

25th November, 1964.



Dear Peter,

Thank you for your note. I am terribly sorry that I didn't tell you Sheila had gone. I saw Ursula this afternoon and she said that she told you about it. I had meant to write as soon as she was away but then things got hectic here and I didn't. I think also I was a little shy of writing to you about it. The Branch told Sheila that Adrian had said she had been a member. She admitted that she had but said she only knew about Randolph, Neville and Watson - which they appeared to believe. I then insisted that if only for the baby's sake she should go. They told her that she might be required to give evidence and not only did she know a lot more than she told them but there just did not seem any point in drifting around for something to happen once she had admitted membership - no matter how peripheral. She left two days before the Cape Town trial began - legally on a British passport. We didn't tell a soul about it and I don't think the Branch knew. Anyway she is safe and I am very relieved. My contract with POST does not expire until the end of the year and I am sailing from Cape Town in mid January. I have to go to Johannesburg during the first week in January and as I would very much like to see you, and Mr P if possible, I am thinking of going up via Pietermaritzburg. Do you think that would be alright? Frankly I am pleased to have an excuse for going and I hate admitting it. These people who are in jail now are not simply my friends - they are my generation and I understand them. It is not only a question of 'There but for the grace of God...' but I fear that if I stayed, because I am young and impatient, in spite of all that has happened, I too would want to do something dramatic. And if I WERE able to restrain myself I fear that I would become so disheartened and sick that I would end up not caring, and callous. But I feel sad about going because this country represents everything that is important to me. And I feel guilty about going because I believe that it is important that people who believe what we do should remain if only to bear witness to their faith - and if I believe other people should stay it is clearly immoral for me to go. But there it is.

I didn't send you anything at the end of last month partly because I was preoccupied with

Sheila's departure and partly because I had been so depressed by what I learnt during my last visit to King William's Town that at the time I simply couldn't bring myself to write about it. It is easier now. I went up for the opening of the CTA - you will have read all about it. Self-government was clearly the burning issue. Hans referred to it in his opening preamble. He said it was no good talking about it until "consolidation" had been completed. The Govt was giving its full attention to the matter. Nonetheless, spurred on chiefly by Chief JUSTICE MABANDLA, the CTA went right ahead and talked about it. J.M. wanted a Transkei-style Recess Committee to go into the pros and cons. When it looked as if the Authority was going to agree to this, van Heerden (Chief B.A. Commissioner), stood up and said they were not "ready" for self-government. Not only that, but they knew they weren't ready for self-government and as far as he was concerned they wouldn't be ready for it for a hell of a long time to come. Most of those present got the message and that was the end of the Recess Committee. What depressed me about that little performance was how meekly they all bowed to the lash - and how utterly impotent they are and they know it. Everything, absolutely everything, that happened throughout the three-day session was under the control of van Heerden or his aides. When things looked as if they were going wrong, stern whispered messages firmly put everyone back on the right track. But my real shock came over the question of consolidation. When the Govt spoke of "consolidation", members of the Authority - and I later established this - rather naturally believed that ~~XXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ this meant that they would be granted self-government over a territorial UNIT, as in the Transkei. Surely this is logical? Surely this is what one has always thought? But not on your life. Purely out of boredom (I was being followed continuously by the Branch at the time) I went along to see the Assistant B.A. Commissioner and asked him for a map of the Ciskei showing the present Black-White distribution. He said he was sorry he didn't have one but would I like to see what the future Ciskei was going to look like? African occupation is going to be restricted to three entirely unconnected blocks of land each of which will be surrounded by land zoned exclusively for White ownership and occupation. There will be one block in the north in the Herschel district and bordering in part on Basutoland; one in the east, excluding Queenstown and bordering on Emigrant Tumboland and the ~~land~~ in the south, excluding King, extending in part to the Fish and with Zwelitsha

as the capital. Where does consolidation come into it? This is the joke. The future three blocks correspond roughly to the present set-up but some blacks own land outside them and ~~some~~<sup>some</sup> whites own lands inside them. It is simply a question of ~~exchange~~ and really very little will be involved. So when Hans talks grandly of 'consolidation' his listeners have the image of a Ciskeian territorial unit but all he sees is three big black spots. I told Mabandla what I had discovered. He just laughed - a sort of mad, demonic laugh. I don't know when the CTA is going to be informed about how ~~the~~<sup>their</sup> Bantustan is going to be constituted - but I reckon they will accept it like they accept everything else. It just seems a bit farcical, that's all. Anyway, judging from van Heerden's little speech, independence is years away - unless of course something happens again to force the Government's hand. But at present the CTA is not even fully representative - some regions of the Ciskei aren't included. I also discovered that the Xhosa - Fingo split is not simply historical. The Chiefs of the four Fingo tribes in the Ciskei do NOT recognise Sandile as their Paramount. They have elected Mabandla to be their Senior Chief and though he is not their paramount de jure he is de facto. Mabandla himself told me that Sandile is only the Paramount Chief of the Xhosas in the Ciskei - and not the Paramount Chief of the Ciskei as the Government regards him. Mabandla is clearly anti-Government though not as articulate and forceful as, say, Guzana. But he at least gives the impression that he is likely to remain anti - which is more than can be said of Chief Payment Siwani who prior to his recent elevation to the Deputy Chairmanship of the CTA was outspoken but is now obviously a yes-man of the first water. He has the same sort of ambition as Matanzima - and the same way of realizing it. I don't know how much of this is of any use. For example I don't know what significance the Xhosa - Fingo business will have in the future. But anyway there it is for what it's worth.

The Umtata arrangements are as follows: He is supposed to get a retainer of R10 a month but the firm is hideously bad at paying and though I have badgered them continually HE HAS NOT BEEN PAID IT SINCE HE JOINED IN MID-JULY. But the boss is coming down on Sunday and I shall screw it out of him if it's the last thing I do. Then he is paid 30c an inch published. These payments are more or less up to date. But I

had nothing from him for four or maybe five weeks and at present he sends me so little that he can't be making more than R1.00 a week. He is probably owed about R40 on the retainer at the moment (though they may refuse to pay for the month he was silent). I am sorry it is like this but you just can't move the bastards.

As you know, the LP here has folded and I honestly can't see any prospects. Ursula, Anne Allsopp and I are leaving at the end of the year and people like the Gregories (who are pacifists) feel bitterly about the sabotage. It appears that there isn't going to be much joy out of the new university either. D & A is doing excellent work here under Scarr and there are some really dedicated Black Sash ladies. They have at least 500 families on their cards in New Brighton and Kwazakhele - and the plight of many of them is just too pitiful for words. The sentences are fantastic and most are getting nine years. ~~over~~ There are about 80 left still to be tried. The problem now is lawyers. For the first time this year - and what a year it has been - 26 men who appeared in Graaff Reinet on Monday were undefended. A man called Huisamen did 231 starting in August but his practice has gone for a loop and he has refused to do any more. I think he also has gone for a ~~bit of a~~ loop - all 231 were found guilty. Must be a bit depressing, I suppose. The trouble has been that all the magistrates put on to these cases have had a Mission. I have been sending individual hard-luck stories to Mary Benson - there doesn't seem much else that one can do. One thing that has emerged is the ruthlessness of Mbeki and his henchman. People were simply terrorised into joining and attending meetings. And for that they are getting nine years.

I am very much looking forward to seeing you. Please write if there is anything here you want me to do. I have never had occasion before to congratulate someone on having a book dedicated to ~~him~~ him but after all it IS an honour and so I think you SHOULD be congratulated...

Yours,

J.