

RE: BIOGRAPHY OF O.R. TAMBO.

- i. Luli Gallinias has access to much of OR's papers, and has written about him previously - see booklet attached widely distributed by ANC. She has also written articles, mainly chapters of her book (See below) for various academic & similar journals. She has prepared a book about Madiba's career, which contains details of the places which are significant in his career - Qunu, East Aare, Rivonia, the Island etc., for a guide to these places and their histories etc. provisionally called "In the Footsteps of Mandela." - which is almost ready for publication.
- ii. She says that Dali Tambo is attempting to make a film about his father which ~~is~~ is not yet fully funded. If it comes off, she will be working with Dali on the script. She is also about to start a project - I think with Dali's backing - to produce a popular illustrated book about OR in the style of the books she has previously produced on aspects of labour history & trade unionism.
- iii. She has done considerable work on a more scholarly and complete biography of OR, suitable for hard-back publication and libraries etc, including many recorded interviews with people. 12 chapters of an 18 chapter plan for this work are complete and on computer. She has been unable to complete this work because she has had to take on occasional period work as she has no regular income, and no pension. From my talk with her, I think she is seriously intending to complete this work, but as things are now I doubt if this will be done in under 4 or 5 years, if ever.
- iv. In all her work on this serious book she works entirely alone, doing all the interviewing, transcribing, research, document searches etc. herself, without outside assistance. If the OR book is to be completed in reasonable time, she will need assistance. I discussed with her briefly what she thinks she will need. This is a very rough estimate made in a few minutes of discussion, and is NOT to be regarded as an actual

budget, or agreement. The cost figures are only a rough guess. It appears to be as follows.

A research assistant for approx. 8 months at say R2000 per month.	R: 64,000.
Transcription of taped interviews. say	10,000.
Travelling expenses for interviewing. say	10,000.
Subsistence allowance for Luli Gullmuroos. for estimated 12 months writing, interviews, and editing etc. at R10,000 pm.	<u>120,000.</u>

Total estimate: R. 204,000.

I strongly urge that efforts be made to make funds of this order available for the project, and that a more formal and detailed agreement for the completion of the book be made with Luli.

Rusty Benken.

LEARNING FROM THE UNDERGROUND.

Nothing divides South African opinion quite as sharply as its view of the security services of the state, both army and police. Upholders of the old order see them as the most stalwart custodians of our cultural and political heritage, and the last line of defence against encroaching barbarism. On the other hand, seekers after and constructors of the new South African order see those forces as the most redoubtable and reconstructed reminders of the old society which they wish to bury. And for many, especially those in the black urban townships who have been on the receiving end of "security" operations, these forces represent the real face of "the enemy".

These different appraisals seem almost irreconcilable. And yet, inevitably, some reconciliation, some consensus of how the new South Africa is to handle these forces will have to be found. Tentative proposals range from the total disbandment ~~XXXXXXXX~~  
XXXXXX to a variety of schemes for reformation and renewal, including those for the incorporation of "popular" irregular forces such as those of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) into the scaled-down ranks of the regulars. And the decisions cannot now be long postponed. To do nothing would be to follow the worst option, that is: to leave a new style of state and government with in total dependence on an unchanged arm of the old.

But any resolution on the matter requires not only a full knowledge of the past ethos, performance and standards of the state forces but equally full knowledge of the equivalent ethos, performance and standards of the "popular" forces of Umkhonto. But it is precisely here that the issue becomes clouded. Though some part of the past of the state forces has been clandestine and shrouded in secrecy, virtually the whole of MK's operations have been secret and deliberately hidden from view. Decisions about the future need then to both penetrate the secrecy of the secret operations which the state forces all along denied they were conducting, and the secrecy of the MK operations which it always boasted it was conducting, but without ever feeling free to disclose the details.

Gradually, since the lifting of the illegality of the ANC and MK, some part of their past has begun to come into the public arena. But it emerges slowly and piece-meal, since it is in the nature of illegal operations such as those of MK that no minutes and books of record are kept. The history which exists exists almost entirely in the memories of the participants in it. And they have a lifetime of sealed lips and silence behind them, which many of them find it uncomfortable or perhaps 'disloyal' to break. It is therefore something of an event when one of the MK insiders breaks the no longer necessary silence and tells the story of at least that part of the history which he knows from his own experience. Ronnie Kasrils has done just that.

His experience covers almost the whole span of MK's history. He was not amongst those who founded the organisation, but was amongst its first Natal recruits, served on its Natal Regional Command during the 1961 campaign of sabotage, and went on the run in the period after the 1963 Rivonia debacle of

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to the National Command structures. Outside the country he took part in the slow reconstruction at various time in London, Dar es Salaam, Maputo and Lusaka. He was amongst the first MK recruits to receive thorough guerilla training in Eastern Europe, and went on to active service in MK's Angola camps from where the first guerilla incursions into South Africa were planned. He became a key organiser of the infiltration of MK cadres into South Africa from outside, crossing repeatedly and in disguise into the country from Swaziland; and finally returned to South Africa permanently to a leading role in the last ANC-MK stand before the deKlerk reforms, Operation Vula, during which the police put out a poster describing him as "Wanted. Armed and Dangerous."

Ronnie Kasrils' story is a story of the heart of MK and its clandestine cloak-and-dagger operations against the South African state, which started in 1961 and ended in negotiating team at the CODESA talks where a new South African state was being given form. He lived in the hub of the armed struggle, and in the midst of all its terror, its raids and ambushes and assassinations by the security forces of the state. And he seemingly bore a charmed live, surviving to tell all while comrades all around him fell in the course of front-line duty in the jails, the torture chambers and on the battle-fields. Inevitably he came to be nicknamed by press and police as South Africa's "Red Pimpernel".

It is something over fifty years since I last read of his predecessor, The Scarlet Pimpernel.' I remember him as a supercilious and hidebound British aristocrat, with the stiffest of stiff upper lips. Perhaps the memory is false. But except for the fact that like the Scarlet, Kasrils operated with great boldness and daring in a national revolution, nothing could be further from the Kasrils character. Kasrils is the authentic 'cheeky chappie.' The picture of him on the cover of his book "Armed and Dangerous" shows him characteristically, both arms aloft in triumph, a grin a mile wide across his face, and his T-shirt emblazoned with the hammer-and-sickle and a slogan "Build the Party."

"Armed and Dangerous" is his account of that part of MK in which he personally was involved, and with only slight references to those parts which passed him by. It is a tale of high adventure and high suspense, danger, cunning and thrills. Clearly he revelled in it all despite the threat to life and liberty - or at least seems to revel in it in retrospect. What he has told is a real-life tale of adventure, skullduggery, ~~and~~ espionage, and counter-espionage which paved the way for the underground political struggle to emerge into the legal terrain, and for the MK modes of struggle to give way to the negotiating councils of CODESA. He conceals nothing, neither names nor dates nor operational details. Some of these have been reported before, but generally from the outside, from the state intelligence side or from informer testimony in trials. But they have not, to my knowledge, ever been detailed before from the inside. And indeed many of the operations which were known in general - like the cross-border infiltrations for example - have never before been described in detail.

