

for the political rights of the Negroes. In most of these organization, black and white work together but essentially most of the executive offices are in the hands of the Negro secretaries. The interested whites sit in committees in an advisory capacity and assist in ~~providing~~ <sup>meeting</sup> the financial needs.

In America, projects initiated by Negroes are encouraged financially and other wise by private individual and by duly authorised bodies. There is no such a problem as one often hears in South Africa that we can not employ blacks because we may lose governments or municipal grant.

The ~~United States~~ Government of the United has through ~~her~~ <sup>her</sup> constitution guaranteed the rights of citizenship, protection and immunities before the law of the land to all other citizens ~~irrespective~~ <sup>irrespective</sup> of race or colour or previous condition of servitude. The Government there is more ~~interested~~ <sup>concerned</sup> in things that are common in the population than in their differences. There is no abuse of State power for sectional or racial selfishness.

In America there is no residential segregation. There are no location. The preponderance of one racial group in

one section of the city or the other is due to a natural gravitation of the races + like attracting. Even Harlem, contrary to what has often been suggested is not a location. The Negroes are not living there alone. They are not forced to live there by any special law. They happen to be in the majority in an area of New York city which was quite fashionable twenty-five years ago. The Negro in New York City as in other cities of the North are enjoying full citizenship as a minority race. They have <sup>Municipal</sup> judges, who deal with all the races, they have a <sup>Negro</sup> Revenue Commissioner in the name of Mr Hubert Delaney. He has the same status as other Revenue Commissioners of New York commanding a salary of over 10000 dollars about \$2000. Schools are common in the North but in the Southern states schools are separate.

Mr. B. Masoli, who deputised for Mr. H. Mothle, made an eloquent speech. I thank him for all the good things he has said.

Professor Hoeruli in his, inimitable style has almost excelled himself in <sup>the</sup> saying good things he has said about your humble guest. ~~I appreciate~~ appreciate what he has said. He states that <sup>on</sup> after returning

home to South I must feel like an escaped prisoner who has been recaptured and put back in gaol. In reply, I would like to say I have voluntarily returned to the prison of Native policy in South Africa under protest. I have accepted my indeterminate sentence to be together with my fellow sufferers so as to struggle ~~with~~ together ~~to~~ unloosen the shackles that bind us and then break through the gaol.

~~My beloved~~ Dr Leibman, my good friend, was my 'locum' during my absence. I made my choice on his good qualities as my friend and friend of my people. He did not fail me. He did a difficult job with eminent success. I could not have made a better ~~of~~ choice. I thank ~~him~~. We all thank him.

In conclusion I thank you one and all for the honours <sup>you</sup> have done me by presence and your dignified attention. Many of you have travelled long distance. You have obligated me I am indebted to you.

Those of you who live in Alexandria and vicinity I say watch your interests closely but cooperate with your committee that is trying to improve the <sup>wealth</sup> conditions of this township. Do not make our talk any

more difficult that it is. We have open  
minds We are accessible. We are reasonable.  
We have come to help you retain your township  
for yourselves and for your children. The  
only way you can do that is to avoid creating  
slum conditions in your stands. Avoid  
overcrowding. Remove dirt and filth of  
all kinds on the streets and in your  
yards.

Train and prepare your children to be  
ready to run such townships in future

Your salvation is in your own hands. Believe  
in yourselves - in your leaders. Learn to  
do things for yourselves. Be loyal to your  
friends but believe in your own  
possibilities. Remember that your friend  
can advise you and assist you materially  
but they can never bring salvation for you.  
They will never recognize you as having  
come of age until you counsel so in  
a hundred and one ways.

Unite. Stand together. Work for your  
rights, for your heritage in your home  
land, the land of your forefathers  
and the hope of your children.

N'kosi Sikelel' i-Afrika ( God bless Africa )

H.R. Raikes  
re ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~list~~ <sup>list</sup> of books by  
American med.  
Dear Principal Raikes

I thank you for your  
note of the 7<sup>th</sup> inst. I ~~am~~  
~~pleased~~ <sup>am</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>however, the</sup> ~~say~~ <sup>it does</sup>  
~~not~~ <sup>seem</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~cover~~ <sup>cover</sup> the points  
raised in my letter nor  
is there any reference  
made to ~~the~~ <sup>my</sup> ~~letter~~ <sup>inquiry</sup> ~~which~~  
I quoted as the basis  
of my ~~inquiry~~ <sup>communication</sup>  
The letter referred to  
was as follows Room 115  
H. J.

