

21/11/88.

Dear Ben,

Here with further material for the book.

I am anxious to hear about progress - did you get the previous material sent during the Postal Services Strike in London? I am asking because I did not get its acknowledgement, and hence fear that you might not have received it all in that confusion?

Further questions on PAC other issues - I can also attend to them if you raise them now. In the meantime I am writing more on my own role - after leaving RSA with reference to the liberation movement - for boosting the book's inside information - discuss yourself what you consider could

P.T.O.

be construed as libellous  
to anyone's good repute.

We have sufficient  
information on the liberation  
movement in Africa and my  
personal involvement in its  
achievements and set-backs-  
than to indulge in any  
need-slinging with anyone.

Take care,

Yours JH

My enemy is time and  
convenient place to sit-down  
alone and put it all in  
writing for you to sift it  
and produce book and films  
if need be. I have told nobody  
yet about my leadership  
episodes I mentioned to you.

JH

- (a) Our prisoners clothes were normally the same to those given to casual criminals. The habitual criminal sentenced to longer than approximately twenty years had horrible normal long working hours similar to ordinary unionized people in the society outside prisons. Except that these cotton flannel worn clothes were made in such a way that they were a bit tight on body and washed for change only once a week. For this reason in summer many felt them uncomfortably too hot and itching on the body. Whereas in winter, we wished they should have been tailored for long legs and protection for long arms rather than <sup>short</sup> pants and short sleeves they provided. We worked hard at Witbank and Transvaal correction farm prisons - where the weather conditions were of both extremes either in winter or summer. In our lot of a little more than two-hundred we lost only elder George Sivisa (Transvaal Regional Chairman), and one Mr. Takalisa a PAC-activist who because of age did not healthwise withstand the rigors of prison life ordeal. In which we were condemned to suffer without mercy from the State. Indeed, PAC-President suffered most - when we had only six months left to be discharged from Witbank Prison. He and his Secretary P.K. Jeeballe, were removed from other PAC-political prisoners and sent to Pretoria Central Prison, which is notorious for accommodation of prisoners (whites, Coloureds, Indians and Africans) who pivot there as convicted criminals awaiting their day of execution by scaffolding. I am not aware of jail conditions they found in Pretoria.



At no time we were ever allowed to talk or mix with other prisoners - except in the presence of a prison warden whiteman, who ensured that we did not as PAC - prisoners communicate. But of course we did proselytize criminals and prisoners urging them to campaign for enlisting to their country's armed forces occupation and employment. We convinced them that the statutory Pass Laws convictions and petty thieving conviction records had completely tarnished their chances of employment. To the extent that they are has laws vilified enough antisocial underworld gangs criminals inavoidable for employment. Hence - PAC and FOFA TUSA had organized the nationwide and worldwide Pass Laws Anti-Apartheid and White Minority rule Campaign - as the only way out, for the African people of South Africa Azania as a whole regardless of race, colour and religion to get out of this territory's bottomless shasm of Apartheid-rule! We inculcated a belief into their thinking with my conviction, that the best national service and contribution they could make would be (taking consideration of the fact that they are young most of them) to urge Government to train them on public utility skills jobs. Victoria should draft them to employment in the South African Army. As they no longer qualify for integration into the normal Society's life outside prisons. I think we convinced them that they could work and support their families and continue their educational studies in readiness for playing a useful role in a future liberated South Africa. In PAC and FOFA TUSA we had dedicated ourselves - galvanized the entire Society

to commit itself to organize and create a united prosperous Azania/South Africa for all to emerge. When I was to be discharged from Witbank Prison with other P.A.C. - leaders Zephaniah Mokoena and Selby T. Ngwenane, the prisoners presented me with a 'nivada watch' in recognition of the political education I had imparted to them about the future - a role that they as prisoners could play in changing hostile attitudes of the Society - whilst they are still serving. The 'nivada watch' was the property of a former Sophiatown man in Johannesburg. He was in 1962 working in tailoring section to be discharged this year. It looked improbable then that by year 1988, he shall still be alive to walk out of Witbank long-term prisoners' jail.

search for his relatives who scattered, when Sophiatown African Village was demolished and its inhabitants transferred to Meadowlands Township deprived their freehold-lands and properties owned by Africans in the City of Johannesburg areas. His family in Sophiatown, was among many black Africans who were first victims among those black people uprooted under the Group Areas Act.