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Surprisingly, this real-life adventure story which mirrors so closely many a fictional thriller, is a story told without glorification of violence, without any gratuitous bloodshed, without any glorification of the power that comes "through the barrel of a gun". If my memory is right, Kasrils though doubtless constantly 'armed and dangerous' only fired a weapon once in anger. ~~That is because it is essentially an account not of so-called~~ "terrorism" but of freedom fighting, inspired not by the intoxication of personal power but by ideology.

"Ideologies" writes Professor Stuart Hall (Guardian 24.11.93) "are ideas which organise people's behaviour and conduct. It is generally difficult to make any distinction between the philosophies through which people understand the world, and the practices through which they operate in it." Kasrils' ideology is that of the South African Communist Party and the ANC, and his practices in MK is a text of how that ideology organised the behaviour and conduct of the majority of our country's freedom fighters.

This well told and gripping chapter of autobiography is neither a conventional thriller nor a conventional history. It does not look on the story as an historian might, looking back, probing motives, questioning whether what was done was done well or badly, and whether its results vindicated the effort. Kasrils allows himself little retrospection, little questioning, except for a repeated expression of regret for a too close reliance on Soviet precepts and experience - and that stated rather than explained. Which is not to suggest, as reviewers sometimes do, that he should not have written this book but something else instead. Kasrils should have written this book, because probably no one else has such a long and intimate knowledge of the facts of MK's daily operations. And probably no one else could relate with quite the same exuberance.

But now that he has brought the record out into the light from the recesses of years of secrecy, it is time for someone to make the study that needs to be made. Is MK's way the model for a new popular armed force in the new democratic South Africa? Is its experience, its personnel, its esprit de corps capable of being integrated in or recreated in a new South African security apparatus? Are its lapses in the conduct of its defaulters and deserters lapses in the treatment of defaulters, dissidents and even mutineers ~~are~~ a warning of the consequences of uncontrolled exercise of armed power, or a reminder to all concerned that power without democratic oversight can become tyranny even in the most progressive and radical hands?

Kasrils provides a gripping and almost un-putdownable account of the evidence. It is now possible for the necessary assessments and evaluations to be made, before a new South African security service emerges based only on the negative and wholly unacceptable experience of the SADF and SAP past.

L. BERNSTEIN<sup>1/2</sup> 10.1.94

ARMED AND DANGEROUS., my undercover struggle against apartheid. By

Ronnie Kasrils. Published by Heinemann.

Nothing divides South African opinion quite as sharply as its view of the security services of the state, both army and police. On the one hand, upholders of the old order see them as the most stalwart custodians of our cultural and political heritage and the last line of defence against encroaching barbarism. On the other hand, seekers after and constructors of the 'new South African' order see them as the most redoubtable and unreconstructed defenders of the old society which they wish to bury. And for many, especially those in the black urban townships who have been on the receiving end of 'security' operations, those forces represent the real face of the 'enemy'.

These different appraisals seem irreconcilable. And yet, inevitably, some reconciliation, some consensus of how the 'new South Africa' is to handle these forces will have to be found. Tentative proposals range from total disbandment to a variety of schemes for reformation and renewal, including the incorporation of 'popular' irregular forces such as those of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) into the scaled-down ranks of the regulars. And the decisions cannot now be long postponed. To do nothing would be to follow the worst option, that is, to leave a new-style state and government in total dependence on an unchanged arm of the old.

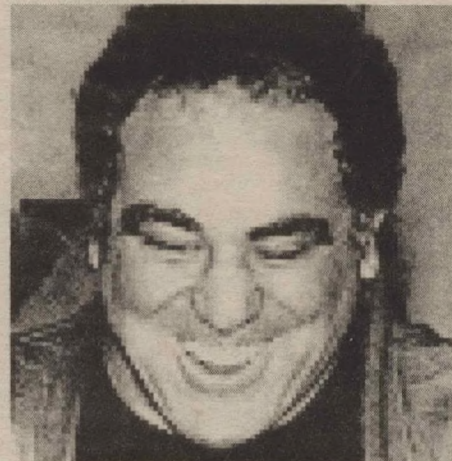
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Ronnie Kasrils

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## Politics

# MK Exposé

**Ronnie Kasrils has a long and intimate knowledge of the facts of MK's daily operations. Now that he has brought the record out into the light after years of secrecy, is MK the model for a new popular armed force in South Africa? LIONEL BERNSTEIN reviews**

MK's Angola camps from where the first guerrilla incursions into South Africa were planned. He became a key organiser of the infiltration of MK cadres into South Africa from outside, crossing repeatedly and in disguise into the country from Swaziland; and finally returned to South Africa permanently in a leading role in the last ANC-MK stand before the De Klerk reforms, Operation Vula, during which the police put out a poster describing him as 'Wanted. Armed and Dangerous'.

Ronnie Kasrils' story is at the heart of MK and its clandestine cloak-and-dagger operations against the South African state, which started in 1961 and ended in the negotiations at the CODESA talks where a new South African state was being given form. He lived in the hub of the armed struggle, and in the midst of all its terror, its raids, and ambushes and assassinations by the security forces of the state. He seemingly led a charmed life, surviving to tell all, while comrades all around him fell in the course of front-line duty in the jails, the torture chambers and on the battle-fields. Inevitably he came to be nicknamed by press and

police as South Africa's 'Red Pimpernel'.

It is something over fifty years since I last read of his predecessor, the Scarlet Pimpernel. I remember him as a supercilious and hide-bound British aristocrat, with the stiffest of stiff upper lips. Perhaps the memory is false. But except for the fact that, like the Scarlet Pimpernel, Kasrils operated with great boldness and daring in a national revolution, nothing could be further from the Kasrils character. Kasrils is the authentic 'cheeky chappie'. The picture of him on the cover of his book *Armed and Dangerous* shows him characteristically, both arms aloft in triumph, a grin a mile wide across his face, and his T-shirt emblazoned with a hammer-and-sickle and a slogan 'Build the Party'.

