their way is the eternal repression of Non-White peoples as a means of preserving the white race. A dismal policy which betrays an utter lack of creative and imaginative statesmanship without which the future will be dark indeed.

The multi-racial Congress Movement does not share this outlook . As clearly stated in the Freedom Charter the Congress view the future South Africa as one in which all national groups shall exist in equality . In fact under such conditions as will obtain in a free South Africa - freed from racial inhibitions - the genuine national culture of the different national groups will flourish simultaneously with the discovery of a common South African culture.

The Freedom Charter looks forward to the existence in a free South Africa of several national groups bound by a common patriotism but each capable of making a distinct contribution to a progressive South African culture and to the common weal.