

ASCP. GEN.
1960s.

19

Slow/Kotane animosity, fuelled by impatience on JS part. Slow; from early differences over emergency and tacit articulation of K's role in allegedly distinct formation of relations between CP & ANC. JS very strong in need for open, formal alliance, K apparently prepared to let sleeping dogs lie. Note: K's bad temper, readiness to JS, - JS claim deliberate falsehoods etc - symptomatic of exactly my own behaviour patterns, intolerance, short temper etc. in run up to my heart attack.

1960/63.

It was like a ship with a leak, slowly going down, but with its crew staying in their places, the band playing, still upper lip, while an orderly procession took to the boats. When did it start? With the home arrests. 1st the Hodgsons after weeks in their flat. Then one by one Kotane, Hamel, Madhu. (Dakoo had left in 1960 emergency, we had got used to life without him.) But now the exodus was on, Kotane house arrested; Hamel?? - to maintain AC which could no longer carry on; Madhu?? . Slow & Op. Magibuye. Cape Town, she bentig preparing to leave as soon as permits came through?? reasons. And then she breached without. Mandela already in jail; Sisulu & Mshini house arrested; Raymond abroad for training with others - Wilton, Mambu??; Ruth had gone in 1960? for training; Sunnis to Zimbabwe. when?? began to feel I was the only survivor with my head above water - except lesser humans - with Brian. Kathy also went to Rwanda? reason?? And still the ship sank while we carried on.

It was in the best & worst tradition of the party - as exemplified by 1950 lead up to Supp. Act, look at the practical tasks done all else - ~~down~~ down came the theoretical future to the future. It was magnificent - no panic, total dedication to a cause, almost no defectors. And yet suicidal! How this has been discussed the lessons learnt? I do not know. Post Rwanda I missed 1 1/2 years of contact, & emerged still shocked to a new continent and a new consciousness ^{granted} about me. - And so, to operation Magibuye & the void at Rwanda.

NEW PARTY.

The Suppression Act, the first hints & the need to reply to the Legislature! Again, a great gesture, but was it right, a suicidal? What is the future verdict.

And so, the committee to consult with 'friends', to draft the reply; which became ipso facto the starting point for a new party. Consultations with Edwin & Du. Plessis; Wolpan; Cape Town & Sunnis; Durban. Madhu in the end, explain for range, & so to new set of principles of SACP, a first conference.

Note: waves by students JS school (all white?). run in parallel with the above. ? What does Edwin claim to have done - see interview with US writer as desirable to us by Tom Lodge.

C13

PROP. COM.
1940/43??

C3

Call for volunteers to work area 1941. my work on Propcom: 2nd front campaign =
offices in 200 Lake V for Victory etc. Was this a wrong emphasis, partly our work particularly
on European side? But an African/Indian side emphasis on Passes - another pamphlet
& even Chin Stage began to move - and especially on African TVs rather than
national liberation. See pamphlet 'How to get more mass, and mass influence into
trade unions, & union build; going on everywhere - eg. Caste Swaraj &
Tchanku. TSHALUKE.

PARTY/1944?

C3

Party Conference? 1944?? with Simon's report on war. Geo Lindley looking to
winde Nazi Party for liberation. The discussion on removal of CC to Cape
Town. Some time hereafter, I am elected Dist Secretary - prior to joining the army
after 2nd front campaign is war & front opened. Period of great expansion, &
broadening out of CP - national factories as e.g. Guals & Yopstaws; Spynfoke
League; Theatre group, lawyers group etc. But in retrospect, the nat. lib
front underestimated because it was not active enough - the TVs seemed to
be front runners; regularly speak at location meetings with TOMs, especially on
Sundays. City Hall jobs for funds etc.

POST. WAR.

