

text the notes may make sense, they may not. They refer to: the ANC was not seeking to speak for ALL the people (which the text presumably suggests) but for the blacks as they then defined them. There are specious reasons given on Ps. 234/235 and also 238 (on war.) These "reasons" are only self-serving justifications made by the actors themselves, not historical explanations of the processes that produced the policies. See also 241 on war. The author should interpret, not merely quote the explanations of their motives as given by the participants in events. Are their explanations acceptable, valid, or post-facto rationalising?

P244: no explanation why women took to direct action while men drew back.

P 248: This is first reference to ICU - very casual, without any explanation or appraisal, and thus incomprehensible to people who do not know of it. This is subsequently partly put right in Chap 4; but here it seems to be paying considerable attention to events outside the ANC - correctly and necessary. But the influence of these outside events upon the ANC inside is not adequate, not the influence vice-versa, of the ANC on the 'outside.'

Chap 4: No explanation of the actual nature and make-up of the membership of the ICU. Was it in fact a "trade union?". And if so, what sort of trade union? Did its own internal character contribute something - perhaps as much or more than the subjective factors dealt with by the author - to its later collapse?

For a history of the ANC, it is inadequate merely to record that some ANC members took part in the ICU. How did the rise of the ICU influence the ANC? (And vice versa?).

Again chronology: The new Xuma constitution for the ANC - circa 1939? - is followed by the AAC, 1936.

P328: Nothing at all here about the prime purpose of the AAC, which was to mobilise united opposition to the Land Act. Instead there is considerable attention paid to an important political statement, maybe - about Ethiopia - which was almost an incidental offshoot of the main purpose.

P330: Was it the collapse of the AAC and Western Cape attempts at revival that created the NEUF? Surely, objective circumstances of the Government policy at the times, including hopelessness and desperation in the face of the Hertzog Bills had as much to do with it as the AAC demise?

P343: Natal riots. Note again chronology, 1949 being followed by the miners strike of 1946. Amongst the important aspects of the Natal riots not dealt with was the despatch from the Transvaal of a powerful team of African communists, who joined with Durban communists in a quick propaganda and personal intervention in the troubled areas, speaking directly to the Zulu workers.

P348: African trade unions had been formed well before 1941. 1941 was the occasion of the then existing unions getting together to form a co-ordinating committee, the CNETU.

P355: The miners strike cannot be passed over without dealing with the almost crucial part by the members of the CP and ANC in the Transvaal, who took on themselves the task of going out night after night to the mine shafts to distribute union leaflets and bulletins - this after the entire Union leadership had been arrested or immobilised. This explains the fact that the strike flared up each day anew, at new mines not previously on strike.

P356. Reference to Dadoo being brought from jail refers only to the Rand mine strike case, not the sedition trial as might be implied by the text.

P364. Refers to the similarities of the ANC Youth League manifesto and contemporary Black Consciousness. But the circumstances must point not so much to an identify of views, but to a belated rise of BC. ANCYL stressed 'Africanism' at a time when the dominant ideology of the ANC and black politics generally was traditionalist and liberalistic. The BC on the other hand, espoused BC at a time when they were challenging the dominant ideology of that time, viz. the ANC militant ideology which Africanism had ushered into the forefront. It is thus not a "literal likeness", but an apparent similarity, in fact a mirror image.

Chap 6 (is this numbering correct? 5?) appears to proceed from the formation of the ANCYL direct to the Congress of the People. BUT this is too big a jump - a whole era of ANC and YL history lies between these two events

P378: I believe that in May the Suppression Act was not enacted, but either proposed or introduced for the first time to Parliament for debate. The Conference held shortly thereafter in Johannesburg was in order to plan a concerted campaign against the Bill before - in SA parlance - it became an Act. The attendance by the SATLC at this conference is very unlikely, taking into account the character of the national body. Reference here must be to the Witwatersrand Local Committee of the SATLC. And the CNETU surely also attended?

P381: Note that the actual nature of the Defiance Campaign is not spelt out: to deliberately court imprisonment as an act of protest; the protest being being organised, not spontaneous, conducted by a disciplined corps of volunteers, against selected "petty apartheid" laws as the easiest forum for the protest against much more important and universally oppressive laws. Note also the end of the Defiance Campaign was brought about in a disciplined and deliberate fashion, after the government introduced special legislation 'The Criminal Laws Amendment Act' which made the offence of breaking the law by way of protest one to be dealt with by lashes.

