

Never aim of ANUEL to oust Xuma. Events decided that course. And X. ousted Xuma because it valued its Programme which Xuma would not accept.

## SCEKWE (NURANE)

The resignation of Prof. Matthews and Ir. Moroka from the N.R.C. stemmed directly from the adoption by the ANC of the Programme of Action of 1949 which called specifically for the boycott of that body.

Dr. Xuma was not ousted from office according to any prearranged plan. It was only at Conference in Bloemfontein in 1949 when he rejected the Programme outright, that the I.L. decided to replace him with somebody commanding sufficient respect and prepared to be tied down to the programme. All Dr. Xuma's colleagues refused to stand against him. The "Old Guard" was loyal to Dr. Xuma.

Fortunately for the X., Dr. Moroka had that afternoon resigned from the All-African Convention which was also meeting in Bloemfontein and had the same day joined the A.N.C. He was willing to accept the Presidency on the X.'s conditions. The X. put him up as a candidate. He won. But he was not a politician. And his working committee in Johannesburg ran the organisation as though he did not exist. He was garlanded and made much of. But he took no decisions. He was politically naive.

When, as a result of the Defiance Campaign, he and other leaders were arrested, they decided to defend themselves. Moroka's prestige was high. The presiding judge or magistrate at one stage asked him to address the crowds outside and ask them to be quiet and orderly. They obeyed him.

But the success of the campaign had unforeseen results. First of all, the calling-off of the campaign because of the harsh penalties provided by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, taken together with the fact that the mass of the people had served their prison terms undefended, lay the ANC leaders open to the charge of cowardice. The blame was shifted to Moroka. He was made the scapegoat. And a campaign of denigration (S) was set afoot, which resulted in his being defeated by Luthuli in the elections of the following year. At the time, Luthuli's surrender of the Chieftainship in reply to an ultimatum from Dr. Eiselen (S), Sec. for Native Affairs, had raised his stocks.

Secondly, the enthusiastic response of the African people to the campaign brought back the Old Reds and led to the formation of the Congress of Democrats - a "front" organisation.

SOBUKWE (NGUBANE)

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Treatment meted out to Luthuli in every respect identical to that meted out to Moroka - build him up, give him a name, but, make sure he has no power. Commit him to certain actions and let him bear the @pprobium of failure.

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