

POTLAKO LEBALLO Most excitable of top men in Pan-Africanist Congress is fiery Potlako Leballo, the National Secretary. "We believe in only one race — the human race."

MANGALISO SOBUKWE Two-sided man, university lecturer and politician, this is the brains of P.A.C. Educated talk comes out of his mouth, and fiery demands for action.

THE AFRICANISTS:

Fireworks — Or False - Alarm?

Not since the mass round-up of treason suspects has there been so much excitement in African politics. The cause of the fuss is a tough-talking group of Angry Young Men. They are the leaders of the Pan-Africanist Congress. What are they like, these men? What are they saying? What do they MEAN? Read this tense report by B. Dyantyi.

THE PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS is the movement in African politics that everybody is talking about. Its fuse is fizzing, and its leaders claim that any moment now it is going to explode into action, like a bomb.

It is led by a band of Angry Young Men who say they will sacrifice everything: their careers, the security of their families, even their souls, maybe, to achieve the abolition of passes, free African trade unions with full rights, and votes for all in South Africa.

They say they will get all this before 1963, at the latest.

Who are these men who are playing with

dynamite? I met them in a dim room in Dube South on a rainy night.

Potlako Leballo was there. He is National Secretary. And J. D. Nyaose, trade unionist and executive council member; A. V. Mampe, deputy secretary of the Cape Western Region, and, crouching in the dusk of a dark corner, Robert Mangaliso (which means "Wonderful") Sobukwe, who is the brains of the whole thing and whose title is National President.

Nobody mentioned drinks, and everybody was pipe-smoking. These are the top men of the Africanists (with a few others) and they were grinning with success about a tour of Natal and the Cape Sobukwe and Leballo had

just completed.

There was talk of whole African National Congress branches joining up with P.A.C. and bringing with them their office furniture and their funds. "The Cape is ours," said Sobukwe, and I reminded him: "Whether in business or politics, a man or a movement is made or broken on the Rand." And the whole lot grinned and said: "The Rand is DEFINITELY ours as well."

"Yes, yes, it's ours," said someone in the shadows around the room, repeating, and every so often our talks were interrupted by people coming and going.

PLEASE TURN OVER



MRS. S. KHALI Women are important to P.A.C. and high-up representative of the women is Mrs. Khali, an organiser for the Garment Workers' Union. "Trouble has sometimes been unprincipled leaders — not now."

Sobukwe would excuse himself when the knocking sounded on the metal door. After a few words with those waiting outside, he would reappear, and more dark shadows would go out of the gate, down the street. Organisers. They are certainly busy organising, these P.A.C.s!

"Take my son!"

"It's a young man's movement," says Sobukwe, and he tells how his organisers called on an old man in Orlando East. "We want to talk to you about P.A.C.," they told the old man.

The old man listened to their policies, then he said: "For most of my life I have been a member of the A.N.C. But go inside. Take my son." And the son joined, "of course," said Sobukwe. "And when action comes along, that old man will follow the lead that we give, like the whole of the country."

Sobukwe claims that P.A.C. has a membership of 25,000 to 30,000, paid up. The A.N.C. deny this, saying: "Why is it that the P.A.C. has so little money for organising in certain areas, and why does Peter Raboroko (one of the executive) have to scrounge around to get money for his official trip to Basutoland?"



MR. J. D. NYAOSE He is National President of trade union body, FOFATUSA. Quiet thinker, soft-spoken, organiser.



MR. H. S. NGCOBO In Natal, P.A.C. admits, the image of Chief Luthuli stills looms up big in people's minds. And it is difficult for P.A.C. to counter the A.N.C. "But when action comes, people will follow us," says Ngcobo.



P. MOLOTSI : Molotsi is Secretary for Pan Africanist Affairs. Keeps in touch with the other parts of Africa.



MR. PETER RABOROKO Pipe-slinging Peter Raboroko is education man in P.A.C. "We must go it alone," he says, "no matter how good are the intentions of the Liberals or Progressives. The road to Hell is paved with nice talk."

Whatever the answer to that one, it is certain that the Africanists are getting plenty of new followers. There are the two Makgothi brothers. H. Makgothi is an ex-treason trialist, and L. Makgothi, a trade unionist, was also a member of the A.N.C. Now L. Makgothi is a regional secretary for P.A.C.