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Surprisingly, this real-life adventure story which mirrors so closely many a fictional thriller, is a story told without glorification of violence, without any gratuitous bloodshed, without any tribute to the power that comes 'through the barrel of a gun'. If my memory is right, Kasrils though doubtless constantly 'armed and dangerous' only fired a weapon once in anger. That is because it is essentially an account not of so-called 'terrorism' but of freedom fighting, inspired not by the intoxication of personal power but by ideology. 'Ideologies,' writes Professor Stuart Hall (*Guardian*, 24 November 1993), 'are ideas which organise people's behaviour and conduct. It is generally difficult to make any distinction between the philosophies through which people understand the world, and the practices through which they operate in it.' Kasrils' ideology is that of the South African Communist Party and the ANC, and his practice in MK is a text of how that ideology organised the behaviour and conduct of the majority of our country's freedom fighters.

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Lionel (Rusty) Bernstein was among the accused in the 1956 Treason Trial and the Rivonia Trial where he was acquitted. He is a long-standing member of both the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress.

**Armed and Dangerous.  
My Undercover Struggle  
Against Apartheid**

by Ronnie Kasrils.

Heinemann Educational,  
Oxford, November 1993,  
£6.99, 374pp.,  
0 435 90983 5

dates nor operational details. Some of these have been reported before, but generally from the outside, from the state intelligence side or from informer testimony in trials. But they have not, to my knowledge, ever been detailed before from the inside. And indeed many of the operations which were known in general — like the cross-border infiltrations, for example — have never before been described.

Review of "Armed & Dangerous."

For ?S.A. Review  
of books ?

### AT HOME IN THE UNDERGROUND.

You can cover the whole history of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) in the life and adult adventures of Ronnie Kasrils. When it was formed in 1961 he was in the ranks of its first Durban unit. When it consolidated and began its campaign of sabotage he was <sup>9</sup> in the Natal Regional Command. When it suffered virtual suppression in the post-Rivonia period, he was wanted <sup>and</sup> on the run ~~and finally~~ <sup>and</sup> driven into exile. He <sup>became</sup> ~~was~~ an essential cog in the slow reconstruction <sup>directed</sup> from outside <sup>in</sup> London, Dar es Salaam, Lusaka and Maputo. He was amongst the <sup>first</sup> ~~early~~ guerillas <sup>to be</sup> trained in ~~the~~ ~~Angola~~ <sup>Angola</sup>, and in Eastern Europe; planned and ~~helped~~ <sup>promoted</sup> the first attempts at armed guerilla incursions into South Africa; ~~and~~ <sup>became</sup> a ~~central~~ <sup>key organiser</sup> ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~infiltrations~~ <sup>of the MK</sup> from the Front Line states which ~~re-~~ re-established an armed ~~and trained~~ MK presence inside South Africa. He crossed and recrossed borders, legally, in disguise <sup>f</sup> and illegally; ~~and~~ <sup>and finally returned</sup> ~~the time came for~~ <sup>the mass return</sup> <sup>of the</sup> MK and ANC exiles from abroad after the deKlerk reforms, <sup>and</sup> was one of the leaders of ~~the~~ MK's last stand, Operation Vula, when MK and the ANC were already legal, <sup>but</sup> Vula's ~~leader~~ <sup>leader</sup> Maharaj and Kasrils remained <sup>underground</sup> at the head of the police "Wanted" list, <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>underground</sup>.

Or, to put it another way, the story of Ronnie Kasrils post 1961 is the story of MK, and of the clandestine cloak-and-dagger side of the South African liberation struggle. It ~~is a story which virtually~~ <sup>at the very beginning</sup> starts ~~with the start~~ of armed and violent struggle by the ANC and its allies, and ends appropriately in the ~~negotiating team~~ <sup>negotiating team</sup> at the CODESA talks <sup>f</sup> which ~~are creating~~ a new South African constitution and state. <sup>is being born.</sup>

where

(two.)

He was in the very centre of the underground, in the hub of the ~~terror with its~~ <sup>terror with its</sup> ~~network~~ <sup>network</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~roads~~ <sup>roads</sup> and ambushes and ~~assassinations~~ <sup>assassinations</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~captures~~ <sup>captures</sup> ~~organized~~ <sup>organized</sup> by the South African security services, ~~on~~ <sup>on</sup> police and military. ~~And seemingly~~ <sup>And seemingly</sup> he bore a charmed life, surviving to observe all - and now to tell all - while hundreds around him fell into the hands of the jailers, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~assassins~~ <sup>assassins</sup> and torturers, ~~some even betrayed by~~ <sup>and others</sup> ~~erstwhile colleagues who~~ <sup>erstwhile colleagues who</sup> were 'turned' by the enemy through a combination of bribery and ~~intimidation~~ <sup>intimidation</sup> physical pressure. Inevitably as his exploits became known, Kasrils the survivor, ~~became known to~~ <sup>was nicknamed by</sup> the South African press and public as "The Red Pimpernel."

It is something over fifty years since I last came across ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> description of his predecessor, the Scarlet Pimpernel. My memory tells me that he was a supercilious and ~~hidebound~~ <sup>hidebound</sup> aristocrat, deeply conscious of his racial superiority to those villainous enemy French; that he was nerveless, almost bloodless ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~endowed~~ <sup>endowed</sup> with the stiffest of British stiff upper lips. Perhaps the memory is false. But ~~there is no slightest~~ <sup>there is no slightest</sup> resemblance between Kasrils and that stilted character of fiction ~~is present~~ <sup>is present</sup> except that they both operated within a ~~national~~ <sup>national</sup> revolution, and both ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> exceptionally brave and daring. And, one might suggest, exceptionally lucky to have got away unscathed ~~to tell the tale.~~ <sup>to tell the tale.</sup>

Kasrils tells ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> tale simply, straightforwardly and well. He emerges as the very antithesis of the Scarlet Pimpernel. He is the authentic "cheeky chappie", shown ~~traditionally~~ <sup>traditionally</sup> characteristically on the front cover of his book with both arms raised aloft in triumphant salute, with hammer-and-sickle and the slogan "Build the Party" emblazoned across his chest, and a grin a mile wide across his face. And well he might grin, for he and his colleagues and their cause came out triumphant from ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> thirty-year battle against the vastly larger, better equipped and better resourced enemies in the state security battalions. Though ~~he lived~~ <sup>those were</sup> constantly ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~under~~ <sup>under</sup> threat, ~~constantly~~ <sup>constantly</sup> hunted and in dire peril, ~~in retrospect at least~~ <sup>in retrospect at least</sup> it seems ~~it was~~ <sup>to have been</sup> a life he revelled in. At least in retrospect.

Kasrils, I think, loved ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> the clandestinity, the derring-do, and ~~also~~ <sup>also</sup> the physical and psychological challenge of confronting Goliath armed only with a sling. Perhaps more importantly, he loved the comrades of all colours and races ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> who ~~his~~ <sup>joined him in</sup> peripatetic life in the underground. ~~Brought him into close alliances.~~ <sup>Brought him into close alliances.</sup> Over the years ~~many~~ <sup>as</sup> of them fell in the struggle, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> though he must often have felt "there but for the grace of God", ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup> ~~dedication~~ <sup>dedication</sup> to their cause made it possible for the ~~survivors~~ <sup>survivors</sup> to carry ~~on~~ <sup>on</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~struggle~~ <sup>struggle</sup>, without losing ~~their~~ <sup>that</sup> feeling of excitement and adventure.

