Dear Om Zac,

You will, I am sure be greatly relieved to get this letter and to know that I have faithfully carried out all your injunctions and written a special note to all the addressees you gave me in addition to others to Hunton, Houser and two or three others these latter asked me to. I agree that it is a bit too much of 'Africanism' not even to acknowledge such generous moral and practical support. I can't see how anybody can have the nerve not to do so when things are at such a critical stage. The last amount that Hunton sent us, e.g. was instrumental in helping us out of a serious predicament. These fellows have now developed a new technique after realising that our people were prepared for any prison sentence and were prepared to go in in their hundreds. Not only were riots at P.E. and E.L. deliberately started by wanton police use of firearms, but thereafter conditions were fomented to cause revolt in the E.L. goal. A batch from Xesi and elsewhere unfortunately went in soon after the E.L. affair. Their story has yet to be told. Suffice it to say that their story of gross brutality needed no corroboration. Their physical appearance and bodily markings were enough, to tell what they had been through. The apparent motive was to create a motive for revolt within goal and then to let go there units of the 'Commandoens' who where there at there at the ready, when out of sheer desperation our people could hold out no longer. How these people did manage to hold out any longer is a sure credit to the African and his newly acquired weapon of nonviolence. That is a new chapter in itself in our struggle. I cannot give you details. But suffice it to say that it was necessary that they had to be got out - there and then. It fell upon Bakwe to do this and he played his part magnificently with the assistance of Rene and Fiki. That story will yet be untold.

In addition to all this a new proclamation makes it an offence punishable by very heavy fines and terms of imprisonment for any who incite others to defy etc. The aim of it all will of course be obvious. Not content with all this, about 60 of us in the Cape alone have been served with letters from Swart debarring us from attending any gathering! Only the other day I learn that Tshume was arrested after he had been to a church service. Previous to this Calata and two of his teachers who had also been served with these letters, were informed that this meant they could not carry on with their work. The Educ. Dept. promptly withdrew the pay of the teachers in spite of the fact that they continued to go to school. I have learnt that as a result of intervention by church dignitaries at C.T. Calata has been allowed to do his church work. One by one leaders are being arrested for contravention of terms of these letters or for something or other under the Communism Act. Gwentshe and three others at E.L., Dyantyi, Tshume at P.E., Letele and others at K.B. - all have been arrested and kept in goal for a long time before bail is allowed. This bail has in all cases been very heavy, from £100 to £250. I myself have for some time been under strict police surveillance. My car has been followed day and night. You may of course also have learnt that all gatherings at all Native locations and reserves are banned; i.e. of more than 9 people and not of a religious or bona fide this or that. You will realise from all this that to say 'we are living in apolice state' is putting it very mildly. All kinds of wild threats are being made of more to come at the next session of Parlt. I forgot to mention that fully armed police in vans every now and again show up at town and country locations. At some they get down, do a few drills and fire into the air. It all looks and sounds so foolish. Even the consider it foolish and just pay no heed to it all. Their spirit and moral is excellent and they are convinced that this non-violent struggle will carry the day. It all just rests with the Planning Council to do the right thing at the appropriate time.

We are all pleased that Lutuli has been chosen to take the lead. He is level-headed and fearless. Ra got very weak-kneed when things became warm. Few will regret his exit. Nevertheless he rose to the occasion at one stage and should always be remembered for this.

You may be living in London now. Did you get a chance to visit the Black Pathological Institute? That was very interesting. We are all happy to help you with anything you need.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Middledrift,

C.P.

3. 1. 53
What the next stage is to be I do not know. One thing however is certain, and it is that the political consciousness of the people has been aroused as never before. Whatever these chaps try to do cannot now deter the people one bit.

Our greatest just now is a press. Man, the day we have that, half the battle is won. People in remotest parts hunger for news as never before since the campaign started. At present a weekly circular is being sent out and much appreciated. A proper paper would go with a bang. I am seriously thinking of secretly reserving some of the monies you people have just sent for the start of such a venture. If you can press on the urgency of this need in your talks, we might struck luck and get things going sooner than now seems possible.

Now for some news in general. Tell Ricks I got her letter and should not expect a reply after I have had to write such a long letter and others to America. Everybody is quite well and happy out here. Bakwe's gang is of course in Dbn. Bakwe and Piki seem to have managed things very well indeed. It is rumoured that Bakwe's strictness in all things is making the gang yearn more and more for your speedy return! It is a pity that Philo and Tumis did not do well at last exams, but results at F.H. this year have been awful. What the cause is nobody seems to know. Some feel that the change over to Rhodes has much to do with it. The pity is that C.P. may not be big enough to see and remedy the cause whatever it is. He has been putting his foot into it whenever he opened his mouth. If he would only realise that the safest thing for him to do is to zipp his inyeku he would do far better.

The joke just now is 'the return of the forgotten husband-Radebe. Just before Xmas a wire was received at Zwelithu to say that Mark would be arriving for Xmas. Mistress immediately fled with Enid to Ntsela and there sought the protection of Gladstone and Tivo. Xmas came and passed, but no Mark. Then when it was thought that the danger was over, Mistress and Enid returned home. Mark popped up roud about New Years day and quite calmly settled himself at home. He and mistress jointly phoned us up the other night apparently as happy as a male and female lark. Rene who went to Petai's wedding party last night saw Mr. & Mrs. R. there. Mrs. R.'s only complaint now appears to be that though he has not touched a drink since arrival, he however refuses blankly to take out a penny to buy a loaf of bread.

We are also off for a bat of a break tomorrow. I have managed to get Dr Margaret Chuene to relieve me here. We go first to the Oldjohns then go down to Nurse Stofile's wedding at Umzimtuli on the 10th then on to the Jacobs at St Johns for a few days. Unfortunately schools open third week in Jan. and this will bring us back sooner than we wish but I am not hurrying back to work even then.

Well I think I have made up for past laxes in writing you such a long letter. You can hope for more as long as you send more 'doe'. I am sending you the latest circular to keep you up to date with developments.

Tell Ricks not to worry, everything is O.K. this end, qubani nina your mission is bearing fruit in many ways.

Siyabulisa sonke,

Omn Ogga

P.S. Makebona saloma doda into isgo hngu kuxelele about some other difficulties we are labouring under. I have not been able to give them all details.

Also send me your latest reports and anything else.

These fellows are really crazy now and are off to anything.