And there is the story told around town of A.N.C. man Robert Resha turning around to greet an old friend, "Afrika!" with the thumbs up salute, and the friend replying, "Izwe Lethu," with the salute of the Africanists. It is said that Resha then buried his head in a window, looking hard the other way till his old friend was well gone.

Part of the secret of the Africanists' success is that they talk bread-and-butter politics. They rant against the *dom pas*, and they tell people: "We will call you into action, and from that day onwards you will NEVER CARRY A PASS AGAIN!"

Leaders go first

"Izwe Lethu!" cry the people who are spoken to in this language, and afterwards they mutter: "It looks as if these people mean ACTION, man!"

And there is the slogan they have adopted: NO BAIL, NO DEFENCE, NO FINE. In the

trains, people are asking, "Will they have the guts to do what they say, or will they climb out and run away?" because the Africanists say: "We will send our leaders to jail first. That is where our leaders belong — in front."

Posh cars, too

"JUST TALK," other people say, and, "What will happen to the Africanists if their leaders ARE sent to jail? That'll be the end of them." But others say, "Not so. These men mean business. I trust them."

Leaning out of a car as we travelled through Orlando, Raboroko cried out as we passed a white's posh car: "We'll be riding around in cars like that soon, my boy." He waved his pipe, sucked it, and he added: "Well, I'm pleased the whites are so proud of the houses they have built us in Meadowlands. It's a good job, because," and he took another suck at his pipe, "BECAUSE THE WHITES ARE GOING TO BE LIVING IN THEM, AND WE'LL BE LIVING IN LOWER HOUGHTON, MAN!"

This sort of talk is much more tempered by the time it comes out of the educated mouth of Mangaliso Sobukwe. "We are not against the whites, we are just against the system."

Continued on pages 86 & 87



L. MAKGOTHI : Works with P.A.C. on trade union front, FOFATUSA. Is sure the unions need a political link-up.



ACTION ON THE RAND

President M. Sobukwe and fiery Josiah Madzunya at big meeting held recently in Pretoria.

Pan-Africanists say they don't want a collar round their necks

The Africanists believe that only two groups have inherent rights to this country: the Africans, and the Coloureds. The whites are a "foreign minority," and the Indians are also foreigners, also a minority.

"It pays the big Indian merchants to have things as they are," says Sobukwe, "although I don't dispute that they might be interested in more rights for THEMSELVES. But, damn the African, as far as they are concerned. They are not one with us, but if the Indian working class, which is oppressed just like us, threw up its own leadership, then we could work with them.

"But at present, we cannot work with the Indians. Not with their present leaders."

The Africanists have fired the first few shots in their campaign, which they claim will "continue without stopping until we are free in our own country." They started with their Status Campaign, which was a direct threat to shopkeepers and others that if Africans were not treated politely, their businesses would be boycotted. And not just a passing boycott. A boycott for good, if the leaders so decided.

Next comes the campaign against passes. This is their big gun, and Sobukwe alone

was given the right to pull the trigger. He would announce the campaign three days before it is due to start.

After this the Government will be served with demands for certain rights for Africans. And after that, it will be like walking downstairs for Africans to get full political rights, says Sobukwe.

Story of the wolves

Isn't this big talk? Indeed it is big talk. Does it mean anything. Time alone can tell.

But things ARE moving. Mangaliso Sobukwe has given up his big job teaching white students at the University of the Witwatersrand. This means that he's also given up bacon and eggs for breakfast every day, and a car for life. As well as the chance to move freely in white liberal society.

He explained why he has done this by telling a little story about two wolves who lived in a forest. The one wolf was lean and hungry.

The other wolf was fat and contented.

One day the fat wolf said to the thin wolf: "Look, why don't you come and stay with me. My master feeds me well, as you can see, and he'll give you room, and food." It sounded a good idea, and the thin wolf walked along with the fat wolf for a while. Then he noticed that there was something tied around the fat wolf's neck.

He stopped, and he asked the fat wolf: "What's that?"

And the fat wolf said: "This thing? Oh, that's nothing."

"Come on, come on!" said the thin wolf. "WHAT is THAT?"