P384. Matthews is said to have articulated the idea of a freedom charter at the Queenstown ANC Conference. I doubt if this is an accurate account; In fact, at a joint meeting of all four Congresses held in Natal in March 1954, Matthews proposed the drawing up of an electoral roll of ALL the people, and thereafter the convening of a national assembly of some sort - details no longer clear to me. BUT that meeting watered the proposal down to one within the realistic scope of the organisations - the collecting of demands for a freedom charter, and the convoking of a national assembly of delegates to consider and adopt it.

P392: refers to the Freedom Charter envisaging "... a new society specifically on the principle of the common ownership of wealth". This is far too sweeping. On the basis of common access of all to the land, yes and common benefit from the wealth, yes. But the only elements of "common ownership" envisaged are the mines and monopoly industries. See the immediately following quotation from Mandela about it... "these monopolies."

P394: The Treason Trial section does not refer to an important aspect of it: that here for the first time, the leading people of the whole liberation movement from all provinces and main areas were brought together, and sat, talked, ate and lived together for some years, thus creating a really united leadership out of what had been a geographically divided and often politically separated series of local leaderships. It also forced the movement, in its own defence, to spell out in detail and defend its ideology in a way that had never before been necessary.

P395: I cannot recall the precise part played by Michael Scott in this. But the essential work of undercover investigation, of penetrating the farm jails, documenting them, photographing them and exposing the whole racket was done by New Age, in particular, by Ruth First as writer-researcher, and Joe Qabi, as under-cover reporter and photographer.

P396: refers to March 1958 stay-at-home as "week long." Perhaps it was planned that way - although my memory is different. But certainly it only lasted for two days.

P397: The seminal importance of the 1961 Republic Day strike for the whole future shift to the organising of Umkhonto we Sezwe is not explained or examined. This was in fact one of those turning points in the history, as Mandela's TV interview afterwards already indicated.

P413: refers to D. Tloome as the "only former communist." Not true. The list should include Duma Nokwe, John Nkadimeng (who had been a full-time worker on the Party's journal 'Inkululeko') and possibly - I am not sure - L. Massina.

P400 and after: again chronology - the Zeerust uprising of 1957 coming after Sharpeville 1960; and reference P428 to the crucial element of the changing powers of chiefs is referred to as "... under the conditions of the 1950's."

P429: The Pondo revolt was probably more important than Zeerust, not because of any intrinsic factors, but because here there was the beginnings of an armed resistance movement, which profoundly influenced the whole orientation of the ANC leadership, and led them to confront seriously the question of armed struggle. It also established new patterns of quasi-liberated areas, where administration and law etc were effectively wielded by the "mountain".

P430: It is a considerable jump to pass from Pondoland to the formation of Umkhonto, although the development process was like that in time. But there was much more to the process than that, especially the 1961 strike and the outlawing of the ANC (and PAC) in mid 1960, and the first mass round up and detention without trial during the post-Sharpeville emergency etc. The outlawing of the ANC is dealt with almost in passing at P435 only.

P432: Note that in par 2 of the piece on the MK Manifesto, the phrase "But the peoples patience is not endless" - which was part of the explanation of Umkhonto's actions - is rendered almost meaningless by being quoted out of context, after sections of the manifesto which in fact preceded it.

P438: states that <sup>"</sup>Mandela organised a stay at home. As an individual, no. He was one of the organisers - the leading organiser - of a campaign initiated by a United Front of many different bodies, who agreed on this particular tactic.

P443: refers to the history of Mandela's colleagues, "Notably" the Rivonia accused is wrong. Some of the Rivonia accused were notable colleagues, some were fringe acquaintances or people he may have known casually before the arrest. His notable colleagues were surely OR Tambo, Luthuli, JB Marks and others - as well as Sisulu, Mbedi, Mhlaba + Mlangeni.

P451: I believe - though I cannot be certain - that Mlangeni never went abroad for military training. I have doubts, but not such strong ones, also about Mthembu. Note that no explanation is given why MK was formed as a separate and distinct organisation, and why the ANC did not itself just make the transition to violence.

P456: refers to "external mission". But without any clear explanation of what this is, how it came about, what it is there for.

P463: note COD was not in existence after 1963. Some Europeans attended the 1956 ANC NEC meeting, but if they <sup>had been</sup> were COD members they were there in an individual capacity, ex members in fact; but were they not also - or alternatively - members of the CP and other solidarity groups?

P463: refers to the Rivonia accused as members of the "National High Command". This was in fact the Crown allegation. It was never accepted or admitted

6. <sup>many of them</sup>  
by the accused. Nor indeed were ~~they~~ members of any ~~high~~ command, whatever its name; in fact, I am not sure that there ever was a High Command called by that name. There is also, at this point, no explanation of the claim that the disruption of MK or this "National High Command" should simultaneously have disrupted the separate organisation - the ANC.

