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Fort Hare,
Alice. C.P.
13th August 1952.

My Dear Papa,

Only two days left before mama leaves us and we are ready to take her to East London and give her a big send-off. In spite of the distance between our country and America and I am not too disturbed by the prospect of not having mama around. I think it is our duty to allow our parents to make the most of an opportunity by doing a few of the things that they normally have to worry about. Modern means of communication have made the world a small place and any real emergency can be taken care off. Objectively speaking papa and mama are more isolated in America and more in need of sympathy than we are. After all we live certain in the knowledge that whatever happens we have our feet solid on the soil of the country we have known all our life with hundreds of relatives, friends, sympathisers etc. around us. In a way its a good thing mama remained behind a bit. She will leave knowing the routine that will more or less be followed with you away. Mama Pauline arrived here from Durban last Saturday and will be here for some time.

In my last letter I told Papa about the raids and tried to explain that they were part of a get-tough policy which the Malanites were being forced to adopt. Malan had told the country that he would take action against the leaders immediately they attempt to prosecute this campaign. When the campaign began he characterised his attitude as one of "waiting until the tortoise puts out its head." A few weeks later he called the emergency cabinet meeting. Thereafter there were more signs of the get tough-policy which the Nats intended. Volunteers, especially in East London were badly treated; sentences were imposed to the limit fixed by law; lashes were imposed as punishment on all volunteers under the age of twenty-one; and the Nat became more and more hysterical in its demand for action against the volunteers. A tactic employed by the police was also to try and get the people provoked into violence. At P.E. Mrs. Matomela who was praying outside the law courts for the people gathered was snatched by the police virtually in the midst of the service. About two hundred of the Africans with their natural curiosity rushed forward to see what was happening. Now apparently the place where they were taking her was not allowed to the public and the police without warning charged with batons. The people ran away and one or two who threw stones were stopped by the volunteers. In the meantime the police released Mrs. Matomela. It turns out that they were not going to charge her, as in fact there was nothing to charge her with. Quite clearly they had snatched her away in the hope that it would provoke trouble. Dr. Njongwe challenged the police to lay a charge against Mrs. Matomela failing which he claimed they had resorted to provocation. The chief of police merely contented himself by saying that he had not received a report on the matter! Fortunately no one was hurt seriously. A gain in Grahamstown in the same week there was a baton charge against the spectators to the trials. This was when the second group of fifty-five went into action. In Grahamstown has sent in one hundred and eighty so far. The incidents were part of the policy of get-tough which was gradually being found necessary in the face of the growing number of volunteers being sent into action and the obvious mass enthusiasm which the campaign has aroused as seen in the almost unanimous cry of "Afrika" which the Africans voice to-day.

Yesterday with the number of volunteers who have gone into action at two thousand, one hundred and seventy one, the government went into action. Eleven leaders of the ANC and SAIC were arrested by the police under charges based on the Suppression of Communism act. The men arrested included, N.R. Mandela, W.M. Sisulu, Y.M. Dadoo, A.M. Kathrada (chairman Indian Youth Congress), N. Thandray (joint sec. Transvaal Indian Congress), Macdonald Maseko (executive member A.N.C. Transvaal) S. Sello (acting secretary A.N.C. Transvaal), J.B. Marks, and three other whose names I can not yet supply. It is interesting that the majority of these leaders have never been connected with the C.P. and in fact people like Cachalia could not be named; but now they being charged under the "red act". This is the beginning of a great "conspiracy trial" and we are expecting more leaders to be arrested. I think the government has completely mis-read the mood of the people. The seems to be that the campaign can be headed off with the arrest of the leaders. I also thought so a few weeks ago. To-day I realise that such an attitude does not take account of the political consciousness of the masses and the extent to which they have been following the progress of

the A.N.C. campaign. I have complete faith in the ability of the Africans to produce the necessary leadership in any given situation. We have put before them a clear-cut policy and programme and they will cut through the wiles of politicians and get on the road to freedom no matter what happens to the leaders. The Malanites do not realise too that the Congress leaders deliberately have moved slower than the masses in this respect- that the masses are calling for mass action in the form of " UKUHLAMLA PHANTSI IIVEKI EZIMBINI". Papa can imagine what would happen if the ~~masses~~ were prepared to sacrifice themselves to that extent. The sacrifice will not be in vain. A certain lie is now being spread to the effect that Congress is getting all this support through intimidation. The "Star" and the Sunday Tribune started this nonsense. They openly said that " press-gang methods are being used to get volunteers". In the Eastern Cape this is being utilised to create a situation whereby the presence of thousands of police can be justified. Taho is addressing two meetings this week. One at "King" on Saturday and another at Fort Beaufort on Sunday. The chap is alive with revolutionary ardour.

On the U.P. front the hearing ~~is~~ has begun on the High Court of Parliament Act, in the Cape Supreme court. Beyers is there and Duncan. I am enclosing an amusing sidelight on these two from the " Post". But these U.P. and Torch Commando chaps are politically in a queer situation. There is now a big build-up of Lawrence, following his performance in the last session of Parliament. The fact that he has an Afrikaner mother is being stressed I suppose in order to show that he can lead South African Whites and not just the English. The weakness of Strauss and his inability to take a positive decision are a great handicap to the poor U.P. Well we do not care what they do, we are determined to do our bit to cry halt to fascism and save the whole population of South Africa. Yes, our letters are being tampered with and phones are definitely tapped. But our aims and the objectives by which we are going to achieve them are public property. But it is precisely this lack of secrecy which confounds the government. They think there must be something which they have not yet discovered.

Well papa that is all for the present. Mama will be on the ~~xx~~ Arundel castle. Her friends have started overwhelming her with offers in England. Dr. Watts will meet her at Southampton and hopes she will be able to spend sometime with them. And then Miss Cunningham sent a cable today to say she had booked a double room at some hotel in London for the 5th, 6th, and 7th! Everyone is alright. Greetings from all.

Your loving Son,

Bakwe

P.S. Kotane, Tloome, Phillips (Coloured leader in the Transvaal) H. Seperepere (Tr. l. Volunteer-in-chief). Maurice Cachalia - have also been arrested. Hundreds of police massing in P.E. It is believed they are preparing to arrest Njongwe. The fight is on.