C5

The SL fights Malan in glib while I was still in army. But generally, I think
we underestimated Nat revival despite this warning, probably because of our
isolation from platteland. SL began concentrating on retaking the VP - we turned
to the TD/OTS 'Vote for All' Campaign, with Indian Congress, TVs, ?ANC?? In
the euphoria of black advance - see eg. VE day march through Johannesburg,
unprecedented - schizophrenia with the party faction concentrating on blacks, SL on
whites? The nat victory, far as unprepared.
Note: Muri's strike of 1946! as one of main formative experiences in the
modern movement.

ANC/CP.

C5

Relations as discussed at that time, e.g. NEC declares, emergence of Party.
had both a negative and a positive effect. Negative was tendency,
exemplified by Motane, to allow the CP to be dictated to by needs &
policies of ANC, which prevented the emergence of a real CP presence in
the camps and at HQ in the 1960's. The gradual shift from this
predominantly Motane influence in the later 1960s also provided
the 'propaganda' basis for the gain of rights result - not an actual
cause, but a post. facto excuse. Also as consequence, an almost
all white CP leadership in London, an all black leadership in
Africa, with policies conflicting more & more in practice until the
partial resolution of problem at Morogoro.

COD. etc.

The existence of COD led to student assertion of 'multi-racial' aims, over
the state of consciousness & sensitivities of ANC generally, & could in

part at least be regarded as negative in general course of the movement. Great sensitivity needed by whites, on the other hand, also led to an uncritical and worshipful attitude to ANC & black struggle generally, blunting the critical faculties of the most advanced elements in the CP and elsewhere, and covering over of ANC's political and administrative deficiencies. For these reasons, our movement which has produced a large & varied body of propaganda & literature, has produced a very small body of critical political appraisal, or even academic inquiry into history, economics, institutions of SA etc.

C8.

LP: CP/10s. Participation in LP & LLY predisposes to a concentration of the white political scene, and the 'white problem' as a sideline. To what extent did this tradition continue into the white war period? It is surely of some relevance, significance, that the demise of the LP and later of the SL opened the way for a turn of the movement's white wing towards the national liberation movement. Until that time, the CP concentration on the black majority was reflected mainly - not entirely - in its concentration on the TU movement. So much so, that during the most receptive years for CP propaganda, the war years 1943 on, our party recruitment was on a mass trade union economic basis, c.f. 'Castle Breweries endorsement a mass, vast extension of ephemeral unions', mass recruitment at Market Square, CP pamphlet 'how to get more money', etc.

C3.

But note extensive propaganda/education development, especially night schools and their contribution to the growth of an advanced urban work class sector.

DETENTION

~~Note: decision in Pretoria 1960 to refuse to be interrogated - a collective decision, & its success. An important lesson for future resistance - especially, our attitude to 'silence' after arrest at a later stage.~~

CHILDHOOD

~~Meaning of family 'Hennessey' - also legs man champion at time of anti-pass campaign - student of Nkosi.~~

WESTERN AREAS REMOVAL

P143-6

C5.

Speech at meeting at Odini cinema. Sophiatown - in/capacity?? - probably as member of W.A.R. protest cttee. - See MATTEA. Twilight in Sophiatown - when police burst in arrest Y. Cadmalia. Bundenmanin. ? Huddlestone's intervention as quoted by Mattea - Jola Mtshwana starts singing. When I resume speaking, tell anecdote about De Valera: 'As I was saying when I was nearly interrupted.' The falls flat.

MANIPALAND

~~Trip with Harry Walker to meet Alphaas Maliba & small guy from Zolpamburg Maleni Assoc. re planning restrictions. ? 41??~~

ON RIVONIA. For starter. Jammers. for 50 minutes.

Rivonia: Commentators on the 1950s treat it as a landmark. Before Rivonia. After Rivonia. Do they refer to the trial? Or the raid? Now looking back from 30 years on, everyone knows about it — and no one venerates it. Wasn't it when Mandela was sentenced? Yes it was. Now in history. Except for a very graphic and precise account in Helder's book, ~~the story~~ ~~has~~ what actually happened has passed into myth. Only now, 30 years on, has Joel Jaffe's 1985 m.s. seen the light of day. Those who want to know what it was all about can turn to that. Those who find ~~hard~~ blow by blow accounts boring, can turn now to cheap ??