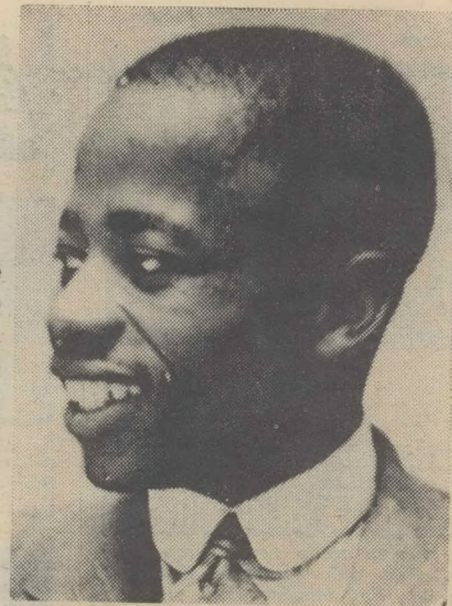
"Well," said the fat wolf, "that's a collar. You see my master ties me up at night."

"In that case, I won't go with you. I'd rather be free, even if I must stay hungry," said the thin wolf.

The Africanists are like the thin wolf, says Sobukwe.

DID HE START IT ALL?

The influence of the late Muziwakhe A. Lembede is claimed as inspiration of the P.A.C.



At least three people say they've seen it:

DISTRICT SIX HAS GOT A



HERE'S THE LADY WHO SAW IT FIRST: Suddenly she saw the ghost in the street in front of her, and she howled: "Yee . . . eeee!" and her bundles went flying, even a bottle of valuable drink. "Father Hudson's come back to us," she cried.

And it's a welcome ghost. Hudson, champion of the of gangsters. He built a

THE first one to see the ghost was Auntie Susie Thompson. She screamed: "Yee heeee!" fell to her knees, and beat her head on the hard tarmac of Caledon Street, while her parcels scattered all about her. A bottle slipped from under her arm and broke. Its valuable contents spilled into the gutter.

The multitude came pouring out of the houses. "What's wrong, Auntie Susie?" they asked excitedly.

"Oooo-ooo, my magtig," gasped Auntie Susie. "I've seen it, I've seen it."

"Seen what, Auntie Susie?" they yelled.

"A ghost! I tell you I've seen a ghost!" moaned Auntie Susie wringing her hands.

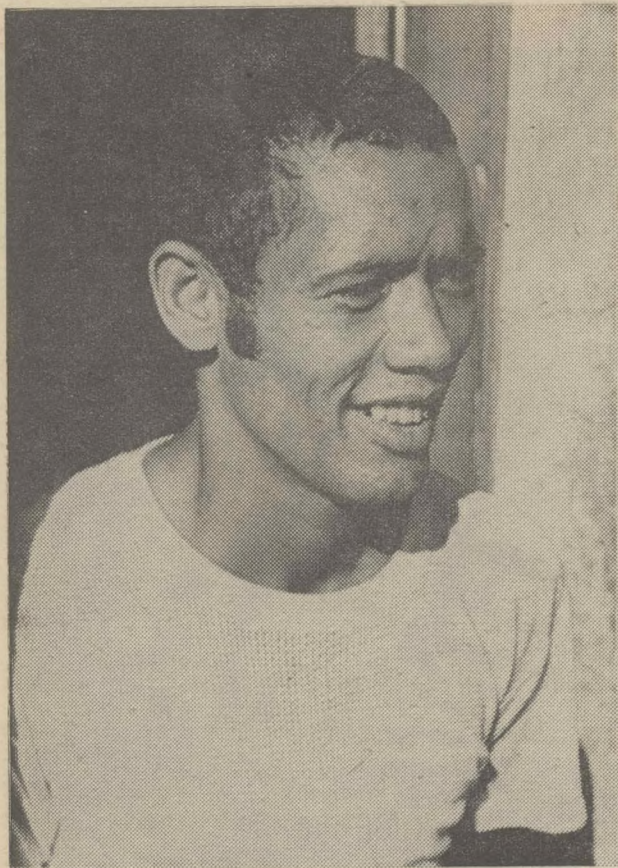
"A GHOST?" they yelled. The word swept up and down Caledon Street, and people started diving back into their houses.

"Look, Auntie Susie," said one cynic. "You've had one too many."

"Voetsak you rubbish!" said Auntie Susie in righteous indignation. "I tell you I've seen the ghost of Father Hudson!"

"FATHER HUDSON!" The name spread about like wildfire. The scared ones started coming out of their houses again. Because if this was the ghost of Father Hudson there was surely nothing to be afraid of.