"Armed and Dangerous" is ~~an~~ <sup>his</sup> account of high adventure, ~~not~~ <sup>accompanied by</sup> ~~without~~ <sup>without</sup> suffering, sacrifice ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> endurance. It never dramatizes the negative sides of violent political activity, ~~it~~ <sup>But</sup> underplays the tensions and perils, and concentrates on the dramatic events. It is an adventure story of ~~real~~ <sup>real</sup> life, of real skull-duggery, of espionage and counter-espionage, told with no holds barred. ~~It is a story now possible for~~ <sup>It is a story now possible for</sup> now ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> be told for the first time, ~~the~~ <sup>because the</sup> underground struggle has given way to the open political contests of Codesa and the first ever non-racial election campaign ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> the ~~beginning~~ <sup>beginning</sup>

30 years of

It can



THREE.

campaign, and there are no longer good reason to conceal names, dates, places or even operational details. Kasrils conceals nothing of his own operations or of those with which he was associated. Some have been <sup>reported</sup> ~~made known~~ before ~~with~~ <sup>in</sup> less detail, <sup>from court hearings</sup> ~~in briefings~~ and security briefings. Some have been the stuff of unconfirmed rumour; and some have never <sup>before even been</sup> ~~been even~~ rumoured. Together they add up to a classic true-life thriller, which it is impossible to put down, told by a somewhat larger-than-life <sup>revolutionist</sup> ~~figure~~ who it was - and is - impossible to keep down.

When he was high on the South African state Wanted list, Kasrils and his colleagues were ~~always~~ portrayed as ~~rather fictional~~ stereotypes <sup>like</sup> escapees from the mythology of Day of the Jackal or the "master terrorist" Carlos. But there is a deep divide between the fictional - or perhaps even real - terrorist on the one hand and the freedom fighter on the other. As in the fictions, Kasrils normally ~~went~~ went about armed. Unlike the fictions, only once (if I counted right) did he ever fire ~~deliberately~~ <sup>deliberately</sup>, in anger. ~~He tells his story -~~ <sup>his story has no</sup> Unlike ~~any~~ <sup>no</sup> fiction ~~with~~ gratuitous accounts of violence, ~~without~~ glorification of the power that ~~comes~~ <sup>no</sup> "through the barrel of a gun"; and ~~without any~~ <sup>no</sup> voyeuristic lingerings over injuries or pain or death. <sup>His main</sup> ~~He has~~ <sup>is for the life of</sup> ~~concern~~ <sup>concern</sup> for his comrades, <sup>and</sup> for ~~their~~ <sup>with</sup> concerns ~~over~~ families and communities and nation, ~~than for the~~ <sup>His story is concerned with</sup> ~~hundreds~~ <sup>rather than with a</sup> and for the cause they all upheld ~~than for the~~ desire to shock. These were freedom fighters, ready when necessary to kill violently, ~~but~~ never in thrall to violence. <sup>people inspired by an ideology.</sup>

"Ideologies are ideas which organise people's behaviour and conduct. It is generally difficult to make any distinction between the philosophies through which people understand the world, and the practices through which they operate in it."

(Professor Stuart Hall, in the Guardian. 24.11.93)

Which is why the Jackal, a man without ideology, remains a ~~terrorist~~ <sup>Fiction and a</sup> ~~pure and~~ simple, <sup>Armed + Dangerous</sup> ~~and why Kasrils' story is a freedom fighter's~~ <sup>is the</sup> ~~autobiography of a freedom~~ <sup>fighter</sup> ~~Armed and Dangerous~~ <sup>is a</sup> ~~is a~~ thriller, but not a conventional thriller. It is also an historic record, but <sup>not</sup> ~~not~~ a conventional history. For history asks a host of questions which Kasrils ~~does~~ <sup>never</sup> not ask nor answer. <sup>History asks:</sup> ~~it has to ask~~ not only what happened, but why? Was the course chosen justified by the situation, and its conduct vindicated by the outcome? Could it have been done differently, better, and with different endings? Was it necessary <sup>and was it justified?</sup> ~~and was it justified?~~ Kasrils allows himself no such questioning. He sticks strictly to the record - except for an occasional ~~and repeated~~ <sup>repeated</sup> expression of regret ~~over~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~the~~ over-reliance on Soviet precept and experience; and even that stated rather than explored.

Which is not to imply, as reviewers <sup>often</sup> ~~often~~ do, that the writer should not have written this book but something else instead. Kasrils should have written this book, because, perhaps no one else has such an intimate knowledge of the facts, or could <sup>recount</sup> ~~bring to~~ them <sup>with</sup> such ~~an~~ exuberance. He fills a vital gap in all our knowledge of ~~recent~~ <sup>in our time</sup> events in the underground life of our country.

FOUR.

But now that the facts are on record, there is <sup>also</sup> need for clear and thoughtful assessment, to draw out whatever lessons <sup>from</sup> the past <sup>may</sup> ~~can give us~~ to help us shape the future. On April 27th next, a new South African state and government should be coming into being. It will need to turn urgently to the very questions of military postures and strategies which the history of MK can illuminate. It will need to regulate in a new way the relations ~~between~~ <sup>between</sup> the ~~political~~ <sup>political</sup> ~~constituent~~ and its military/police apparatus. It will need to create a new modus of political and democratic control over the states secret intelligence apparatus. It will need to guard against the constant threat that even the best-intentioned democratic initiatives can give rise to brutal and authoritarian practices ~~where~~ <sup>if</sup> the right organisational and administrative measures are not taken. And so on, and so on.

There is a great deal <sup>of experience</sup> ~~mainly negative~~ <sup>but almost all negative to be learnt from</sup> in the experience of the SADF and the state Intelligence services. It will be a tragedy for South Africa if that experience is <sup>the only</sup> ~~left to stand alone as a~~ guide for the new South Africa simply because no-one in the ANC or MK who have the knowledge of their <sup>own</sup> ~~experience~~ <sup>different</sup> takes the time to analyse and lay bare the many positive lessons that can be learnt. <sup>Some</sup>

<sup>negative</sup> MK And the few negative ones <sup>that are</sup> ~~to be avoided.~~

L. Bernstein.  
26.11.93

ARMED AND DANGEROUS. My undercover ~~against~~ struggle against apartheid.  
By Ronnie Kasrils. Published by Heinemann.