- (b) + (c) The prisoners uniforms to P.A.C. political activists were clean. If torn, they were taken back and replaced, but there were no underwears provided.
- (d) We were refused long trousers and supplied with testai pants made out of thick cloth.
- (e) We were not supplied with socks and shoes but rubber sandals.
- (f) We had no jerseys to put on against hazards of cold.
- (g) We were about 100 in each of the two cell-halls.
- (h) We slept flat on disal weaved fiber-mats, cushioned heads with burl clothes, and slept barely naked at night.



on concrete extremely cold floor even in winter.

- (i) Each time we arrived at a prison - food conditions and preparation was often deplorable. Resident Sobukwe ask me to be accompanied by anyone on the NWC-PAC - leadership to take complaints in the manner I thought things should be - considering that I had expertise in handling industrial relations and unfair working conditions in South African industry over 19 years before giving priority to South African politics to combat the scourge of Apartheid.

It was common practice that prisoners' food was undercooked grains, mealie meal with a bulb of bitter turnip to eat it raw. We cultivated plenty vegetables (the best under irrigation intensive farming <sup>growing</sup> maize, and flowers potatoes etcetera - and reared pigs) but boiled pork-meat we rejected. So we got beef gravy and cattle-meat piece of offal three times a week at Stoffberg prison. We were not allowed to eat what we produced - we used to see some produce being loaded at night and carried away on trucks to destinations unknown to us.

- (j) There - ever we went we corrected prison food bad cooking habits. And PAC insisted to be given at least 30 minutes for evening shower-bath of course with icy water after a hard days work building a large Dam as it was the case at Stoffberg Prison's 'Sobukwe Dam' we built there. At other prisons we worked too on prison-farms. However, the black African long-term prisoners were given apprenticeship in Tailoring and Shoe-Manufacturing trades. We saw them making South Africa's Army, Air-force, Police uniforms and prisoners' uniforms of first rate quality and workmanship.

(\*) It was one of those cruel injustices of the repressive system that we were severely punished for possessing a written paper about anything you can think of picking-up and glance over! Considering that we were the first political prisoners to challenge UK-Imperial system of White Minority Domination Apartheid rule in South Africa - the Authorities obviously thought the Sharpeville Anti-Apartheid Pass laws political resistance was just another black African people's bubble - that merely served to express shortlived indignation of the South African Society. They had seen many public demonstrations by Indians' Community Leader Mahatma Gandhi - and similar multi-racial demonstrations by the ANC-SACTU-CP-Congresses' Alliances which had all blown-up the gas and later subsided into the shifting sands of history - without even making a dent on South Africa's granite wall of Apartheid laager of white South African politics.

When PAC-President Sobukwe warned that the Sharpeville Campaign (which is now internationally commemorated annually by decree of the UN) would go on proliferating and unfolding black African peoples campaigns after campaign - Victoria reacting to what they had seen in the FOATUSA-PAC lead Sharpeville Campaign they passed in 1963 the Sobukwe Bill for Detention Law, to prevent his release that year. He lived and died a foremost political leader of the present generation since the birth of the Black African peoples liberation movement launched: - the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and FOATUSA who remain a sprawling phenomenon that was featured by independent black workers FOATUSA successor.



(e) For a few months after we had been sentenced it was common for any PAC-activist, to report that he had been hit hard from the back by an armed police warden white sentinel.

When Zephaniah Mthopeng accompanied me to get the mischief stopped, it worked. Until, we were transferred at Stoffberg Prison, Orange Free State Province. There, when the beatings began we protested, and the 'police armed-wardens' in charge were asked never to walk close to the PAC-political prisoners. Except to hand over something like a 'piece of paper' informing a prisoner that he is charged for loafing, sitting, working slowly, or threatening to assault a warden in the performance of his duties. Some were charged for having shown defiance when asked a question by a warden on a parade line either going out to work, or returning from work.

However, the consequences for these serious complaints were far-reaching. In that the prison Chief warden sending cases to Bloemfontein reporting our offenses. And without the PAC-activist prisoner being allowed to explain his side of the case—a reply would come from Headquarters sources in Bloemfontein authorising Police Station, that the PAC-prisoners accused by the field warden supervisor, should be given from four to six lashes on their buttocks. I personally witnessed, the fierce bloody beating of our group one gloomy morning. The sky had shown symptoms of sunshine when we began working at 7 am. The weather by ten o'clock threatened to precipitate a damp, dark cloud-burst of rain—some chaps were quick to predict that



"such an unpredictable heavy cloud hovering over our heads - was foreboding ill, a sign of some serious misfortune that we should expect."