Auntie Susie was helped indoors. And after a comforting doppie had been placed in her



"IT WOULDN'T FRIGHTEN ME"
Popeye Abrahams remembers Father Hudson as a good man, from a kid.



TOUGH SPAASIE SAW IT, TOO
When Spaasie Smith saw it, many people agreed: "This ghost is real!"



"HE'D MAKE A GOOD GHOST"
"Everybody loved him. Who would be scared of his ghost?" asks T. Levy.



"I KNOW HOW TO ENJOY LIFE AND THE MEANING OF HARD WORK"

These words express the creed of the new Paramount Chief, Constantine Bereng.

Basutoland's new Paramount Chief tells DRUM:

'OUR FUTURE IS NOW'

A new Paramount Chief of the Basuto has just been crowned. The young man from Oxford is now the head of a nation. What plans and hopes has he for the future of that nation. DRUM was the first to interview him on this key question. His reply was clear and absolutely precise: Our future is right now!

BASUTOLAND is on the road to freedom. But there are many difficulties on the way, problems now being argued out in remote kraals and in the busy political headquarters.

Above the murmur of political bickering — but nevertheless an important factor in the country's future — is 20-year-old Constantine Bereng, the newly-installed Paramount Chief of Basutoland. This good-tempered, slightly affected and very bewildered young man has interrupted his studies at Oxford University to take over as Regent.

At an exclusive interview, Prince Charm-

ing, in his best Oxford drawl, assured DRUM that he was not anti-Congress. "I'm not anti any party," he said. At the interview, the shy Prince refused to answer political questions. "I leave that to the politicians," he drawled.

And what does he think of the country's future? His reply is definite and precise: the future is now!

What are the political leaders of Basutoland — which has been declared a haven for political refugees from South Africa by the Congress Party — doing about the future? Congress, led by strong-man Ntsu Mok-



"RITUAL MURDER MUST CEASE"

Mokhehle, gained control of the majority of Elected Members of the Legislative Council during the January elections. Today it has an impressive Programme of Action.

Basutoland's biggest problem at present is that it is a land with a Constitution, but without an Economy. Its migrant workers, who labour in South Africa, mainly in the mines, provide its only national income, apart from grants-in-aid from the British Government and subsidies from the Colonial Development Fund.

National income

So it is the Congress's clear duty to develop Basutoland's economy very quickly and very effectively. If it does not, free votes and independence are not going to mean much.

One of the things that could bring wealth to the country is its minerals. The Congress Party claims that diamonds exist in large quantities in Basutoland. They say that these diamond fields should be exploited immediately for the good of the nation. Meanwhile, the Government says that there is no evidence that there is any considerable diamond mining potential in the Protectorate.

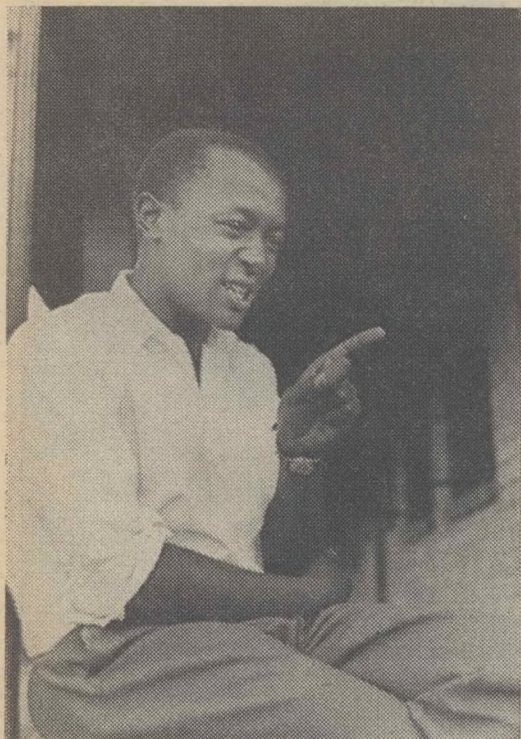
High on the list of "things to be done" by the Congress Party, in conjunction with trade unions, is the uplifting of the Basotho's social position. They condemn outright the liquor laws' provision for exemption permits enabling the chosen few to use hotel bars. They also condemn the position whereby no African is secure in his job.

Preparation is being made now to press for legislation to guard the workers' interests. The position at present is that African workers can be paid any amount decided by the boss. There are no regulations about what leave they are entitled to, and trade unions claim that both men and women are unjustly sacked, sometimes without adequate notice.