# Southern African Review of Books

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31. Dezember 1993

Rusty Bernstein  
57 Lock Crescent  
Kidlington, Oxon OX5 1HF  
GREAT BRITAIN

Dear Rusty,

Thanks for the Kasrils review but I was not able to put it in for a combination of a technical and editorial reasons.

I set issue 28 (our fifth anniversary number) over three days at the beginning of this month, the fastest I have ever done an issue. It was printed in Cape Town on the 20 and distributed to bookshops, but not mailed yet. I simply could not take the time to put in all the hand-written changes; whereas Hilda's piece which arrived a few days later was clean and scanned in five minutes; so I put it in.

But there were others problems. I think if you had more time — and clearly you wrote this very quickly — you might do more justice to Kasrils. I felt uneasy about your portrayal of his book as a true-life thriller and the acceptance at face value of his presentation of himself as likeable amateur. You raise all the right questions in your third to last paragraph. I just wanted you to hazard an answer to some of them.

I was also reading your review against a review by Donald Woods of Helen Suzman's memoirs. I was worried that our readers would say that we were allowing pals to puff their friends' books. Because Woods' review was as favourable and enthusiastic as yours was. The difference I thought — and I put his in — was that Woods, as a reviewer, placed himself in the position of an enthusiastic admirer. He made no bones about it. As a journalist in Parliament he watched her perform and he relied on her take up Biko's case amongst others.

You, in contrast, did not position yourself in this way and I think readers would automatically expect you to be more critical. As it stands I think hostile readers can just dismiss it as partisan. If you did position yourself as party to the formation of Umkhonto and the whole strategy of violence against the state, then I think the review would carry 'insider' authority. You say the facts are on the record, that the truth is now known, that Kasrils sticks to the record. But you as the reviewer have to interpret that record, those facts and at least suggest why he has written this book now in this apparent candour. As you well know, autobiographies always conceal more than they reveal.

Do you feel inclined to have another look at the review, with a deadline for the next issue of 21 January?

Best Wishes

Rob Turrell

*feel*

*Hungry Turrell + best wishes  
to you both for the New Year.*

29. 11. 93.

Dear Rob, (S.A. Review of Books)

Herewith review as promised. Not very good in content and bloody awful in presentation I'm afraid, but our word processor went on the blink at the crucial moment, so I had to revert to the forgotten and tedious processes of the steam age.

For the same reasons, Hilda's review is being delayed slightly, but will be posted off to you within the week, hopefully in better state than mine, since she uses ten fingers against my two.

Cyphologs to readers, typesetters etc.  
and to you.

Rusty.

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AT HOME IN THE UNDERGROUND.

You can cover the whole history of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) in the life and adult adventures of Ronnie Kasrils. When it was formed in 1961 he was in the ranks of its first Durban unit. When it consolidated and began its campaign of sabotage he was on the Natal Regional Command. When it suffered virtual suppression in the post-Rivonia period, he was wanted <sup>and</sup> on the run <sup>into</sup> ~~South Africa~~ <sup>directed</sup> into exile. He <sup>became</sup> ~~was~~ an essential cog in the slow reconstruction from ~~London~~ <sup>to be</sup> London, Dar es Salaam, Lusaka and Maputo. He was amongst the <sup>first</sup> ~~best~~ guerillas <sup>to be</sup> trained in ~~the~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~Angola~~ <sup>in</sup> Angola, and in Eastern Europe; planned and ~~organised~~ <sup>promoted</sup> the first <sup>to be</sup> ~~armed~~ <sup>a key organiser</sup> armed guerilla incursions into South Africa; ~~became~~ <sup>became</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>of the MK</sup> influence in ~~the~~ <sup>of the MK</sup> infiltrations from the Front Line states which ~~re-~~ re-established an armed ~~presence~~ <sup>presence</sup> MK presence inside South Africa. He crossed and recrossed borders, legally, in disguise, and illegally; <sup>and finally</sup> ~~until the time came for~~ <sup>returned with</sup> ~~the mass return of~~ MK and ANC exiles from abroad after the deKlerk reforms, ~~and~~ He was one of the leaders of ~~the~~ MK's last stand, Operation Vula, when MK and the ANC were already legal, but Vula's ~~leader~~ <sup>leader</sup> Maharaj and Kasrils remained <sup>underground</sup> at the head of the police "Wanted" list. ~~at the head of the list.~~

Or, to put it another way, the story of Ronnie Kasrils post 1961 is the story of MK, and of the clandestine cloak-and-dagger side of the South African liberation struggle. It ~~starts~~ <sup>at the very beginning of</sup> starts ~~with the start of~~ <sup>at the very beginning of</sup> armed and violent struggle by the ANC and its allies, and ends appropriately in the ~~negotiating~~ <sup>where</sup> negotiating team at the CODESA talks ~~where a new South African constitution and state~~ <sup>where</sup> ~~are being born.~~ <sup>are being born.</sup>

[two.]

in the hub of the tentor & with

its ~~radicals, ambushes and assassinations~~ He was in the very centre of the underground, ~~in the hub of the vast enemy~~ ~~by the South African security services~~ ~~police and military.~~ ~~He bore a charmed life, surviving to observe all - and now to tell all - while hundreds around him fell into the hands of the jailers,~~ ~~assassins~~ ~~and torturers,~~ ~~and others~~ ~~erstwhile colleagues who~~ were 'turned' by the enemy through a combination of bribery and ~~physical pressure.~~ Inevitably, as his exploits became known, Kasrils the survivor ~~was nicknamed by~~ the South African press and public as "The Red Pimpernel."

It is something over fifty years since I last came across ~~an~~ description of his 'predecessor', the Scarlet Pimpernel. My memory tells me that he was a supercilious and ~~hidebound~~ aristocrat, deeply conscious of his racial superiority to those villainous enemy French; that he was nerveless, almost bloodless, ~~and~~ and endowed with the stiffest of British stiff upper lips. Perhaps the memory is false. But ~~there is no slightest~~ resemblance between Kasrils and that stilted character of fiction ~~is~~ except that ~~both~~ both operated within a ~~human~~ national revolution, and both were exceptionally brave and daring. And, one might suggest, exceptionally lucky to have got away unscathed.

Kasrils tells ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> tale simply, straightforwardly and well. He emerges as the very antithesis of the Scarlet Pimpernel. He is the authentic "cheeky chappie", shown ~~characteristically~~ characteristically on the front cover of his book with both arms raised aloft in triumphant salute, with hammer-and-sickle and the slogan "Build the Party" emblazoned across his chest, and a grin a mile wide across his face. And well he might grin, for he and his colleagues and their cause came out triumphant from ~~thirty~~ <sup>a</sup> thirty-year battle against the vastly larger, better equipped and better resourced enemies in the state security battalions. Though ~~those were~~ <sup>those were</sup> constant ~~threat~~ <sup>constant</sup> threat, ~~constantly~~ <sup>constantly</sup> hunted and in dire peril ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> it seems ~~to have been~~ <sup>to have been</sup> a life he revelled in. At least in retrospect.