- (21) To our surprise at about 11 am, that morning morning prison Chief Warden accompanied by another white officer came straight to us PAC-working leaders Prof, Moshopong, Ngendane and Nyase. We were asked to tell the PAC-men working - digging the Dam to stop work. Abandon our tools and, line up in four - and follow Colonel Kruger leading us back to the compound.

The first entry on the way to the living quarters was a barbed wire fenced empty space which fortunately always got full of our people - leaving behind and outside the back-gate about less than 15 persons. The fenced enclosure was used for stripping PAC-political prisoners naked. For two policemen to search us and our clothes to ensure that we had not stolen any fruits and onions from the farm gardens. However, on this special occasion we were brought to the usual enclosure that morning to be undressed for a 15 minutes thorough beating-up ordeal, there was blood-curdling scene!

PAC-leaders above-mentioned, missed the fifteen pickhandler police-wardens assault melee - which was ordered by Col. Kruger to start - and he later stopped it. By a command when Sibho Mngomezulu told Colonel Kruger and PAC-leaders that he and others, could hit back and die with the Police if the beating (he considered enough) did not stop. Trying loud he asked "where are you Darkie; Nooks; Madi; and Sibanyoni brothers. Let us die with them now!" Before Leaders could react - Col. Kruger standing

shouted signalling that the police-warders better stop their assault and withdraw from the enclosure. By that moment Siphos and Darkief had already boxed and brought-down two burly warders who were also hitting their heads and arms - whilst holding pistols on their left-hands. As the fight was called off - before the white warders could start to shoot - with their pistols, one would not swear that those killing small arms were not loaded with live bullets. But there was certainly no pistol-fire used. Police warders and one Siphos speaking black senior warder withdrew without consulting with President Sobukwe and other leaders. However, one thing I am sure about is that they were not aware that because of frequent complaints of assault made against white warders - the PAC leaders had changed from walking in front to walking behind - in President Sobukwe's words it is better that it should be leaders who are tortured, for this liberation freedom crusade rather than our followers, who might be tempted to revenge under extreme provocation.

- (2) Prof was still effectively guiding from prison the leadership of the party - for at the last PAC and FOFATUSA subsequent separate conferences - the PAC - President R. M. Sobukwe and three months later - FOFATUSA - President J. D. Nyaswe, were by their respective independent members' conferences given "incidental powers" to carry-out executives' constitutional powers of leadership - until the liberation freedom crusade purpose... to overthrow Apartheid and set-up on its ruins, a non-racial (African Blacks' and Whites' Society) majority-ruled Democratic Government is approved. The brackets are mine for what was intended. I witnessed,



in my capacity as I was *inter-alia* the Speaker and Chairman of Conferences in PAC militant harbinger for "change" by revolt against institutionalized Apartheid system of Government in South Africa. Moreover Sobukwe, was fortunate to find himself thrown into prison with the constitutional executive quorum of the PAC - leadership. Yes he send and receive messages.

- (6) Now that the liberation freedom crusade has burgeoned keeping with the foregone PAC conclusions as planned - it would be felt at certain quarters that I should not have detailed - how did Sobukwe manage to keep on leading the Party operating from his cell in prison, it should suffice to confirm that he did it. My scope here is limited by the fact that political prisons are full of others who wish to emulate him without knowing how he did it? Some might wish to do precisely what Sobukwe and PAC did, hence it is rather discreet on our part and for the security of many others that we skip delving on this question as to "how did he do it?" Similarly, he read out messages he had received - which the NWC members discussed and decisions were made - after which he sent out the Party leadership messages from prison. In two occasions there were episodes of the prison authorities getting to know that PAC-leaders of the NWC - were holding lectures in prison dormitories instead of sleeping early for the convenience of the warders attending to the Group. Questioned about correspondence material, newspapers, vitamin tablets, etcetera - we were hurriedly convicted and sent to Boksburg Prison and Bull Sky from Fort No 4. When it happened again even at Boksburg - under close

police wardens, watch - we were isolated as the  
 NWC - group and transferred to Blue Sky.  
 It was at that stage in our opinion that  
 farm secluded rural heavily guarded prisons  
 like Stoffberg and Witbank - where we were  
 not allowed visitors and contact with the general  
 public - even fellow criminal prisoners - were  
 not given permission to discuss anything with  
 President Sibusiso's P.A.C - political prisoners.