Probably Mokhehle's most audacious plan is the attempt, soon to be launched, to negotiate for the reclamation of the Free State — "land that inherently belongs to Basutoland," as Mr. Khakatla, Deputy Public Leader of Congress, puts it.

"The whole of the Free State and parts of the Cape, too, were taken from the Basotho

WHAT THE MEN SAY ABOUT IT:



'IGNORANCE IS TO BLAME'

Social worker Joseph Zulu says none of our girls know what they ought to know. "Then a girl has one babe. The man runs off. Then she finds another lover. He makes his own demand, and soon another baby is on way."



'THE GIRLS MUST LEARN'

Joseph Seko, Joburg City Council clerk, says sex education is part of the answer. "The girls must learn to resist the boys, and if they can't keep them off they must know what to do about it. The boys can't help it."

So the answer is not so very hard to find.

Sydney Matshiqi, of Orlando East, had his say on this. He feels it's got to do with the politics of the land. Low wages for Africans, industrial legislation which bars African youths from most jobs.

Matshiqi says that these pinpricks turn African boys into anti-social creatures who stab and damage without turning a hair. "They always feel society owes them something, so they get their own back by doing anti-social things."

"Some people say Africans have long accepted unmarried mothers and have no objections to them. I disagree. Unmarried mothers, like many other evils, are imposed on us by poverty and legislation which makes the setting up of better and healthier communities almost impossible."

A schoolteacher from the Cape, Aggrey Mbathane, had other ideas. He has discussed sex with his pupils and has seen a number of girls leave school because they were pregnant.

"Much of the blame must fall on the parents," he says. "They always want to convince themselves that their children are ignorant of sex and have nothing to do with it."

"The kids should be told about contraceptives. They must know what to expect if they get involved with a girl. Parents should stop hiding things from their kids."

There is a lot that holds in what Mbathane says. Most boys and girls never come anywhere near "the whole truth about sex," if there is anything like that. Even grown men and women don't. Nobody taught them.

One big woman, when asked how she avoids getting pregnant, spoke of walking up and down her bedroom ten times after meeting a man. She wouldn't touch

contraceptives because "I'll never get a baby even when I'm married." Fanciful beliefs that swell the ranks of unmarried mothers.

A young man advised his girl to drink salts and take blood purifiers after sleeping with a man. Nobody had told this couple that blood purifiers are supposed to make a person healthier and more fertile, if anything.

Another girl I met was convinced that one of the biggest sins ever invented was contraceptives. "These things are no better than aborting techniques," she said.

And what about neglected and unwanted children!

The trouble is that too many men are concerned with only one precaution — how to make a quick getaway as soon as the words "I'm pregnant" drop from abashed lips.

What is the cause?

The nearest many of them come to grappling with the problem is to blame it on the lobola custom.

Said one fellow: "Too much is demanded. Often they ask £30 for making a girl pregnant and another £70 or £100 if you want to marry her."

"Where do you expect me to get all that money from?"

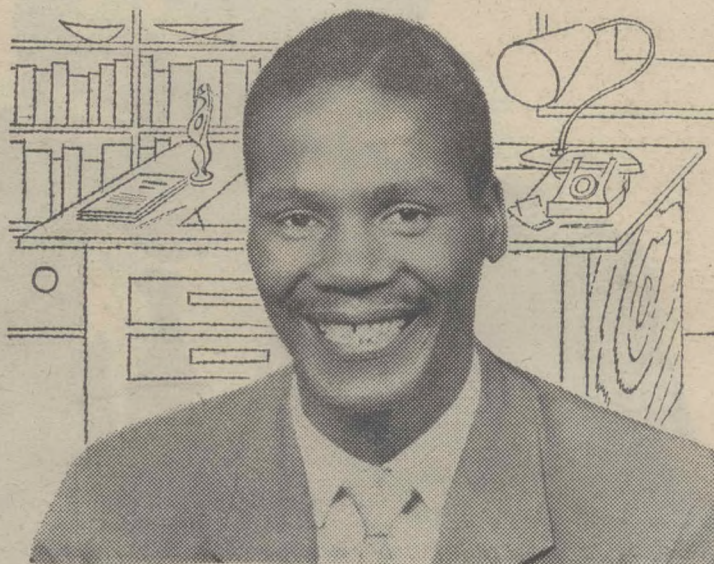
Yes, he blames lobola. Someone else says it's poverty. Wages, legislation, bad girls, bad boys, job reservation. Indeed, they all play a part, some big, some small.

