

KANTOOR VAN DIE EERSTE MINISTER

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

CAPE TOWN.

29th January, 1952.

Dear Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your undated letter addressed to the Prime Minister and to reply as follows:-

It is noted that your submission is framed in terms of a resolution adopted at its recent session in Bloemfontein of the "African National Congress." Resolutions adopted by the African National Congress at its annual meetings were, in the past, sent to and dealt with by the Minister of Native Affairs and his Department. On this occasion, however, there has been a definite departure from the traditional procedure in as much as you have addressed yourself directly to the Prime Minister in order to present him with an ultimatum. This new approach is probably accounted for by the recent rift or purge in Congress circles, after which it is doubtful whether you can claim to speak authoritatively on behalf of the body known to the Government as the African National Congress.

The Prime Minister is, however, prepared to waive this point and to reply to various points raised by you and also to your ultimatum as he feels that the Government's attitude in the matter should be clearly stated.

The first point which stands out clearly in your letter is that your organisation maintains that since 1912, although no Government in the past has even been able to consider this, the objective has been the abolition of all differentiating laws. It now demands such abolition as well as consequential direct representation in Parliament, provincial and municipal councils in all Provinces, and in all councils of State as an inherent right.

You will realise, I think, that it is self-contradictory to claim as an inherent right of the Bantu who differ in many ways from the Europeans that they should be regarded as not different, especially when it is borne in mind that these differences are permanent and not man-made. If this is a matter of indifference to you and if you do not value your racial characteristics, you cannot in any case dispute the Europeans' right, which in this case is definitely an inherent right, to take the opposite view and to adopt the necessary measures to preserve their identity as a separate community.

It should be understood clearly that the Government will under no circumstances entertain the idea of giving administrative or executive or legislative powers over Europeans, or within a European community, to Bantu men and women, or to other smaller non-European groups. The Government, therefore, has no intention of repealing the long-existing laws differentiating between European and Bantu.

.../You

You demand that the Union should no longer remain a State controlled by the Europeans who developed it to the advantage of all groups of the population. You demand that it should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Bantu, Indian and other non-European groups together with Europeans without any distinction whatsoever, and with no restriction on the possible gradual development of a completely mixed community. Nevertheless you apparently wish to create the impression that such demands should be regarded as a generous gesture of goodwill towards the European community of this country. It is quite clear that the very opposite is true. This is not a genuine offer of co-operation, but an attempt to embark on the first steps towards supplanting European rule in the course of time.

Racial harmony cannot be attained in this manner. Compliance with such demands must inevitably lead to disaster for all population groups. Not only temporary racial tension, due to misunderstanding, but worse would follow, and the Bantu would suffer first and most. For instance, if the latter were to be exposed to full competition, without their present protection, they would soon lose the land now safeguarded and being increased for them. The masses would suffer misery indeed, if they lost the many privileges which the Union of South Africa - in contrast to other countries - provides for them. They would pay the price in order to satisfy the political ambitions of the few who are prepared to tear loose from the background of their own nation. The road to peace and goodwill lies in the acceptance of the fact that separate population groups exist, and in giving each group the opportunity of developing its ambitions and capacities in its own area, or within its own community, on its own lines, in the service of its own people.

Your third point is that the differentiating laws are of an oppressive and degrading nature. This again is a totally incorrect statement. The laws are largely of a protective nature. Even those laws which are regarded as particularly irksome by the Bantu people, have not been made in order to persecute them, but for the purpose of training them in the performance of those duties which must be fully observed by all who wish to claim rights. The fact that you refer to a betterment law (Stock Limitation) as being one of the oppressive laws, is a clear indication of your failure to understand that the function of such laws is to protect the interests and the land of the Bantu Community, both present and in future.

It is even more significant that you should condemn the Bantu Authorities Act, which was designed to give the Bantu people the opportunity for enlightened administration of their own affairs in accordance with their own heritage and institutions, adapted to modern conditions. It should be clearly understood that while the Government is not prepared to grant the Bantu political equality within the European community, it is only too willing to encourage Bantu initiative, Bantu service and Bantu administration within the Bantu community, and there to allow the Bantu full scope for all his potentialities.

I must, now, refer to your ultimatum. Notwithstanding your statement that your Congress has taken the decision to present its ultimatum to the government in full appreciation of the consequences it entails, the Prime Minister wishes to call your attention to the extreme gravity of pursuing the course indicated by you. In the interests of the Bantu he advises you to reconsider your decision. Should you adhere to your expressed intention of embarking on a campaign of defiance and disobedience

to the Government, and should you in the implementation thereof incite the Bantu population to defy law and order the Government will make full use of the machinery at its disposal to quell any disturbances and, thereafter, deal adequately with those responsible for inciting subversive activities of any nature whatsoever.