There was only one exception when in the  
 presence and listening of the Police-trade  
 unions leaders from FOFATUSA - accompanied  
 Lucy Mxubelo and Sarah Chitja to ask me  
 to sign 'credentials letters' authorising two  
 P.A.C - exiled leaders Tana Mahomo and  
 Peter H. Molotsi to have power to accept  
 international aid assistance donations that  
 were forthcoming from overseas trade unions  
 in the name of Black African Workers and  
 African trade unions - a labour movement  
 FOFATUSA. On 19 March 1960 by National  
 Resolutions of Conference FOFATUSA had been  
 ordered to go underground - but the process  
 to do so took six years of engaging in  
 tussle struggle of resisting security police  
 services against Black African Unions, who  
 had side-by-side fostered FOFATUSA from its  
 very inception when it was operating under the  
 name of African Trade Unions' Action Committee.  
 The Committee was formed when CNETU (Council  
 of Trade Unions in South Africa) was dissolved  
 in 1954. This was necessitated by resignation  
 of Coloured and Indian Workers trade unions from  
 CNETU - whose African Black Workers trade union  
 activities and existence had been declared unlawful



organisations in 1953 by the passing of both the Group Areas Act of 1950 - prohibiting any hiring of offices for Black African Unions and Workers anywhere in South Africa - while the Native Settlement of Disputes Act of 1953 had been promulgated by the South African Government in defiance of 5 years strong opposition that had during that period been stepped-up by J. B. Nyasse as Secretary-General and President Nana Makabeni of CNETU made before Dr. J. H. Botha and H. W. Windsor Five Year Industrial Legislation Commission of inquiry into South Africa's industrial relations. Before which as Secretary-General of CNETU - Nyasse did indeed both his foes and friends in the manner he had pleaded a historic case presenting the role that had been played by CNETU from 1941 - 1953.

Parliament's rejection of the recommendation that South Africa should grant statutory trade union rights, freedom of association, etc; to CNETU - Black African peoples' trade union movement Nyasse represented - came as a shock through the breadth of the Nation. And the fleeing Coloured and Indian South African Workers and African comrades began in 1954 - forcing Nyasse and Makabeni to dissolve CNETU and let it emerge under the title of 'African Trade Unions Nation Committee'. Since SACTU and TUCSA represented white regime registered trade - while urging each other to help protect black peoples workers and trade unions - none of them could do more than express - their willingness to organise and enrol more African Workers into their trade union centres than the other one while Africans wanted equal recognition before the Law!

Then in November 11, 1959 FOFATUSA having been formed at an inaugural Conference came with Conference Resolution to circularise all Companies Federations of Employers Organisations and demanded top-level talks. When Employers said yes, but government should approve - FOFATUSA decided to hold talks with PAC. Given a role to play in articulating the entire Nation's political aspirations for 'national liberation' and self-determination to end Black African Peoples bipartite Exploitation of Workers. Hence, we in FOFATUSA declared, a prepared draw-out African Black Workers' resistance in Labour Matters organized, starting 1960-1979.

FOFATUSA from that stage, committed Black African Trade Unions memberships to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania - and quietly hired and funded PAC intensive projects in addition to our spontaneous desire that the two independent organisations should together and without any formal publicity about launching a joint action. In this approach, the Presidents of both the political party and the Labour Movement for indigenous South Africa/Azania Black African people (who are refused equal employment opportunities - freedom of association - collective bargaining - right to be apprenticed for training on skilled industrial jobs) knew that those who intended to traduce the newly nine-months-old Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania/South Africa would continue to disdainfully treat the PAC-President Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe. Simply by understating the fact that his shadow portfolio Ministry for Labour Affairs, Speaker and Chairman of PAC-National Conferences is independent African Workers President



a reputed trade unions leader who had already served as a popular Workers' Spokesman and Secretary General of CNETU (Council of Non-European Trade Unions) from 1946-1960. Even though, the movement in view of Pretoria regime's onslaughts against African trade unions' CNETU group, led by Nyase, changed their name twice. In 1954 they as CNETU, became "African Trade Unions' Action Committee". And in October 1959, CNETU Group formed the present-day underground FOFATUSA. The Conference of 19 March 1960 - which was the second national FOFATUSA - conference, its President was for incarnation of his courage, installed to lead, the South African Black African Workers majority independent non-racial trade unions movement in their struggle for "Statutory human and trade unions' rights in Labour Matters" - and for Elimination of Apartheid against black African people and African Trade Unions in South Africa a 32 years' black African workers freedom crusade advised in 1979.