Meanwhile, in some clinic somewhere another baby whimpers for the first time in her life. Her mother is unmarried.

It's a tough start to life.

Surely, the least every child is entitled to is a fair chance — and it's up to lovers and society to give them that.

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— And here is what some other of Basutoland's leaders have to say:

by the Boers in their 1830 trek to Bloemfontein. We want that land returned NOW!" Government officials I spoke to declined to comment about this Congress claim.

When Mr. Harold Macmillan, Britain's Prime Minister, paid a flying visit to the Protectorate in February, the Congress Party presented him with a memorandum listing some of their complaints.

Among these complaints was one about the attitude of Basutoland's Resident Commissioner, Mr. Alan G. T. Chaplin. The memorandum said: "His presence in Basutoland deprives the Basotho of the atmosphere of peace and security which is a characteristic attribute of our people . . . therefore Mr. Chaplin must leave Basutoland."

"I like them!"

The feud between Congress and Chaplin has been going on ever since he took over as Resident Commissioner some two years ago. The Basotho were angry because a South African "had been appointed as their chief-of-chiefs."



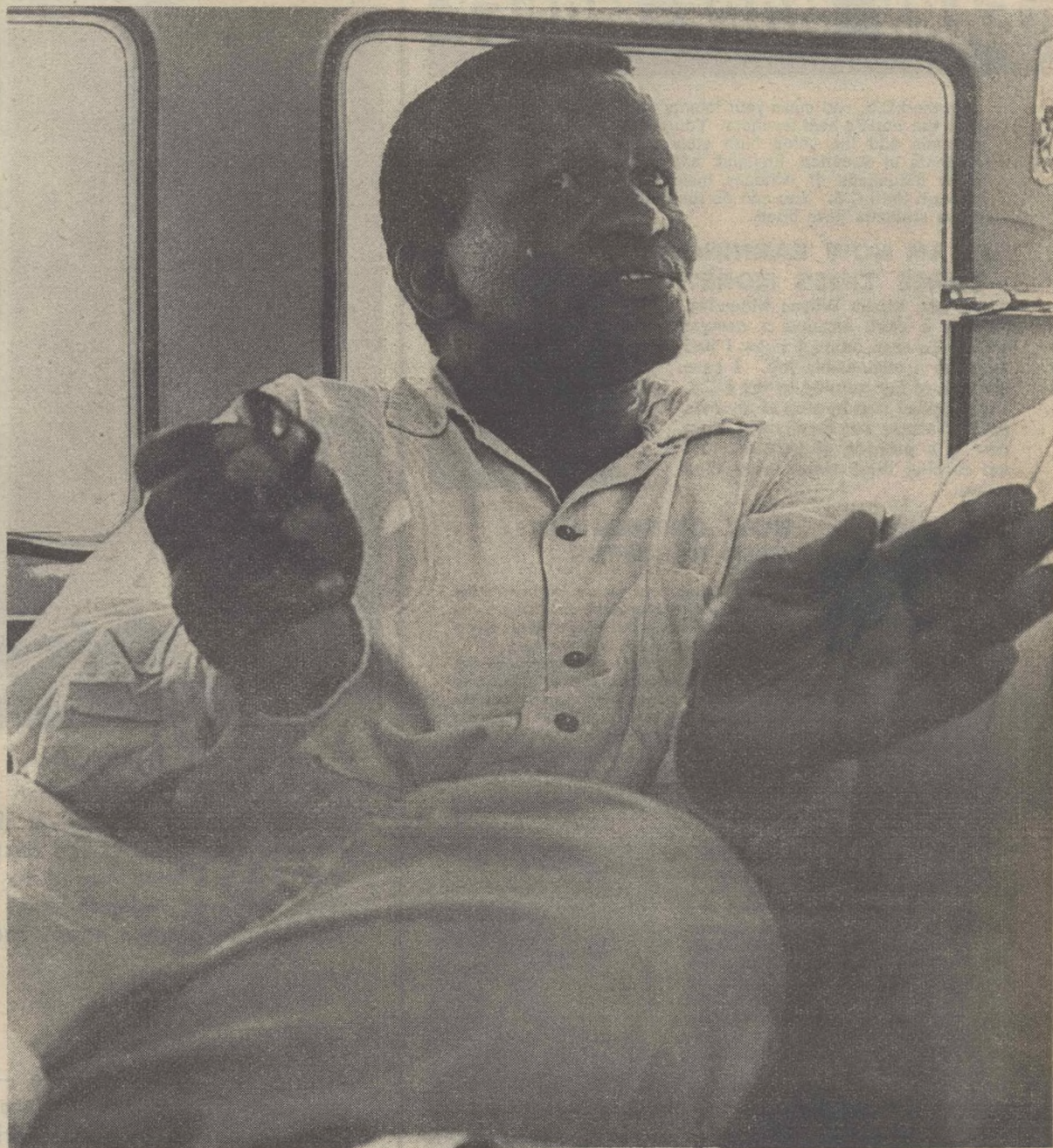
"NO! I'M NOT ANTI ANY PARTY"