The Prime Minister has instructed me to urge you to let wiser counsels prevail and to devote your energies to constructive programmes for development for the Bantu people. This can be done by the opportunities offered by the Government for building up local Bantu government and administration within all spheres of Bantu life.

This could be co-operation in the real sense of the word. Your organisation could render a lasting service to the Bantu population of South Africa, by helping the Government to carry out this programme of goodwill. The Prime Minister trusts that you will take these words to heart, and that you will decide to work for the welfare of your people in a constructive way.

Yours faithfully,

(sgd.) M. Aucamp
PRIVATE SECRETARY.

The Secretary,
The African National Congress,
P. O. Box 9207,
JOHANNESBURG.

AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

WHISPERING CAMPAIGN AGAINST DR. MOROKA

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

SCTIONS of the African as well as the European Press continue to devote considerable space to rumours that Dr. Moroka, President General of the African National Congress, might not seek re-election when the Congress meets at Kimberley in annual conference a little more than a fortnight from today. Dr. Moroka himself made his position quite clear in a recent interview with 'Drum,' when he said that he would be willing to serve his people in any capacity; in other words, if the African people still want him, he would accept re-election.

The persistence with which his alleged intention to retire from politics is being discussed raises two suspicions. Either the reports of his alleged intentions are inspired by the authorities in the hope that they might sow confusion in the ranks of the defiance campaigners or they are a clumsy move on the part of Dr. Moroka's opponents to shake popular confidence in him. But to see the whole matter in its proper perspective, let us have a glance at the reasons alleged to be responsible for Dr. Moroka's desire to retire. Firstly, it is being said that Dr. Moroka still smarts under what he felt to be a pointed snub from his working committee about two or three months ago when the latter issued a statement in conflict with a pronouncement he had made earlier to the effect that the race question was essentially South Africa's domestic affair.

Secondly, it is being said that Dr. Moroka has been frightened by the threat to imprison him under the Suppression of Communism Act. It is being said that he declined to seek the advice of Counsel for Congress when preparing his defence to show he had no sympathies with his colleagues on the national working committee.

To make it a little more spicy, it is being argued that there is reason to believe that broad hints have been given to him by the Government that if he makes no public appearances on Congress platforms, he might have the case against himself withdrawn.

Thirdly, it is being suggested that when the Police raided the Congress head offices they laid their hands on documents and correspondence about which Dr. Moroka knew nothing.

Some of the letters, it is said, were alleged to have been signed by him when, in fact, he had not done this.

From this the outlines of the oppressor's strategy emerge clearer. By all means, Dr. Moroka will be held out as a reasonable man; a moderate man whose prestige is being exploited by the political "scoundrels" in the working committee who forge his signature or something like that to achieve their own selfish ends.

But what are the facts of the whole matter? Both Dr. Moroka and his executive committee (and, therefore the working committee as well) were elected on the non-cooperation card. He and advisers in the executive committee as well as in the provinces, pledged themselves to carry out the 1949 programme of action.

And since his election this is what he has done to implement his promise: He resigned from the NRC and in that way brought an end to that useless body; he called out the Africans to protest against oppression on June 26, 1950; he brought into being the Indo-African alliance and, finally, called for 10,000 volunteers to defy unjust laws and go to prison for it. As I wrote the response is well on the way to reaching the eight thousand mark. If these has not surprised him, it certainly has exceeded the expectations of some of the leaders of Congress itself.

In short, the African people have, in three short years, demonstrated as clearly as is humanly possible that they are solidly behind Dr. Moroka. He, on his part, has shown openly that he is a man of courage, a man who will not baulk at the idea of taking grave decisions. Why he should think of running away from his people when everything is now in his favour; when his policy is meeting with success everywhere, in spite of provocateurs who stir up riots, is something I cannot understand. Above everything Dr. Moroka called out ten thousand Africans to go to jail. And by the time the conference of the African National Congress meets in Kimberley nearly ten thousand men and women shall have gone to prison in just

about six months. These are the people who will attend the annual conference either in person or through their delegates. When they get to conference they will expect Dr. Moroka to tell them what to do, now that they have shown they are a solid and disciplined army of free-loving men and women ready to do his bidding. I cannot imagine Dr. Moroka saying he has called them to say he has decided not to lead them anymore, after the sacrifices they made to obey his call!

