

Fort Hare, 52.89  
Alice C.P.  
20th November 1952.

My Dear Papa,

Thanks ever so much for the lovely magazines we received yesterday. I was al so happy to get some inside information about the moves regarding the UNO affair. So the Liberian chap made a mess. I did mention to Dr. Njongwe that it was strange that a matter of this kind was left to the Liberian delegate who is a mere sattelite of the U.S.A. I suppose there is no way of repairing the damage. Well we will have to try some other means. Over here they of course splashed the news that the U.N.O. had refused to hear papa. It was in all the papers and they gave part of the arguments used by the chairman. I must say I am pretty fed up with the U.S.A., their stand is rotten and the Eastern nations have beaten the West on the colour issue. It is remarkable the extent to which a powerful country like the U.S.A. can allow itself to be blackmailed by tiny little South Africa. I suppose the problem is more complex owing to the attitude of France and Great Britain. But still I think America has lost African friendship. As far as I am concerned I will henceforth look East where race discrimination is so taboo that it is made a crime by the state.

The biggest news this week is the policy speech of the leader of the opposition at the U.P. Congress in Bloemfontein.. It is the same old trash and provides no answer to the demands of the Defiance campaign at all. Strauss has come for the policy of repatriation of the Indians and as far as we are concerned-- residential segregation and building of bridges between the Europeans and the Africans through consultation with 'moderate' leaders. It seems this chap is deliberately plotting to lose the election to the Nats. Behind the scenes there is however a great deal of activity. Meetings are taking place -- described as informal - between M.P.'s, Congressites, Trust Fund directors, Torch Commando chaps and Sisulu. They realise that we are not capable of being bribed so they are trying the method of promising certain political changes if and when they get back to power. The Statement by Strauss has knocked the bottom out of all these exploratory conversations. I think we must forget these chaps and carry on with the struggle. I understand a split in the U.P. is certain. This is doubtful. The effect of an imminent General election is to push on one ~~xx~~ side all talk of splits.

After the P.E. strike the city Council and Railway Administration dismissed hundreds of workers. They went and collected a thousand coloured workers from Graaff Reinat and K Jansenville. In two days time it became clear that there were certain disadvantages about Coloureds. Firstly the Coloureds could not do the work. Then they had to be paid more than is paid to Africans. Then ~~xxx~~ Coloureds found the atmosphere in P.E. was not healthy for people who took the jobs of the Africans. They deserted. The ~~xxx~~ Council and Railways had to find a way out. It was impossible to get any Africans in the Ciskei as this was a strong A.N.C. area. So they had to get back to the workers who had just been dismissed. They could not do this without a face-saving formula. So they persuaded a few African stooges including the Rev. G.Molefe, Rev. Hlaula, T.Ntshinga, Mr. Nekiwe and Mr. Nongongo. to come in a deputation to the council and plead that the Africans must be taken back as they had been frightened into going on strike. Also this deputation of "reasonable" Africans suggested that as the New Brighton railway served a Native area it should have no apartheid in it. Then the Council announced certain reforms including ~~xxix~~ technical training for Africans, play grounds etc. Before the conversations were over the workerwere already being taken back. The Council and Railways had had their bluff called. Papa can imagine the effect on the people. They are of course not deceived by the Molefe deputation. It is such a transparent trick and was done so stupidly that no one could be deceived. Perhaps the idea of the governemnt was to build up the "reasonable" leadership and to show what could be achieved through pleading. Insead they have exposed Molefe and the other chaps to considerable danger. Also this incident has shown the people that if we Africans are united and there are no scabs then the employer must take back the workers. The suggestion that apartheid should be removed at New Brighton might seem clever to the Whites. It will be clear proof to the people of the efficacy of Defiance as a means of removing disabilities. In taking back workers these chaps suggested that they would take them back and treat them as new employees. We again withdrew the labour of these workers on condition they were restored to their former position. This they also had to accept! As far as P.E. is concerned there are two administrations. The recognised one and the A.N.C. That is clear even to a political infant. As we are







banned from attending gatherings and meetings are banned we have to employ the much more difficult but more effective organisational weapon of the house to house campaign. We can still hold meetings indoors but only the churches allow us in their buildings. I think the people are learning more politics now than ever before. A leaflet is more effective than a speech in the sense that a person can always refer to the contents of a pamphlet and reason it out. When the ban is lifted we are planning the biggest meeting ever seen in Port Elizabeth as a show of A.N.C. strength. Incidentally it came over the news to-day that a class-room is a gathering as also a church congregation. That is awful because people like the Rev. Calata and a number of teachers are also banned. We are taking up the matter and are going to have a test case on the legality of the bans.

Dr. Xuma has issued a very clever statement breaking what he call "his three years silence". As usual the statement is made without any approaches having been made to the A.N.C. Since the campaign we in the Youth League have repeatedly urged the Xuma group to work with the A.N.C. in these difficult times. They have consistently refused. Now Xuma issues a statement in which among other things he says "the A.N.C. will call off the campaign if the government agrees to consultation with the leaders". How does he know? and what right has he to speak as if he has consulted with the leadership? Well thats the trouble with some of us we cannot work with others but must decide on our own what to do. The Whites -- some of them-- have jumped at this statement and believe that Xuma has a certain influence that might get the campaign called off so that South Africa can be "peaceful again!" They are in for a disappointment.

The governemnt has now admitted that our post has been tampered with in accordance with instructions received from the Attorney-General. That Ninehundred dollars is in their hands. There is no knowing how much of our money found itself into their hands.

Well Papa thats all for the present. Everybody at home is well. Tralie is a very big girl. Tumie has finished his exams. Maspie will bethrough on Saturday. We will soon have to be leaving for the holidays. I will be through next week Saturday. Nozedai got a boy. She is not yet back from hospital. Papa has not sent us his inaugural address. If mama has money she must buy me one of those cameras which take colour pictures. I understand gadget of all sorts are much cheaper there. Cameras, watches, pens. Can't papa get somebody to buy him a brand new dodge ~~klere~~? Surely they must be cheap over there. Lots of love from all the gang.

Your Loving Son,

Bakwe

P.S. I have sent eighteen Agents of mine to the Transkei. Papa will soon hear a lot about the Transkei.

J.B.