

Fort Hare,  
Alice C.P.  
30th November 1952.

My dear Papa,

Its all over with exams now and we will merely sit back now and await the results. After doing two papers almost in grand style in Latin I went and made an utter mess of the vital unseen passages. I am so disappointed. Lesego is doing her last paper tomorrow - the latin paper. She will I hope salvage the family honour with respect to this subject. We are ready to move now, but it is a matter of grave doubt now as to whether or not we should go to Kimberley. The situation in the country has become so bad for us that we have to severely restrict our movements. In the course of the letter I will indicate to papa how this is happening.

As far as the political situation is concerned I would, if I were writing a fiction novel, characterize it as "Ballyhoo". It is only the tragic content of events that restrains one from sometimes bursting into continued laughter at the ridiculous suggestions and the panic of the White population of this country.

First of all I must tell Papa of the wooing of Congress that is going on. tremendous pressure is being brought to bear on the A.N.C. to call off the campaign in view of the impending election. The United party which, in the programme announced by Strauss at the U.P. Congress two weeks ago, has completely capitulated to the Nats on the colour issue, is trying to convince us that the D-C will win the election for the Nats. We have had meetings at the highest level with these chaps. In the Cape herethe man who came to see us was the highest official in the Millionaire organisation that is behind a great deal of U.P. activity. Later on here was a meeting in Johannesburg at the highest level. The position has not ~~exstx~~ crystallised yet. The trouble is that they offer nothing at all, except to say that ~~Strauss~~ if they get back to power the prime minister will call a convention of all races in S.A. This conference, which will also include certain church groups and commercial and mining interests will discuss the whole political, social, and economic position in S.A. When we asked what was meant by African representatives they said that would of course be the A.N.C. but they could not express that openly. That was where the talks starting breaking down. These fellows want us to call off the Defiance campaign, isolate us from the masses and then side-step us and call so-called "reasonable leaders who would be dictated to. I will have to give papa details of this later on. The trouble is that I am not certain as to whether ~~xxxxxx~~ the letters are not interfered with.

The next big event is the furore which was caused by papa's letter exposing the pressure that was brought to bear on you not to accept the invitation of U.N.O. The worst feature of this has been the manner in which Dent turned round completely and became an enemy of the people and of papa. As soon as the South African press heard this story they of course rushed to ask Dent what had happened. Dent virtually said papa was not speaking the truth, that papa was perhaps mistaking a warning for a threat. And he came rushing here to me that day (on which this appeared) before I had even washed to say that the press had distorted what he did say. I was not interested in what he said and just politely listened. He then went round here telling everybody that the press had misunderstood him as he had been interviewed per telephone. I was not impressed with his protests in view of his line which has become consistently pro-government and anti-D.-C. Well some people believed him. Fortunately the majority of the students had left or we would have had a mess here. As far as the press was concerned they left out the whole story of threats by the ambassador and the state department and they stuck to the college threat for which they had Dents denial to give them what appeared solid. The impression they were trying to create was that papa had become a sort of Communist in his tactics by making wild statements overseas. Dent then wrote a long letter to the despatch in which he was, I understand trying to explain how he had been misquoted in the former press report. This letter was worse. Here he entered into the merits of papa's appearing at U.N. and supported the government contention that it was bound to take a serious view of your appearing there. He went so far as to say that as papa was employed by a college getting a subsidy from the government papa was not free to speak! He is now being attacked right and left because he has exposed himself. The Nusas crowd were the first to point out that this was public money which the government used to subsidise

universities . And the subsidies were a demand of the government they went not granted by the grace of the government. The freedom of the universities was not taken away by means of these grants. We of course are sick with the whole thing and Dent is probably the most hated chap outside the government group. At first I used to think Dent was merely ignorant of political issues but now I am satisfied that for whatever motive he has become a loyal Nat supporter. Tumie sent papa the cuttings regarding this incident. By the way I hope you receive these cuttings.

Meantime the ballyhoo continues. South Africa is now an occupied country in the hands of occupation troops. The Cape in particular is just an armed camp. Little places like Alice are full of them and they have parades in the villages to overawe the people. We are to have a big special conference at Grahamstown yesterday but the previous day Verwoerd issued a proclamation banning all meetings throughout South Africa in "Native areas and locations." This was done in terms of the Native Administration Act and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. I do not know how this will affect the annual conference. The national Executive is meeting tomorrow to consider the position. I have not yet ~~received~~ received a copy of this proclamation issued by the supreme chief of the "Natives". This measure only ~~gives~~ allows concerts, religious meetings and meetings by M.P.'s, administration officials etc. All others must get the permission of the magistrate. So the whole of the Union is now affected and the A.N.C. is virtually forced underground. The penalties are very heavy-- a fine not exceeding £300 and imprisonment of three years.

They are also adopting a new technique now of just arresting a person and alleging a breach of some law. Then they keep you in Jail on the ground that they are investigating and refuse bail. That is one reason why I would not like to touch Kimberley where this is done a lot. With those of us who have these orders not to attend gatherings they just allege a breach of this and keep you in jail. This has already happened to some fellows. The Kimberley executive were at last let out on bail of £250 each! These fellows think they will embarrass the movement financially with these heavy bails. We had to pay two thousand for the Kimberley people. Sesedi, by the way is one of the people arrested on the Suppression charge. He has been coming on well since the campaign started in Kimberley and now there he is also arrested. The other men are Dr. Letele, Daniel Chabalala (chairman A.N.C.) Alexander Nkoane (secretary) Rev. Sehume, P. Madibane, David Mpiwa, S. Phakedi. Papa will remember Nkoane as the man who used to sign off his letters with the expression "your fellow slave". In two weeks time the conference of the Congress will be meeting whatever happens and vital decisions will have to be made in view of the impending menace of open fascism in the country. I hope to be able to send you the peoples calendars which will be coming out soon with the pictures of twenty-five leaders of the D.C.. When we finish paying off the accounts for this month we will move off to Durban where I think the conference will take place. The gang is itching for the holiday and to move to a province where the strain of life is not as acute as that of the Cape. There will be changes in the leadership as a result of the elections. I understand papa is also one of the candidates for presidency. I hope papa refuses nomination straightaway. I can imagine the leader of present-day A.N.C. being a professor at Fort Hare, it would produce confusion at Fort Hare and in the country generally. Its a pity papa is not independent of SANC. Well papa thats all for the present. Lots of love to mama. Is she back from the tour?

Your Loving Son,

*Takwe*

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