Why? & how?

P467: refers to "plans of the movement in the hands of the enemy after Rivonia. But essentially this refers to plans of MK; much of the planning and strategy of both the ANC and the CP must be excluded from this.

P473/4. etc: There is a subtle shift from talk of the ANC alliance with the COD, to talk of alliance with the CP. But this should not be left obscure. The CP existed before, during and after the short life of COD. And the alliance with the CP which took many forms - see e.g. joint campaigns against Suppression Act etc - remain a tacit working together rather than an alliance, until circa 1965 an open alliance began to be spoken about officially and officially acknowledged. This is an important political development, and should be rescued from the obscurity which surrounds it here.

P481: Again chronology, which here is extremely confusing. From post-Morogoro back to 1961 and the politics of armed struggle, Mandela and Rivonia etc. This confusion continues through Chapter 8. Is there any good reason why the important essentials of it cannot fit where they belong: BC, Soweto students revolt, the TU upsurge of the 70's all seem to me to belong properly in the section about P527 which provides the lead-in to the ANC Conference of 1985.

Finally: two random thoughts: I think something should be said about the reasons for the thinness, the undocumented nature of the history after the 1960 illegalising, viz: that underground, if there are records, they are not available for good reason. Thus legal work may appear - often falsely - to be far more substantial and to have far greater popular response than illegal.

As one whose home language is English, I find it difficult enough to cope with mentally "saying" the names of many of the participants in the events described, even though I am fairly familiar with Southern African orthography and pronunciation. But I found that the long lists of names of - for example - members of committees - imposed such an effort on me as to tend to break my train of concentration on the subject of the text. I think this will probably be even more marked for readers less familiar with Southern African names. Can I suggest that where there are lists of names, only the names of those who recur repeatedly in the story should be included in the main body of the text, and the others - who are there for reasons of authenticity and historical record only - be put in footnotes.

Revolutionary study continued from page

Only a disciplined and determined fighter could afford not to lose sight of his goal <sup>and</sup> dying, spell it so clearly in undying words "I am the tree that will bear the fruit of Freedom. Tell my people that I love them and that they should carry on the struggle."

Besides discipline and determination, Kalushi spoke out the vigilance he lived to his dying moment. He was vigilant that the enemy should not capitalise on his death and thereby demoralise the youth by wielding the hangman's noose which he so effectively despised. He clearly understood the demands of his mission to his dying hour.

Our students have a great teacher in Mahlangu. I suggest that the first should be no compromise with wrong doing to the bitter end. Those few of them who sneak into residences and dark corners to engage in reckless behaviour that fail them to fulfill their mission should be checked by all the other through their collective structures. Those who engage in destructive practices, corrupting our students whether in authority or not should be DRAGGED before the Community and dealt with accordingly. Our students should discuss their achievements in study and in conduct and discuss names without fear or favour with the view of helping those who are weak or those who should improve or improve others. Their discipline in the dormitories and classrooms should be that of Kalushi. Our political structures, particularly the youth and the women should start examining how, those who have been entrusted with the all important duty of our movement, the rearing and development of the young, do it. They should ask for an account of how our revolutionary misery is progressing. Of course our political structures should check the elements, within us, who are undermining a healthy growth and development of the young. They must not only be seen to protect people in cases of injustices. Not checking sick children, their cleanliness and whether they have slept or not is a more serious case of injustice because it involves children who are innocent and defenceless. It sabotages the mission to study.

Our children must learn in an organised fashion. Proper conventional ways of achieving this should be fought for. Our children should play. The facilities to secure this important part of the development of our kids should be wrung out of the close fists of those who must actualise this. Our children should be properly secured at the dormitories.

to secure this, well paid PROPERLY HARD WORKING STAFF should be secured. Staff whose sole BUSINESS will be the well being of students and children only and not other things. Of course those who should show signs of not caring for their charges should be removed. It is time we become militant to surge forward.

BOOK OF THE WEEK"Road to Ghana"