The critics of the PAC - leader Sobukwe, at the time of the launching of nationwide Sharpeville Campaign - were astonished to learn only two days before, that at the FOFATUSA - conference held at the Trades Union Hall in Johannesburg - the black African workers - led by their national President J.D. Nyase, had declared to join PAC and participate as co-sponsors of the Sharpeville Pass Laws Campaign for Elimination of Apartheid in South African industry. With every part of the drama regarding the Sharpeville Campaign, the orchestrated political liberation - people's movement left, PAC and FOFATUSA critics groping to prove that they still had a following hard-core adherents in the country? For the entire oppressed people supported the freedom Anti-Apartheid Pass Laws PAC - FOFATUSA Campaign ANC-boycotted.

The ANC-call for public burial of PAC/FOFATUSA victims killed in the 1960 massacre and call for burning of Passers - were an aftermath trick to make mankind believe it was equally a VC revolt & I don't know if Prof had discussed the launching of violence by PAC. However, like in most issues pertaining to PAC policies - the two of us had exhausted our discussion on violence. We found it, not only premature, but counter-productive. For, we sincerely accepted our "non-racial democratic Society" PAC-contrived - it could only be a brainchild of direct Constitutional Dialogue. More than that, we agreed on definitions of the Society in order to accommodate every individual citizen regardless of his or his nationality descent - implying nationality origin of the individual person. Hence, we became convinced that RSA/UK-indigenous African colonial people's imperial final act in its 1909 policy of divide and rule lies in a negotiated Three parties Peace Treaty. Of course we also agreed that the PAC - shall seek friendly backing by Peoples' Republic of China, for exchanging views on various issues, we discussed (Prof and I,) this part on 'violence' just before Prof and P.K. left Witbank for transfer to Pretoria Central Prison in 1962. Eventually, Prof advised me to do everything within my power to make a trip to Peoples' Republic of China in Peking. This became possible in 1964 - when I led a PAC/FOFATUSA delegation to establish "Friendly Mutual Relations Socialist Solidarity of the Chinese people with all people of South Africa," as represented by PAC-FOFATUSA-joint liberation campaign from 21 March 1960 in South Africa / Azania at the climax of the nationwide Sharpeville Anti-Apartheid System of foreign colonial domination - a British Imperial legacy institutionalized in 1909 in UK and adopted in South Africa (the then British Colony) attained by military conquest first against Boer-Africans



white Settlers who surrendered in the Anglo-Zulu final act of warring in the 1899-1902 Anglo/Boer War at Ladysmith Siege in Natal. To the combined British and Zulu National Army dispatched by His Majesty King Dinizulu Zulu, son of Cetshwayo—who had himself fought the all-time memorial fateful war to repulse Imperial British Invasion in 1879 at Isandlwana Anglo/Zulu War<sup>22</sup> in South Africa) defending indigenous African people in their country South Africa/Azania.

However, in 1906 or, four years after the Zulu king had intervened and restored peace and reconciliation!

The Imperial British Army aided and abetted by Boer-Afrikaner Commanders (or troops) and local British Settlers, are reported by Zulu people's eye witnesses and survivors of these wars in their narratives to have launched a combined and undeclared attack concentrated on the Zulu King's chiefs who are strong supporters of uprising by tribal chiefs who opposed surrender of their arms and citizens to British troops. Upon their refusal the undeclared Anglo/Bhambata Zondi War, against a few African Zulu tribes—who also failed to win His Majesty King Dinizulu's support for involving Zulu National Army and get the entire country into another warring against Imperial British Government's Aggression. The Royal King Dinizulu, decided to surrender the country—its indigenous African people—and himself, at Pietermaritzburg Imperial British Army Headquarters in RSA, in 1908—after the fierce bloody war which raged for 1 year 8 months. With Natal Province of Zululand ending up as the theater of the last war fought by the Zulu African people in their last ditch resistance, for opposing Imperial British Government's colonial rule which was introduced for white Settlers of European descent to rule the territory—without black people's participation.

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