Perky Alan Chaplin's answer to this is: "I don't blame them at all for using the South African tag as a political gambit. It's a good one. But the facts are that I came to Lesotho (Basutoland) with my parents at the age of four years. And I have now, as I have always had, a great respect and liking for the Basotho. Nothing makes me happier than to be taking part in this first step towards independence."

The plum job of making the new Legislative Council tick goes to Mr. Moses Tlebere, a B.A. graduate from Fort Hare. At 36, Tlebere will be Clerk to Legco. When the Council opened for the first time on March 12, this dapper, expensively-dressed young man made his debut in a job that earns him well over £1,500 a year, a house near the Chamber, and a new car.

So this is emergent Basutoland in its hour of debut. The world looks on, wondering at this move towards freedom right in the heart, geographically, of the shackled Union of South Africa. DRUM joins the world in saying: "Golang le lekane le tlou!"

PLEASE TURN OVER



NTSU MOKHEHLE: Leader of Basutoland Congress Party, says: "We mean to get the country on its economic feet. We believe the diamond fields will be important." Is his Party Communist-influenced? "Don't be ridiculous!" is answer.



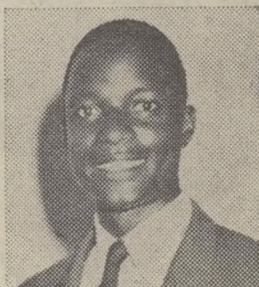
RIGHT: JACK MOSIANE
"We're fighting to get legislation passed to protect workers who are often dismissed without good reason and without compensation," says trade union leader Mosiane. Another issue is paid leave for all workers. It's all part of the bid to raise living standards.