Schlaggy. Falstaff on honour.

FOR CHAP. 19/20

On Magunhu. "Actual existing socialism"

Note the parallel of the Berlin wall being pulled down & Magunhu students wanting to pull down their walls to the outside world!

Add: Re Joel's Book: Publishers not interested in 1965. Morewant dead & buried. Numbertot in communications from the grave.

Life 10. Rivonia trial as symbol of SA. decayed morals of state. oppression. Law in state of collapse. Death of oppression as end result. but it will rise again. Yet as symbol of white SA racism, like Suman ready to pull the levers down around their ears. De Wit. White SA's who look the other way. Don't want to get their hands dirty, but do don't want to see. ~~has~~ Gult as symbol of the creeping corruption and surrender to police state. And at wine — life & death of a social order.

Other symbolism: The defence conduct of case & upholding the law & tradition. The prosecution its corrupt!

Milan Kundera: "The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting."

The court is strangely isolated from the outside world. almost unrelated to it. We are like ~~actors~~ actors in a play which goes on from night to night according to the script regardless of the turmoil in the streets outside. This isolation has been prepared - laid on by 90 days. Bram never speaks of what he is doing outside. We never ask!

There is the world. And there is the court!
Are we like a crew in a canoe - sleeping quarters by night, huddled together in a single higgledy enterprise by day.

? Does the country watch & draw lessons from our performances in court? Or are we actors as in rehearsal, for ourselves? And perhaps the outside world which we know is watching. (like TV actors - removed from their audience?)

Courts often portrayed as heroic struggles of prosecutor vs defense, crime vs punishment! The whole process is a demeaning one. One sees oneself as engaged in a struggle of ideas, of philosophies, of titanic proportions - freedom vs tyranny; individual rights vs. state. And here in court is reduced to this degraded hucksterism of Yotav, soborated witnesses, petty lying and distractions. There is nothing noble about all this - except perhaps in Nelson's speech and the ~~constant~~ refusal of accused to go along with the stunts!

We are not heroes, only defenders of our own past and our own faith. We are sinners, witnesses to another moral/ethical/political code perhaps.

Why do we go along with false evidence rather than challenge it? Is truth not a value in itself. If truth is unimportant why? What is important?

Does dear conscience account for the survival of all of us (being excluded?)

APPROACH to LIFE IS!

1. ~~the~~ This is a watershed in the history of our struggle. We know it. It is in this light that we shape our defense. It is a continuation of war. We will save what we can of our forces, give them the undertaking - morale to spring back again after defeat. Consequence - precise truth of all allegations is almost irrelevant; it is historic truth, political truth that is at stake.
2. Prosecution also here seen this as watershed in politics. They are going for victory, no holds barred. For them too in different way. truth ethics, law no longer operates. Victory is all. Hence Yotav's attitude of obstruction of defense - consultation tricks and keeping back of consultation, petty distributions over incident etc. Microphone in court. Reenact of documents for press. And above all lies! Manufactured skilful hard to detect lies. Lying as an art form. Smear of Lushinski, Evans etc. Coady witnesses.
3. ~~Detests outplayed by - also unresponsive, allows everything, stops nothing. He connives at Yotav's tactics.~~
4. Between them they have corrupted, raped, the SA justice system - with long term consequences.
5. Why do we not notice it when we are in court - why no denunciation?

CIA.

Perhaps because we are too close — see only details, not grand designs.
And so lies pass unchallenged except where relevant to LAW, NOT WAR!

A10. ~~ADD IN~~ ①

The defense case is a sort of Russian roulette. We are playing with loaded revolvers, aimed at our partners against our own heads. The best that can come of it is that nobody dies in our conditions; the worst that we do to ourselves. Nelson is the 1st. ~~to play~~ He plays the game so always with panache & style, not a fiber of fear, although he is surely aware, as killed up as we are, of his fate.