Kasrils, I think, loved ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> the clandestinity, the derring-do, and ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> physical and psychological challenge of confronting Goliath armed only with a sling. Perhaps more importantly, he loved the comrades of all colours and races ~~who~~ <sup>who</sup> joined him in his peripatetic life in the underground. ~~Over the years~~ <sup>Over the years</sup> many of them fell in the struggle ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> he must often have felt "There but for the grace of God" ~~dedication to their cause made it possible for the survivors to carry on~~ <sup>dedication to their cause made it possible for the survivors to carry on</sup> without losing ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> feeling of excitement and adventure.

"Armed and Dangerous" is ~~an~~ <sup>his</sup> account of high adventure, ~~suffering~~ <sup>accompanied by</sup> suffering, sacrifice ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> endurance. ~~It~~ <sup>It</sup> never dramatizes the negative sides of violent political activity. ~~But it~~ <sup>But it</sup> underplays the tensions and perils, and concentrates on the dramatic events. It is an adventure story of ~~real life~~ <sup>real life</sup>, of real skull-duggery, of espionage and counter-espionage ~~told with no holds barred~~ <sup>told with no holds barred</sup> ~~possible for~~ <sup>It can now</sup> to be told for the first time. ~~The~~ <sup>The</sup> underground struggle has given way to the open political contests of Codesa and the first ever non-racial election

~~and~~

THREE.

campaign, and there are no longer good reason to conceal names, dates, places or even operational details. Kasrils conceals nothing of his own operations or of those with which he was associated. Some have been <sup>reported</sup> ~~mentioned~~ before ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> less detail, <sup>from court hearings</sup> and security briefings. Some have been the stuff of unconfirmed rumour; and some have never <sup>before</sup> ~~been~~ <sup>been</sup> even rumoured. Together they add up to a classic true-life thriller, which it is impossible to put down, told by a somewhat larger-than-life <sup>revolutionist</sup> ~~figure~~ who it was - and is - impossible to keep down.

When he was high on the South African state 'Wanted' list, Kasrils and his colleagues were ~~portrayed~~ <sup>portrayed</sup> as ~~stereotypes~~ <sup>stereotypes</sup>, like escapes from the mythology of Day of the Jackal or the "master terrorist" Carlos. But there is a deep divide between the fictional - or perhaps even real - terrorist on the one hand and the freedom fighter on the other. As in the fictions, Kasrils normally ~~went~~ <sup>went</sup> about armed. Unlike the fictions, only once (if I counted right) did he ever fire ~~deliberately~~ <sup>deliberately</sup>, in anger. ~~Unlike the fiction,~~ <sup>his story has no</sup> gratuitous accounts of violence, ~~without~~ <sup>no</sup> glorification of the power that ~~comes~~ <sup>comes</sup> "through the barrel of a gun", and ~~without~~ <sup>no</sup> voyeuristic lingerings over injuries or pain or death. <sup>His main</sup> ~~concern~~ <sup>is for the life of</sup> his comrades, and for ~~their~~ <sup>with</sup> concerns ~~and~~ <sup>with</sup> family and community and nation. ~~His story is concerned with~~ <sup>rather than</sup> the cause they all upheld, ~~but~~ <sup>rather than</sup> for the desire to shock. These were freedom fighters, ready when necessary to kill violently, but never in thrall to violence, <sup>people inspired by an ideology.</sup>

"Ideologies are ideas which organise people's behaviour and conduct. It is generally difficult to make any distinction between the philosophies through which people understand the world, and the practices through which they operate in it."

(Professor Stuart Hall, in the Guardian. 24.11.93)

Which is why the Jackal, a man without ideology, remains a <sup>fiction and a</sup> ~~terrorist~~ <sup>terrorist</sup>, and why Kasrils <sup>"Armed and Dangerous" is the</sup> ~~is a freedom fighter's~~ <sup>autobiography of a freedom fighter.</sup> ~~Armed and Dangerous~~ <sup>Yet it</sup> is a thriller, but not a conventional thriller. It is also an historic record, but <sup>not</sup> a conventional history. For history asks a host of questions which Kasrils ~~does not ask~~ <sup>neither</sup> nor answers. <sup>History asks</sup> ~~not only what~~ happened, but why? Was the course chosen justified, ~~and its~~ <sup>and its</sup> conduct vindicated by the outcome? Could it have been done differently, better, and with different endings? Was it necessary? <sup>and that is just what</sup> Kasrils allows himself no such questioning. He sticks <sup>is</sup> ~~strictly~~ <sup>is</sup> to the record - except for an occasional ~~expression~~ <sup>expression</sup> of regret ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> over-reliance on Soviet precept and experience; and even that ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> stated rather than explored.

Which is not to imply, as reviewers <sup>sometimes</sup> ~~often~~ do, that the writer should not have written this book but something else instead. Kasrils should have written <sup>this</sup> ~~the~~ book, because perhaps no one else has such an intimate knowledge of the facts, or could ~~bring to them~~ <sup>recount</sup> ~~such~~ <sup>with such</sup> exuberance. ~~It fills a vital gap in all our knowledge of~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~events in the underground life of our country~~ <sup>in our time.</sup>

FOUR.

But now that the facts are on record, there is <sup>also</sup> need for clear and thoughtful assessment, to draw out whatever lessons <sup>from</sup> the past ~~may~~ <sup>may</sup> help us shape the future. On April 27th next, a new South African state and government should be coming into being. It will need to turn urgently to the very questions of military postures and strategies which the history of MK can illuminate. It will need to regulate in a new way the relations between the ~~unmanned~~ <sup>state</sup> and its military/police apparatus. It will need to create a new modus of political and democratic control over the state's secret intelligence apparatus. It will need to guard against the constant threat that even the best-intentioned democratic initiatives can give rise to brutal and authoritarian practices <sup>if</sup> ~~where~~ the right organisational and administrative measures are not taken. And so on. and so on.

There is a great deal <sup>of experience, but almost all negative, to be learnt from the</sup> ~~of the experience of the SADF and~~ the state Intelligence services. It will be a tragedy for South Africa if <sup>that</sup> ~~the~~ experience is <sup>the only</sup> ~~left to stand alone as a~~ guide for the new South Africa simply because no-one in the ANC or MK who have the knowledge of <sup>very different</sup> ~~their~~ experience takes the time to analyse and lay bare the many positive lessons that can be learnt <sup>from</sup> ~~from~~ <sup>that are</sup> ~~to be~~ avoided.

negative

MK.