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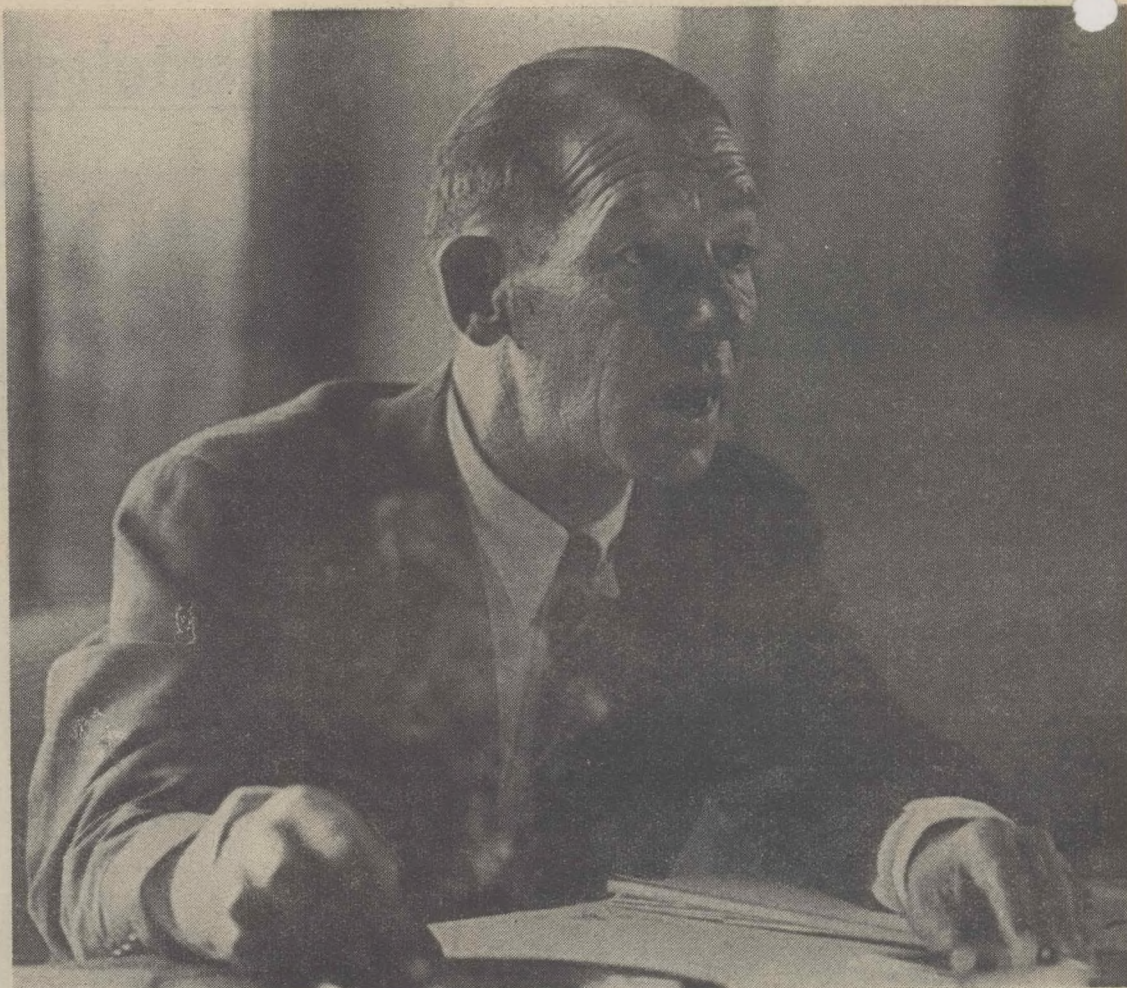
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Basutoland's future: A few of



ALAN CHAPLIN

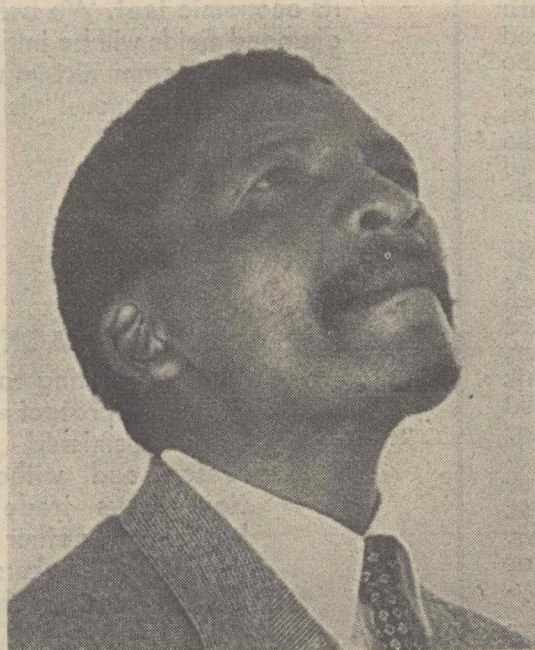
The Resident Commissioner was born in South Africa. "Ever since I was a constable in the Basutoland Police I have hoped to see steps towards independence for the Basuto. I am a happy man."

BELOW: Moses Tlebere — a graduate from Fort Hare — is to become the first African Clerk to the Legislative Council. "Proud? Man, I feel wonderful. We might make mistakes at first . . . but we will soon learn by them."



THE SHY YOUNG MAN

"I'm a statistician for the Government. My work is skilled and I earn the same as a white man in my position would. My name does not matter. I believe that civil servants shouldn't get too much publicity. So keep my name out."



the top men state their views



THE TWO THAT LOST

Chief Matete, right, leader of the Marema-Tlou Party and his treasurer, Mr. Starr, feel that the Congress Party is too head-strong. They want full responsible government under British Government. They fear the Congress Party will move too fast politically, do too little economically.



RIGHT: This is Mr. Gordon Hector, Government Secretary: "A contentious issue at the moment is the Liquor Law. Only chiefs with exemption permits may drink on licensed premises. Probably within two years anybody will be able to drink in our hotels. Our policy in this is one of gradualness."



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