Walter has some of Mandelstam's style, but all of his courage & endurance.

~~We are playing Russian roulette!~~

Add in - where appropriate: After discussion on leaving? **THE ESSENTIAL GESTURE**

I am not making a gesture. I dislike gestures. I don't clench my fist & salute easily. Some say that staying in SA is the essential gesture! I cannot agree. I won't make a gesture to please or excite others. And yet I do not believe in the self-sacrificial act. But yet I cannot will myself to leave. I seem to owe it to me - not to them. Is it, as they say, a senseless sacrifice of career, security, peace? Perhaps. But undoubtedly, beyond argument. I have to do it. Leave, not for others!

TERRAQUINO.

London: For Post-Luxuria: What has it all been for? For 25 years I have been doing things that cost me - self, newspapers, meetings, work, writing. For what pay-off? But always in those years I told myself, every little counts. Et parzi muare! It does. But now - when every corner of the world has been searched, the network destroyed, our loggia scattered. Now, is there any point to it? Luxuria has been a famous victory. But for what? Has anyone heard? Have we, like Reddy, let a fire that will never be extinguished? I sit in the sun, burnt out, think about it, contemplate, unable or longer to persuade myself to more. For years I have been making things happen. No more. I am now just waiting for this to happen to me. The Terraquino!

C19

Add in: ~~Luxuria case: the 4 point summary of what we are charged with.~~

~~... to be~~

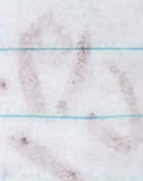
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11/21/6

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For client.

- a) Removal of tie-bar is essential - not covered in specification.
- b) Plan must be submitted to Local Authority, for approval under Building Regulations.
- c) ~~Fell in date for return of tender - allow not less than 14 days!~~

SACTU: General weakness about looking back entirely slows itself here more than anywhere. To what extent has our continuing adherence to a Sactu myth aided our indifference & absence from the real world of organizing SA workers in a period of industrial growth, which paved the way for the supremacy of the 'workist' tendency. Ever now, in a more volatile age, is SACTU alliance with us not exactly a real alliance with the TU movement which in the long run is the effective vehicle of 'working class leadership' in the struggle.

CP. 1964 on. Note on my arrival in GB attempt to report & reopen errors of the past in particular underestimation of the eng's reaction to violence. Given built off by leadership not given to looking back. E.g. was 'Op Maybe' ever reconsidered, or just buried under table. Similarly 1969/70 decision to restrict leadership to full time. Was it ever revisited? On this decision my own opposition tempered by desire not to advance my own interests & also some proposal was 'sprung on me' - did not consider e.g. who was full time? who appointed or selected them, & on what basis? e.g. Tass, SACTU etc. some virtual self appointments.

C19

On similar basis - decision to have 2 tier membership in harbor for 'sevet' & ma. secret work, a request for all members to certify willingness to return to SA - was it ever reconsidered? What of its effect? And was this a satisfactory style of leadership or of cadre selection, or was it a continuation of promoting consensus at one end of membership, and arbitrariness at the other without democratic safeguards.

CPSA. 1942? Campaign of propaganda for 2nd front to be opened. Effigies hung in Eldon St. followed by City Hall meeting of white!
 do 1989/90 And E.S. Raudhanas, longin duplicata & being paper to convene meeting of ANC.

ON CP/ANC. ~~Attempts to join ANC from e.g. Sidh Mogaubse of Lond. Guy Umai & al. Echenis attempts to ANC at time of formation of independent party. Debate at Party Conference? '47?? on decision to NRC etc~~
 = Sutchers vein that we can ignore ANC.

C3

S. NEGON. Deal with Torch Commando, formation, and illusions of the 'Mark or Palisade'!

C4

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