

declassified

CAPS TONE

16 October 1962

Dear John,

I have just had a telegram from Umalo, from an emissary, to tell me that the Paramount Chief of the Tembu, Chief Sabata Maledyelo, wants to do two things:

1. to invite me and the emissary, and perhaps a third colleague, to come to Tumbuland (the chunk of the Transkei west of the Orange, which is the capital of Tembuland) for two weeks to advise him and the Tembus' constitutional committee during and after the coming session of the Transkei Council of Chiefs. The other two colleagues are highly respected and are leading Liberals in the Western Cape.

2. Sabata is based on intimate association over the years, and friendly (official) consultation during the past two sessions (1961 and 1962). I actually wrote a memorandum which Sabata made in the 1961 session which he presented to the Council that came up in that historical session is of very great importance and which is the rubber stamp will have to be applied to the Bill (January). The coming session is called to present the "self-governance" Bill to the TIA in its final form, and to get it passed on its way to the republican Parliament for consideration.

The Tembus have, as you may know, rejected the Bill in its entirety. At four successive tribal sessions they have said no, through their representatives in the TIA. But the whole thing needs careful handling, particularly seeking of support beyond Tembuland, and particularly in the Orange Free State, which is where I and my colleagues would come in. We would be Sabata's right-hand men beyond Tembuland, to organise whatever effective support can be possible, and to hit Verwoerd and the entire "apartheid development" box of tricks as hard as we can.

And I believe we can hit it quite hard. I may worry that Sabata does not organise all this himself. First he is prevented by custom, secondly he is politically inexperienced, and thirdly he is not a very good speaker. He has 400 (the "emer" way) subjects. At present he has a constitution committee (15 of them) which is chaired by a Liberal, Lewis Mafija, who has been arrested and is in prison for a few weeks under "protection" 400, no charge, no trial, and he will take his place and convene a meeting for fear of similar treatment. That is just an example: the truth is that the Transkei is utterly fear-ridden and it would be as hard for Sabata to get political supporters outside Tembuland to listen to his agents as it would be to persuade people around him to approach the "outsiders", as the two Tembus who

would accompany me to Cape Town, and I thought to be able to do some work. We were to go to a number of the leading people in all parts of the territories, and we traveled. If we approach them with Sabata's backing, we will carry much weight.

We are not of course afraid of all, and the necessity of acting secretly is not to be feared as the British are they are aptly called in the Transkei, and part cost of action will involve heavy expense. These travel expeditions are necessary as it is, but to do it properly, as one would expect to do it at many times the cost of our usual cheap-going expeditions, we would need to drive unlimited distances, at night, with necessary, driving out of the territory to get cars and safe number-plates, hiring cars inside the territory (we would like to have an auto so it would only be one car at a time, we would like to be able to get to a station or Durban and take a plane if necessary, or even, if we were need to be thankful of a possible threat to depart and screen Sabata's fly screen out via charter-plane from Durban to Cape Town and back. We might need to pay for the printing of many thousands of leaflets containing a sort of Freedom Declaration (like the American Declaration of Independence), containing the words the I have committee might agree on and put to the IFA as a resolution. Then, the heaviest of all possibly, we might want to hire transport - lorries, buses, tractors and trailers - to get crowds into Durban or elsewhere. Then there is our living, and, in my case, support for my family during my absence. The other two will not need the latter item. I shall need the equivalent of two months salary, or three months at a rough one. (I should explain that the other two will continue to draw full pay while engaged on this work.)

Now as you know the Party has virtually no money. I have had transactions that have come from you and have been the main cause of our having been able to get on for as we have done in the Transkei. As far as I know there is only 1100 left for Transkei purposes, and I am about nothing for other purposes anyway. I have been another provider, but is very heavily committed where he is. He might look another 1100 for me. And there is an American friend who is interested, but only in a small way. So I have told Sabata that the Party will have to find the money, or help to find it, and I suggested that we write to Mkrizab, Nyerere, Thompson, Rubeke and Ben Bella, for money. Which brings me to point

2. which is that Sabata has agreed to do this. I have proposed drafting letters to these men, which we will get taken to him personally, and then will call Sabata. The embassy has also mentioned Simon Collins and Christian Action, and I will get Sabata to sign a letter to Simon Collins as well. Perhaps we could get 5000 or better 25000 this way, which is what we will need.

Can you come in on this? What I very much hope you will do is:

1. to handle the Christian Action part for us, by seeing