The enemies of the African people, of course, knew that Dr. Moroka is a dangerous man to trifle with. Enjoying as he does the confidence of the Africans in all the provinces of the Union, they knew that he will not rest before he has got what he set out to obtain for them. The best thing to do now is to start something very much akin to a whispering campaign. If it develops in volume and creates ill-feeling in the ranks of Congress, our enemies shall have triumphed. If it can persuade Dr. Moroka that he should clear out of Congress and make himself a world laughing-stock, our enemies will be the first to poke fun at him.

All this, however, should not be read as an attempt to suggest that everything is in order inside the African National Congress. There are small, mainly non-African pressure groups inside the High Command of the resistance campaign which exercise an influence out of all proportion to their actual contribution to the struggle itself.

There is a tendency to take it for granted that the Transvaal should have the biggest say in the conduct of the campaign, when its performance does not in any way compare with the magnificent achievements of Dr. J. L. Z Njongwe's Cape Congress.

There are other tensions, not only inside the High Command but also in the provincial Congresses. But none of these are of such a nature as to warrant a dangerous demonstration by the President-General of the African National Congress.

Nor is there a rival on the horizon strong enough to unseat Dr. Moroka at the moment. It is true, the liberals and some of their friends are already trying to build up what they have been pleased to call "moderate African leaders." Dr. A. B. Xuma, Dr. Moroka's predecessor in office, has been given the widest publicity in the White Press of late. The idea was to make him the rallying-point of the so-called African moderates and, if possible, to persuade him to stand against Dr. Moroka. In a recent Press statement, however, Dr. Xuma stated quite clearly that today there is no such a thing as an "African moderate." In other words he made it plain that his sympathies are overwhelmingly with the resistance campaign.

And there is every reason why he should feel this way. Only a short while ago, one of his closest personal friends, the Reverend James Calata, of Grahamstown, was debarred from preaching the word of God for six months by the Christian Government of Daniel Francois Malan. If there was a moderate African leader, Mr. Calata was one—in the fine sense of the word; an upright and Christian gentleman endowed with great courage and abiding love for Africa. What has it profited him? To be banned as though he were a Communist agent which he never has been; is not and is not likely ever to be.

Against this background, the wisest attitude to take at this stage towards the rumours about Dr. Moroka's intention to retire is that they are one more attempt to break up the defiance campaign.

P.O. Box 96.

Phone 24471.

To Furnish Your Home Economically

See

LALA BABHAI & CO. (PTY.) LTD.

107 Prince Edward Street, DURBAN.

Stockists of:—

NEW & RECONDITIONED FURNITURE & HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS, RADIOS & RADIOGRAMS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, SEWING MACHINES & OFFICE FURNITURE Etc.

Exporters and Commission Agents for Natal Fruit and Vegetables. We specialize in green ginger and Indian Vegetables. Wholesale only. Write for particulars Box 96, Durban.

AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

WHISPERING CAMPAIGN AGAINST
DR. MOROKA

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

SECTIONS of the African as well as the European Press continue to devote considerable space to rumours that Dr. Moroka, President General of the African National Congress, might not seek re-election when the Congress meets at Kimberley in annual conference a little more than a fortnight from today. Dr. Moroka himself made his position quite clear in a recent interview with 'Drum,' when he said that he would be willing to serve his people in any capacity; in other words, if the African people still want him, he would accept re-election.

The persistence with which his alleged intention to retire from politics is being discussed raises two suspicions. Either the reports of his alleged intentions are inspired by the authorities in the hope that they might sow confusion in the ranks of the defiance campaigners or they are a clumsy move on the part of Dr. Moroka's opponents to shake popular confidence in him.

But to see the whole matter in its proper perspective, let us have a glance at the reasons alleged to be responsible for Dr. Moroka's desire to retire. Firstly, it is being said that Moroka still smarts under what he felt to be a pointed snub from his working committee about two or three months ago when the latter issued a statement in conflict with a pronouncement he had made earlier to the effect that the race question was essentially South Africa's domestic affair.

Secondly, it is being said that Dr. Moroka has been frightened by the threat to imprison him under the Suppression of Communism Act. It is being said that he declined to seek the advice of Counsel for Congress when preparing his defence to show he had no sympathies with his colleagues on the national working committee.

To make it a little more spicy, it is being argued that there is reason to believe that broad hints have been given to him by the Government that if he makes no public appearances on Congress platforms, he might have the case against himself withdrawn.

Thirdly, it is being suggested that when the Police raided the Congress head offices they laid their hands on documents and correspondence about which Dr. Moroka knew nothing.

Some of the letters, it is said, were alleged to have been signed by him when, in fact, he had not done this.