TO: Bantn Medical Students

As  
returned by you  
J.H.M.C. Lewis

I do not think therefore that  
that I am "troubled by a  
misunderstanding".

Actually, Mr. Principal, <sup>me</sup>  
when the scholars <sup>first</sup> approached  
for advice after receiving  
the circular <sup>letter</sup> <sup>wanting to know what</sup> <sup>they</sup>  
needed the books for later  
reference and review  
during holidays. I told  
them their story was in-  
credible and I ~~could~~ <sup>did not</sup> take  
their suggestions  
in the absence of the  
~~letter~~ <sup>alleged</sup> circular letter.  
I waited for nearly six  
weeks until I received  
a copy of the letter before  
I wrote.

I do not believe that  
~~such~~ action can be considered  
precipitous or in any way  
irresponsible.

~~only~~ I would appreciate if the  
Principal ~~could~~ <sup>could</sup> pay some  
regards <sup>to some of</sup> the points  
raised in order to clarify the

portion forms  
of However from the note  
you sent me it would  
appear that the policy  
(ed) has changed or has  
been misunderstood  
today by Mr Lewin in the terms  
of his letter to the scholars

~~last~~ <sup>and involves a</sup> <sup>roughly</sup>  
No this question is of  
great importance. <sup>NH</sup> I  
would like to have your  
official assurance that  
~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> first paragraph of  
Mr Lewin's <sup>letter</sup> was written  
to the African medical  
scholars without the  
authority of the University  
and that these scholars  
like the rest of other  
University students will  
be under no obligations  
to return or hand over  
to the University any of  
the books they have bought

X I may mention in  
passing that many of these  
men when they leave  
school will have no access  
to good medical libraries  
or laboratories. And  
being generally poor this  
is the only chance they  
have to <sup>buy</sup> build up  
a small reference library  
for future use. Contrary  
to handing over any  
books to form a nucleus  
for his successor I <sup>would</sup> advise  
~~them~~ <sup>students</sup> of them from <sup>personal</sup> experience  
to buy and keep any  
standard ref books that  
can.

Thanking you in advance

Yours v. truly,  
D. B. X



The Town Clerk (Mr Forbes)  
City Hall  
John

Dear Sir re Non-European Western  
Area Removal Scheme

In reply to your letter  
of the 12<sup>th</sup> ultimo which has  
not been delivered, I have  
to state that it is impossible  
for us <sup>to present any</sup> memorandum  
in view of the fact that we  
are in the dark about the  
official attitude of your  
Council since the Council  
has never deemed it fit  
to meet us ~~as~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>ascertain</sup>  
our views as ratepayers.

We do not wish to rely  
on newspaper reports, which may  
be denied or questioned, for our  
case.

Under the circumstances,  
therefore we desire a meeting  
with all the <sup>heads</sup> ~~heads~~ of the  
Committees concerned

in the scheme, to give  
us full detail ~~of the~~

1) Origin and reason for the  
Betsival Scheme

(a) Does the scheme affect  
all non-Europeans in the area

(b) Does it affect Africans  
alone/ Tenants, property owners  
and residents of Western  
Native Townships

2) ~~Full financial implications~~

3) ~~What social or public~~  
welfare service ~~is the~~  
Scheme proposed to render

4) Full financial implications

5) The effect of the scheme  
on the ~~shanty towns~~

of housing for Africans now  
in shanty towns, shelters  
and sublets in the location

6) The scheme and property  
rights of the Africans

This is enough to indicate  
the wide range of ~~the~~

which will include other  
aspects arising from the  
scheme

Other aspects will emerge  
during the discussion

Yours faithfully

I however fear that if we develop bitterness and blame one another without reasonable ground we shall fail to do our duty to ~~our~~ better race relations.

For instance, I do not see why you state "this means that Basner, whom you supported for Senatorship, is in principle no more qualified to speak for Africans than Phineas Jones!" Surely, I ~~take~~ the facts on Mr Basner's case during the election. If you either don't believe me or you know more about what I think and do than myself, show to you. So far as Basner is concerned in the recent election ~~he~~ neither asked for <sup>my support</sup> ~~my support~~ nor needed it.

Secondly, Basner is one of the many Native Parliamentarians and so far as the <sup>Africans are concerned</sup> ~~Parliamentary~~ representatives ~~are~~ <sup>are not</sup>.