*Article in Mazimbu News + Views*

Alfred Hotchinson was one of the group of young ANC militant, including Walter Sisulu, Duma Nokwe, Henry Makgothi and other who found themselves accused of High Treason in 1956. He was one of the first of our comrades to go to exile. The year was 1959. The trial had dragged on endlessly, for years. Hotchinson - "Tough" to all his friends was in other troubles too. At the school where he taught when court was not in session, he had met and fallen in love with a British teacher, Hazel. They were harassed and hounded by a Special branch anxious to pin an "Immorality Act" charge on an ANC activist and Treason Trialist: Life for them both was becoming unendurable. Then suddenly, through a legal 'technical hitch', the case was unexpectedly stopped for a short rethink by the prosecution. Hotchinson seized his now-or-never chance and skipped the country. He was making for Ghana, as the ANC delegate to an All African People's Conference in Accra. He was without pass or passport. He took the only route open in those days before our ANC exit route had begun to be established. He caught the train North, through what were then all British ruled territories - Bechuanaland, North and South Rhodesia, Nyasaland - almost without funds and entirely without previous arrangements. Hazel would meet - and marry him somewhere in exile, sometime. The train was the one used for transporting mineworkers from the Rand back to their countries of origin, after their contracts on the mines were completed. It was a piriney of many days; many alarms and constant danger of interception and return to South Africa under arrest by the British authorities. The squalor, misery and inhuman conditions of the miners under the care and direction of the WNLA and the authorities are almost indescribable. But Hotchinson is probably the finest descriptive writer our movement has ever produced. He has a fine ear and eye for a scene or an encounter, and draws simple word pictures with a rare clarity and vividness.

'Road to Ghana continued from page

This is the tale of his persecution in Johannesburg, his horrific trip by rail and lake steamer, until he finally made it - by way of Lake Victoria, Morogoro, and Dar-es-Salaam, where a young Julius Nyerere, running the small TANU office in days before Tanzanian independence, assisted him to complete his voyage - one of the first recorded acts of Tanzanian solidarity with our struggle. It is a real thriller, which may be why our library has it classified as "Fiction" - though every word is true.

You will not be able to put it down!!

Rusty Bernstein

LETTER TO THE EDITORGetting at News & Views

There is a stray dog in Mazimbu with dipped-in eyes and flea-infested bulk body. It roams around with the solitude of an abandoned faithful. It is in a pathetic state of health that poses, if nothing else, a serious threat of disease to the community as a whole. What for instance, if, driven by sheer thirst, it decides to take to the river and its rickety limbs give up and it slips and drowns? I understand that we draw our drinking and general purpose water from the river! If we needed this poor creature we should have looked after it more humanely, somebody thought, and it would then look after us more cheerfully. You remember the saying "AS faithful as a dog"? On my fourth visit to Mazimbu since I left it six years ago now I could not help but marvel at the monumental expansion of the physical being of the place structures and facilities. There is now for example, an Electronics and Computer Department, NEWS AND VIEWS, python-pregnant and other snakes niches on the walls of the science lab block. The latter must provide a rare, if not exciting, sight to the naturalist, apart from bringing a zoological lab right to the doorstep of the Biology student. I also picked it from the grapevine that the computer is making its advent as a multi-purpose utility in the Establishment. In this connection I wished that NEWS AND VIEWS might take interest so that typographical errors in their publications can easily be avoided. Such errors abound as you might know better at the present moment in this inchoate torch bearer of information of Mazimbu. The quantitative growth and linear expansion of infrastructure however, may not always be relied upon as measures of development for progress and prosperity, more so in our situation.

It may only be the form. The content and how the facilities and structures set-up coordinate and cooperate and harmonise might well be a diametric contrast to the aims ambitioned for. Having been in Mazimbu for hardly five days though (after a two days' spell in Dar for lack of transport), this area of crucial import might need more time to look at than five days can provide. In three months time SOMAFCO will be celebrating its tenth anniversary and so it should be naturally tempting to desire to look at this area constructively and critically.

Anyhow, I'm still around. For a few more days.

S. Majombozi

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND PRONOUNCEMENTSA call to the Community

The Community is once more reminded about the oncoming seminar on Constitutional Guidelines. This is your chance to participate in the formulation of a constitution for a free South Africa. Every South African is invited to contribute and share his/her views on this important question.

DATE: 9th - 10th June

TIME: 14.00 hours

VENUE: The Dome

COME ONE COME ALL

ZPC - Prep Committee

Comrade Mogorosi Phala has lost a staple gun which belongs to the SOMAFCO Bullet Boards Committee. He is requesting anyone who has information about the staple gun to submit it to Cde. Flaxman Qoopane at the News Room Room 17 04 SOMAFCO.

FROM THE YOUTH

On behalf of the Youth in our Zone the ZYC would like to welcome the participants to the cultural workshop hosted by our cultural workers. We wish them a successful work during their stay in our Zone. KARIBU!

On the occasion of 1st June - The International day of the Child the ZYC on behalf of the youth in our Zone greets all our pioneers and children in our Zone and wish them enjoyable events in marking this important day. Grow WELL AND BE GOOD CADRES OF OUR MOVEMENT

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***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* **Historical Papers Research Archive**

*Collection Funder:* **Bernstein family**

*Location:* **Johannesburg**

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