From this the outlines of the oppressor's strategy emerge clearer. By all means, Dr. Moroka will be held out as a reasonable man; a moderate man whose prestige is being exploited by the political "scoundrels" in the working committee who forge his signature or something like that to achieve their own selfish ends.

But what are the facts of the whole matter? Both Dr. Moroka and his executive committee (and, therefore the working committee as well) were elected on the non-cooperation card. He and advisers in the executive committee as well as in the provinces, pledged themselves to carry out the 1949 programme of action.

And since his election this is what he has done to implement his promise: He resigned from the NRC and in that way brought an end to that useless body; he called out the Africans to protest against oppression on June 26, 1950; he brought into being the Indo-African alliance and, finally, called for 10,000 volunteers to defy unjust laws and go to prison for it. As I wrote the response is well on the way to reaching the eight thousand mark. If these has not surprised him, it certainly has exceeded the expectations of some of the leaders of Congress itself.

In short, the African people have, in three short years, demonstrated as clearly as is humanly possible that they are solidly behind Dr. Moroka. He, on his part, has shown openly that he is a man of courage, a man who will not baulk at the idea of taking grave decisions. Why he should think of running away from his people when everything is now in his favour; when his policy is meeting with success everywhere, in spite of provocateurs who stir up riots, is something I cannot understand. Above everything Dr. Moroka called out ten thousand Africans to go to jail. And by the time the conference of the African National Congress meets in Kimberley nearly ten thousand men and women shall have gone to prison in just

about six months. These are the people who will attend the annual conference either in person or through their delegates. When they get to conference they will expect Dr. Moroka to tell them what to do, now that they have shown they are a solid and disciplined army of free-loving men and women ready to do his bidding. I cannot imagine Dr. Moroka saying he has called them to say he has decided not to lead them anymore, after the sacrifices they made to obey his call!

The enemies of the African people, of course, knew that Dr. Moroka is a dangerous man to trifle with. Enjoying as he does the confidence of the Africans in all the provinces of the Union, they knew that he will not rest before he has got what he set out to obtain for them. The best thing to do now is to start something very much akin to a whispering campaign. If it develops in volume and creates ill-feeling in the ranks of Congress, our enemies shall have triumphed. If it can persuade Dr. Moroka that he should clear out of Congress and make himself a world laughing-stock, our enemies will be the first to poke fun at him.

All this, however, should not be read as an attempt to suggest that everything is in order inside the African National Congress. There are small, mainly non-African pressure groups inside the High Command of the resistance campaign which exercise an influence out of all proportion to their actual contribution to the struggle itself.

There is a tendency to take it for granted that the Transvaal should have the biggest say in the conduct of the campaign, when its performance does not in any way compare with the magnificent achievements of Dr. J. L. Z Njongwe's Cape Congress.

There are other tensions, not only inside the High Command but also in the provincial Congresses. But none of these are of such a nature as to warrant a dangerous demonstration by the President-General of the African National Congress.

Nor is there a rival on the horizon strong enough to unsettle Dr. Moroka at the moment. It is true, the liberals and some of their friends are already trying to build up what they have been pleased to call "moderate African leaders." Dr. A. B. Xuma, Dr. Moroka's predecessor in office, has been given the widest publicity in the White Press of late. The idea was to make him the rallying-point of the so-called African moderates and, if possible, to persuade him to stand against Dr. Moroka. In a recent Press statement, however, Dr. Xuma stated quite clearly that today there is no such a thing as an "African moderate." In other words he made it plain that his sympathies are overwhelmingly with the resistance campaign. And there is every reason why he should feel this way. Only a short while ago, one of his closest personal friends, the Reverend James Calata, of Capetown, was debarred from preaching the word of God for six months by the Christian Government of Daniel Francois Malan. If there was a moderate African leader, Mr. Calata was one—in the fine sense of the term; an upright and Christian gentleman endowed with great courage and abiding love for Africa. What has it profited him? To be banned as though he were a Communist agent which he never has been; is not and is not likely ever to be.

Against this background, the wisest attitude to take at this stage towards the rumours about Dr. Moroka's intention to retire is that they are one more attempt to break up the defiance campaign.

P.O. Box 96.

Phone 24471.

To Furnish Your Home Economically

See

LALA BABHAI & CO. (PTY.) LTD.

107 Prince Edward Street, DURBAN.

Stockists of:—

NEW & RECONDITIONED FURNITURE & HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS, RADIOS & RADIOGRAMS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, SEWING MACHINES & OFFICE FURNITURE Etc.

Exporters and Commission Agents for Natal Fruit and Vegetables. We specialize in green ginger and Indian Vegetables. Wholesale only. Write for particulars Box 96, Durban.