104 End Street,

Doorn

The only Europeans who may speak in the cause for African freedom ~~there are~~ many Europeans are doing all they can for better race relations but ~~would~~ <sup>would</sup> never dream of standing as parliamentary <sup>even</sup> representatives and do not ~~care~~ <sup>care</sup> ~~even~~ to have their names advertised as being friends of natives they are merely friends of justice

However, I shall not be so small as to be embittered by any difference of opinion <sup>if they are based on principles and not expediency</sup> ~~that~~ means that we are all thinking all that is necessary <sup>so that</sup> we must respect one another <sup>in</sup> spite of them and place the cause against any personal consideration

With best regards  
Yours sincerely

1. Irreconcilable difference of interests - False
2. African Society is static - standing still - not progressive retrogressive -
3. Children of the government obligation of a loving father to his child - to educate him, to be like him
4. A promise upon a promise.
5. The work of the recent conference
6. Peace and prosperity of all sections

③

is fighting to have it perpetuated in some form or other, and they are alleging that the opposition on the part of the students and the Africans generally is somehow or other inspired by subversive activities. If this rumour is true and I am inclined to put great faith in its source, all I can say is that it is most regrettable for Fort Hare authorities after nearly 30 years of contact with African students to be <sup>still</sup> out of touch with the African thought and to lack the <sup>real</sup> understanding of not only the so-called 'native mind' but also ~~to appreciate~~ that that mind is capable of full development, educationally, without any need of special, <sup>or peculiar</sup> coaching as evidenced by the achievements of Fort Hare graduates and other African trained in various fields of learning and professions abroad. The allegation of African opposition <sup>being due to</sup> 'subversive activities' even using war terminology does not disturb our mind. In fact, it has no foundation because as your Committee will see was in the African's mind long before even the present scheme <sup>was</sup> considered seriously. To us this allegation of subversive activity means merely sound common sense. I may also mention in passing that when the scheme was published at certain authority in public health in the Union public Health said to me one day, Xuma, I do not know what is the

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# The State

Political activities those activities which are concerned with the social regulation of those personal relationships which arise directly out of the fact that men live together in communities and which are susceptible to direct social organization p. 86.

It must be noted that the activities of a 'despotic' and of a 'democratic' State may be identical, while their structural principles seem to be vitally different. But are their structural principles as fundamentally different as they seem? Every despotism which seeks at all to justify its existence seeks to do so on one or another of three principles. Either it claims to be based upon 'divine right and appointment', the ruler, or it claims to be acting in the interests of the ruled and therefore in conformity with their real will, or it claims to be based upon the actual consent of the ruled, tacit or expressed pp. 90-1

... Any attempt to justify a despotic State therefore brings us back to the same principle as that on which 'democratic' States are usually justified - the consent of the ruled. It is true that in a despotism this consent cannot, unless the despot is elected, pass beyond acquiescence, whereas in democracy consent may become, and in real democracy must become, active co-operation. Still, a common ground of principle has been established, and the State, whatever its form of power, is seen to rest on the consent of those who are

Citizens, subjects, members or human con-  
stituents. pp 91-92 (of the date)

..... If the members consent to des-  
potism, well and good, but as soon as  
they desire to assume a more active  
co-operation in the Affairs of State they  
have clearly a right to do so. The present  
democracy in action is only the logical  
development of the principle of consent  
expanded by the application of the actual  
human wills - that is, of the will to eff.  
govt. p. 92.

The State, as an association, has mem-  
bers, and its members are all persons  
ordinarily resident within <sup>the area within</sup> which the  
State ordinarily ~~exercises~~ <sup>exercises</sup> authority. Such  
persons are members of the State, whether  
or not they have votes or political pri-  
vileges, by virtue merely of their ordinary  
residence within the State area, <sup>for the</sup> com-  
pulsory association, and its compul-  
sory character is revealed in two  
ways - in its power to compel all  
persons in its area, and in the right  
of all such persons to membership in  
it. When we say that the State rests  
upon consent, we mean that it rests  
upon the consent of an effective pro-  
portion of all the dwellers within its  
area. p. 94



membership of the State is, however, an almost barren theory without recognized political rights - for without such rights a member can only have his voice heard in time of revolution when the ordinary procedure of the State is in abeyance. What right we must ask, does membership of the State give to the recognition of actual political rights? The answer is implied in what we have said already of consent as the basis of the State. The members of the State have the right to translate a passive consent into an active cooperation by the assumption of political rights. This they habitually do by gradually extending the franchise and other political rights to new sections of the population, as these become articulate in advancing their claim. The logical completion of this development is universal suffrage as the expression of a political articulateness generally diffused through all sections of the people.