L. Bernstein.  
26.11.93

ARMED AND DANGEROUS. My undercover ~~against~~ struggle against apartheid.  
By Ronnie Kasrils. Published by Heinemann.



RE: "That Spells Trouble" by Mark Israel.

1. This is an interesting and informative piece of research on the Jewish participants in the struggle against South African racism. I have no quarrel with the body of the material, or with an attempt to restore to Jews their rightful place in the narrative from which they might "have been suppressed or ignored." But I find myself at odds with any account which suggests that some special factor of "Jewishness" makes their participation in the struggle somehow uniquely different from that of others. I accept that for many Jews there were specifically Jewish cultural, religious or historical influences at work; and in fact some of those quoted in the document themselves refer to such influences in their own motivations. But do such influences be used to explain the motivations of ALL Jews? And, if they can not, what then separates off all those characterised in this and similar studies as "Jewish" rather than say "South African", or simply "citizens"?

2. What determines who fits into the category "Jewish"? Is it the commonplace South African notion that certain surnames are recognisably "Jewish"? Or the religious notion that the offspring of Jewish mothers - and only mothers! - are Jewish "by birth"? Or are the criteria attendance at synagogue? Observance of Jewish rites? Upbringing in a specifically Jewish culture? Or simply by ancestry? My view is that none of these criteria, either alone or in combination, are a satisfactory basis for a serious thesis such as this. (As the piece I have seen is probably only part of a larger work, perhaps this problem is dealt with elsewhere; in which case, apologies for stating the obvious.)

3. Most of those quoted in this document in fact characterise themselves as Jewish. This seems to me the only acceptable basis for such characterisation, except for a demonstrable Jewish cultural or religious life-style - which not many of those quoted in this study claim. But is even self-identification, by itself, enough? In this post-holocaust age, anyone with even a slight, almost intangible Jewish ancestry or background is impelled to assert "Jewishness" because denying it would seem to be pandering to anti-semitism. Self identification, by itself, tells very little or nothing at all about any Jewish ~~historical, cultural or religious influences~~ which might have influenced participation in the liberation struggle.

4. What is the validity of the classification "Jewish" radical or "Jewish" communist if it is not established that those so defined have been subject to some specifically Jewish influencing factors? Without that, the definition would come close to the apartheid race theory which asserts that specific inborn 'ethnic' intangibles such as blood and/or ancestry give rise to a separate - and different - species of persons. What, in any case, is a 'Jewish communist'? Simply a communist shaped by a Jewish cultural/religious background? Or a Jew who has chosen communism as a result of personal conviction? This is not hair-splitting or irrelevant. It is very relevant when a serious attempt is made to explain the apparently disproportionate number of "Jewish communists" in South Africa's past.

5. I consider myself a communist. My parents were Jewish. Whether I am a "Jewish communist" for purposes of this study must be based on the facts: that my parents subscribed to the Jewish religion, attended synagogue on high festivals, and kept up Jewish practices like Friday night candles and passover. That was the household atmosphere in which I grew up until about the age of nine when both my parents died. Thereafter I lived intermittently with various relations

who maintained a similar or even lesser 'Jewish' home. I was barmitzvahed at thirteen, and have not been inside a synagague since except for a wedding or two. I neither speak nor understand either Hebrew or Yiddish; my only knowledge of Jewish culture or history is a smattering gained from general reading. When questioned, I refuse to state that I am NOT Jewish, and therefore reply only that: 'My parents were Jewish. Make of that what you will.'

6. I am not included in this study. But without seeking to include or exclude myself from it, I think this illustrates some of the difficulties that surround the classification of several are thoser who are included. It could be argued that I am a "Jewish communist" by dint of early family influence; or by the orthodox religious claim of Jewishness by descent from a Jewish mother. But how to classify any of my children if they should be communists or radicals? Can they possibly be "Jewish"? None of my three youngest have ever set foot in a synagogue, ort lived in a home with any element of Jewish culture or ritual. All of them are 'non-re;igious', married to Christian partners. None of them consider themselves Jewish, though they might well refuse to deny their Jewish heritage for the same reasons as I do. And if they are none-the-less to be considered 'residual Jews' for a study like this, what about their adult children? How many generations must pass before Jewishness wears off for any serious scientific or sociological study?

7. I do not want to suggest that the relationship between communism/radicalism and Jewishness can not be analysed. It is a legitimate and intersting field of study. However, I think that the origins of that relationship might appear differently if the classification "Jewish" was as rigorous and clear that of 'communist/radical'. I have a suspicion that if a rigorous definition was imposed in place of an easy assumption of what constitutes Jewishness, the reason for the extra-ordinary number of Jews amongst South African radicals might appear somewhat different from the picture presented by his study. Could it be, for example, that what this study attributes to "Jewishness" could be just as well - or perhaps better attributed to an East European heritage? That thought is hinted at but not pursued in this study. I suggest it might be amplified by another question about South African Jews and radicals: Why is there virtually NO contribution to the struggle against apartheid from the many German refugees of the thirties, who were just as certainly "Jewish"?

Rusty Bernstein  
May 1999. .

South African history has always been written from the standpoint of the white establishment. It traditionally starts with white settlement, and features the black majority only as enemies or subjects and servants. This blinkered view has hampered the growth of an all-South African patriotism, and also the theoretical understanding of the liberation movements.

Johan Pampallis was made aware of the need for a different history when he taught for some years at the ANC's refugee school SOMAFCO at Mazimbu, Tanzania. In deperation (?) he wrote an alternative textbook from the point of view of the people, not the establishment. That text has been in regular use at the school, but has not been available to the general public. It has now been made available to the general reader for the first time in a revised and extended version. The original has been almost the only text the South African liberation movement has had of its own and its peoples' history as seen in the light of its own ideology. ~~It has been invaluable.~~

~~Pampallis, regrettably, followed the South African exam and general history precedent of starting his history with the written record - that is, the first white penetratiuon at the Cape of Good Hope.~~

The writing of South African history is fiendishly complicated. Social and economic changes do not take place there uniformly, right across the population board as they tend to do elsewhere. They occur instead separately, often perversely, in each of the country's racial entities. Traditionally writers have distilled this complexity by treating each ~~entity~~ <sup>group</sup> separately, seriatim. Pampallis has followed that method, I think mistakenly. It provides <sup>the</sup> simple clarity ~~as is~~ needed for school teaching, but seems to me to cloud the weave of interpenetrating relationships which constitute the real historical process. A rope, after all, can be unpicked into ~~its~~ separate threads ~~and~~ each minutely described. But the sum of those descriptions is not necessarily a real picture of the whole rope. Admittedly an "integrated" historical account is much more difficult; but to my mind it approaches closer to ~~the~~ historic truth.