pp 94-5  
The essence of the State is to include all sorts of people without reference to the sort of people they are, the sort of beliefs they hold, or the sort of work they do. p 95

The State, then, is an inclusive territorial association, ignoring differences between men and compelling unity in every one who ordinarily dwells within its area.

p 95

Why does the State ignore the differences between men and include all sorts of conditions and what is the sphere of action, or social function, marked out for it by the adoption of this structure? It ignores the differences between men because it is concerned not with their differences, but with their identity and its function and interest, see concerned with men's identity and not with their differences. Objectively stated the principle takes the following form. The concern of the State as an association including all sorts and conditions of men, and concern them, broadly speaking, in the same way, that is in relation to their identity and not to their points of difference.

The State exists primarily <sup>p. 96</sup> to deal with those things which affect all its members more or less equally and in the same way.

(undisputed and peculiar sphere of activity)  
From Social Theory. G. D. H. Cole  
Melhuem & Co. Ltd.  
36 Essex Street W, C  
London

Political rights <sup>and</sup> and the denial  
the exclusion of a people from political  
authority and the denial of full participation  
in political rights stimulates and encourages  
a people to fight for participation in  
political ~~control~~ if not to demand political  
control.

"We have seen that Colonial Political Science  
does not consider non-Christian worth  
franchise" "The People and Policies of South Africa"  
(Religion. p 200).

~~Enemies of South Africa~~  
The South African National Policy  
Nation of Afrikanerdom for down  
nation of Wassers. <sup>segregation</sup>  
Policy of National <sup>Separation</sup>  
Wasserver-unity <sup>White against</sup>  
White  
Problems of Salubron

"Native Problem or European Problem"  
Africans want education - skills - all  
advancement Europeans don't - Want property  
security & stability

To improve the struggle more

Those who remember Russia's stand in the last world war, consider the Russian soldier's exploits, the Russian soldier today, the Russian morale, the Russian's victories in the present war against the full weight of almost the whole alleged invincible German might combined with the stand in the last world war, are a miracle of this age. <sup>It is</sup> ~~It is~~ <sup>indicates</sup> ~~indicates~~ that at least the Russian soldier was always <sup>not</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>going</sup> ~~going~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>fight</sup> ~~fight for because nothing was at stake for him and his own. He then preferred to lay down his life rather than his life. Today, however, thanks to the present regime he is intelligent, fanatical, patriotic because he is <sup>an</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>active</sup> ~~active~~ part and parcel of the regime and his country with full responsibility for its future and its destiny. He feels there is something to defend and die for in the experiment.~~

With many multilingual nationalities <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~with diverse cultural backgrounds and stages of advance <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>modern</sup> ~~modern~~ teaches the world that all human beings given an opportunity will progress and that with justice, liberty and freedom for all these can be given in diversity and a united front without questioning against any <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>Russia</sup> ~~Russia. <sup>judging</sup> ~~judging~~ <sup>only</sup> ~~only <sup>by</sup> ~~by <sup>its</sup> ~~its <sup>results</sup> ~~results~~ and claiming no knowledge of the <sup>people</sup> ~~people~~ <sup>working</sup> ~~working of the <sup>the</sup> ~~the Russian regime, <sup>judging</sup> ~~judging~~ <sup>only</sup> ~~only <sup>by</sup> ~~by~~ <sup>results</sup> ~~results~~ by that <sup>that</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>experiment</sup> ~~experiment, not minding our criticism and almost ridicule of it, I have no fear in saying Russia is giving the masses of the world hope and the <sup>governments</sup> ~~governments~~ of other countries an example worthy of emulation if the government is for the people as it should be for all the people and by all the people. <sup>We</sup> ~~We~~ <sup>hope</sup> ~~hope~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the <sup>great</sup> ~~great <sup>experiment</sup> ~~experiment~~ continue~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

All Chemists and Wholesale Chemists have been advised of the decrease in the prices, and therefore, your patients will be able to enjoy the benefit of this price reduction immediately.

Yours faithfully,

*J. M. Scott*

REPRESENTATIVE  
BOOTS PURE DRUG CO. LTD.

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