Pampallis has done a fine job of research and produced the nearest thing to a "definitive" peoples' history of South Africa which we have. Designed ~~more~~ for teaching ~~than for the general reader~~, it states the "facts" with a one-dimensional clarity which leaves little space for ~~discursive essays~~ <sup>possible</sup> alternative interpretations of events, or speculation ~~on issues~~ where the record is still unclear. But it is an invaluable introduction to everyone who wants to know how the <sup>country</sup> ~~land~~ has passed from Vasco da Gama to DeKlerk and Mandela. It is a real contribution to the <sup>understanding</sup> ~~minds~~ of that ~~whole~~ generation of all colours who are now trying to lay the foundations of the new South Africa.

Pampallis, regrettably, followed the South African examination board's and historian's precedent by starting his history at the point of the first white penetration of the country. That traditional ~~approach~~ separates the South African people from their roots in Africa, ~~the continent~~. The people's history

begins long before white discovery, in the continental beginnings where writing, metal-working and much else was developed. It is sincerely to be hoped that Pampallis will be moved to follow up his ~~work~~ student's history with a general readers text - from prehistory and Meroe to the streets, mines and factories where today's foundations of a new order are being laid.

L.B.

Foundations of The New South Africa. By John Pampallis.  
Published by ZED Books.

COMMENTS ON FRANCIS MELI'S MANUSCRIPT ? HISTORY OF THE ANC.

Taken overall, this is an extremely interesting original work, dealing with historical events which have been mainly touched upon by other writers but never, so far as I am aware, brought together into a single history of the ANC. It is very readable, and should be much valued in Southern Africa particularly.

I have divided my comments into two sections - first on matters of general application to the work; second to matters of detail. With regard to the second category, I comment from my own knowledge, experience or viewpoint. I have not done any special research. I must confess that I am unable to make any detailed comments on the accuracy of facts or opinions in the early chapters of the book - those dealing with events prior to approx. 1938, since these are outside my range of personal experience and knowledge.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

1. There is a substantial difference - an imbalance - between the earlier chapters dealing with the 'prehistory' of the ANC, and those dealing with the organisation's history proper. The prehistory is dealt with in intricate detail and at some length, while the history proper is, in the main far more cursory, less detailed and - in the best sense of the term - less academic, less of a research work and more of a narrative. Since the essence of the work is the history of the ANC, it is difficult to see any justification for this imbalance.

The imbalance can presumably be edited out by fairly savage trimming of the early sections. However, because of their deeply researched nature, heavy editorial cutting would destroy the really substantial value of these sections, which I found the most interesting and fully covered part of the whole historical record. May I suggest that, if heavy editorial cutting is resorted to, consideration be given to publishing the early chapters separately as a booklet or monograph, and in full as an addition to the curtailed version in the history.

There is also a stylistic difference between the two sections - the first being strictly academically objective, the second being unashamedly polemical. I can see no objection to the polemical nature of the later sections, provided it is made clear by way of foreword or some such device that the opinions are those of the writer, not the ANC. This is not because I have any reason to think that the ANC will or might disown any of the opinions; only that organised bodies very seldom have stated opinions to which they are prepared to stake their public positions.

2. The chronology of the text bothers me. Although the chapters follow a fairly strict chronology - by apparent historical periods ~~linked by some similarities of character~~, within the chapters the chronology gets very difficult to follow, not to say confusing. This is because the writer has chosen to deal with the epoch of the chapter by separating the events on a non-chronological basis, as e.g. Africans, then Indians, then trade unions within the epoch. The consequence of this is that the chronology constantly shifts back from the end of the epoch to the beginning as the new category of events is dealt with.

Though this is somewhat confusing to the reader, my general criticism of this technique is not because it makes the chronology hard to follow, but because it seems to me to obscure the broad sweep of historical events and developments which had their ~~making~~ among all categories of people and organisations at any one time, each organisation influencing and being influenced by the others, and its experiences rubbing off on - or ~~being disregarded or overturned~~ by the others. History which fails to ~~describe the inter relation and~~

describe the interaction and inter-relation of events which are occurring in parallel - even if not in direct association - makes any assessment of the advances of retreats - the broad sweep of historical events - very difficult. And the constant "back-to-the-beginning" technique of telling the story, constantly disrupts the patterns of assessment which are formed in the readers mind.

SPECIFICS. Note: this is being written from notes, without the manuscript available for reference or check. This accounts for some odd chronology and interpolations here too. *-Also obscurity of some of early comments!*

Pages 1:50 approx. This fails to touch on the question of 'who got to the Southern end of the continent first?' Not in itself an important issue, but has become an important political issue in South Africa, and should be dealt with in some way. Failure to do so leads to a weakness in the whole of Overview, (Chap 1), viz: that the indigenous blacks are described in a static way, as occupying a particular place - rather than as people in movement, happening to be at a particular place at the particular time under discussion.

There is little description of the inner state of society of either Khoi or Xosa - nothing of their social or economic or political order - all of which seems to me an essential if one is to understand either the repeated clashes with the white settlers as in Chap 1, or even the succession of internecine struggles over tribal chieftainship and succession etc, which fill many later chapters.

What is presented in this chapter is a series of wars and clashes, but without a real "overview" of what the process as a whole was. The picture presented is that all African change came from outside pressure by white incursion. But this serves only to reinforce the impression that black society was static, perhaps stagnant. Without some description of the inner processes of tribal society, it presents, ~~in mirror image~~ the picture of black society waiting in a stagnant state for white initiative to set it into motion - the favourite myth of white SA officialdom, ~~in mirror image~~.

P64. Refers to "ceding" of the land by Sotho. But what does "ceding" mean? Under what circumstances? And what concepts of land ownership if any were understood by this cession - by both sides?

(There is no clear geography of chieftainships, and territories - except perhaps for the most expert of historians and geographers. Maps would be a considerable help. Note e.g. that at approx. P71 the text deals with the Transkei Xosa area, directly after the Ndebele/Western Transvaal. *This sort of thing occurs repeatedly.*

P84: There is no explanation for the starvation en masse after the Nonkwaso visions or prophecies. *The 'prophecy' needs to be explained.*

P93: No explanation of what happened to defeat the Sotho after Mosheshoe.

Chap 2: Here is an illustration of the point about chronology being obscured by the episodic treatment. Towards P200, there is separate from-start-to-finish-of-the-epoch treatment of Press, religion, political organisation, Indianas, Coloureds. All the developments in all these sections reflect *(?the same?)* changes and developments in the social scene in which they happen; but ~~those~~ societal factors get lost - if they are described at all - and thus remove the events from their context; which is the only way they make any continuous sense.

Chap3: The Land Act: gives no statistics or factual information to enable the uninformed reader to understand the actual enormity of the legislative havoc being wrought.

My notes here ~~after~~ *under* may make sense when the text is looked at. Without the

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