

TO BE CORRECTED.  
TO COMPLETED OR CHECKED

28? See P12 ACS

- S. 493 ● P. 5. Death of W. Stone. Note as Gen Sec. 1925 - 68? 33 Direct
- Marks: Chair of CP? from ● to ●. Died. 72. ●
- Dado: Chair of CP. from 72 to ● Died. 83. /
- ~~P. 5.~~ Sanchez. Established. Handed back...
- S. 351. ✓ ~~17.~~ Elections 1929? my age 9?
- S. spec 115/134 ✓ ~~19.~~ Annexation of Austria. Mar 38.
- ✓ ~~21.~~ My first aggregate 1938?
- PP/ ✓ ~~22.~~ Footnote: Eli's banning '48 exile '76 death.
- ~~23.~~ Basner's resignation. year?
- S. 463 ✓ ~~24.~~ Heygg-Smits coalition: Was Aft-Kamer Party in it? Nats/Socys 23/2/33
- ~~25.~~ Footnote: Van den Berg stands as Nat in ? 1948 election?
- ✓ ~~26.~~ After Benford's interest, the 1940 LP Conference. ? date. 1941?
- S. 532 ✓ ~~34.~~ Arrest of Dado + Sealed - April 41. Subversion + mantle.
- ✓ ~~40.~~ The USSR ends Neutrality. Date?
- ✓ ~~45.~~ Footnote: Jahn's death date.
- ✓ ~~46.~~ Date. German attack on USSR. - June 22nd 1941. !!
- ✓ ~~48.~~ Date of joining the army. 28/6/44.
- ~~FRAN.~~ ✓ ~~54.~~ ~~517.~~
- ✓ ~~57.~~ Christmas in Leggia. 1945<sup>g</sup>
- S. 547. L14. ✓ ~~59.~~ Alex Ben boycott. - (i) 1944. [Lodge 1942 + 43] TTS. 208 NOV 44. LAST.
- S. 470 ✓ ~~60.~~ Date of appointment of handsome Commission? Feb 43. Reported. Late 1944. Galt decision
- CLAP. ● ✓ ~~62.~~ Date of AMWU strike .. Monday. Aug 12, 1946
- ✓ ~~68.~~ Date Hilda's election to Council - Nov 44?
- ✓ ~~72.~~ Final post-war general election 1945?
- SACS. 213 ✓ ~~76.~~ S.S.C. Cut. First ready. 1950? Begin of May 1950.
- ✓ ~~77.~~ 1950. May Day strike ?? - 1951?
- ? ● ~~81.~~ SACCP. Foundry conference. date? ~~53?~~ By 1952?
- ? ● ~~89.~~ Conference (CP) in industrial? date. ~~57/58?~~ NOT NEEDED.
- ACS. 14 ✓ ~~91.~~ 1st cydntified edition of AC. date - October 59.
- S. 609/M 118 ✓ ~~90.~~ launch of Resistance Campaign. date? 26 June 1952.
- ✓ ~~98.~~ Footnote. banning of COB date. Sept '62
- ~~99.~~ Take over of FT by independent board. 1948? Avram d 48?
- ✓ ~~99.~~ Call to Stanger meetg. 1954? Mar
- ~~99.~~ Stanger meetg adopts 'The Call'. ? ~~late~~ NOT NEEDED

- SAC: ~~✓ 10A~~ Note of COP. 26 June, 1955. (Adopted by ANC Mar 52)
- NM 102. ~~✓ 106~~ Note. Xuma - Dadoo pact. 1947.
- ~~✓ 107~~ Wafuwa - Wafuwa: Note of partnership, & getting out. IN: 1952. OUT: JUNE '56.
- ~~✓ 109~~ Date of great police raid: 27/9/55. (369 items)
- NM. 195. ~~✓ 113~~. Year of real start of Treason trial (Pret. 19/12/56) Jan 57.
- NM. 198. ~~✓ 121~~. Date when charges against GS in TT withdrawn. Dec?? 57.
- NM. 198. ~~✓ 122~~. TT date of committed for trial Jan. 58?
- NM 211. ~~✓~~ IT date of move of trial to Pretoria - Aug 58.
- NM. 211. ~~✓ 123~~. TT charge withdrawn in Pretoria. - Oct 58 (1st ind. mid 59 2nd.)
- NM. 218. ~~✓ 124~~. Case open in Pretoria - Jan 1959? 3 August. 1959!
- NM 224. ~~✓ 125~~. Date. year of ANC. Shapeville. 21/3/60.
- NM. ~~224. ✓ 126~~. Shapeville. day? 21/3. 1960.
- NM. 246. ~~✓ 145~~. Date for proclaiming a republic - referendum on... <sup>Oct 1960</sup> Pres. 31/5/61.
- NM. 245. ~~✓~~ Cell. in conference in month? 25 March 1961.
- NM. 247. ~~✓ 146~~. End of TT a verdict - 29/3/61 end of evidence. - Verdict 29/3/61.
- ~~✓~~ Amount of damages paid us by Valesland. £200 each: £3405 in all.
- NM. 204. ~~✓ ?~~. Date of strike?? 3 day strike/1958?? NOT RELEVANT
- ~~✓ 148~~ Part conference bears report of Chini - Soviet split! date? NOT RELEVANT
- ? ~~✓ 149~~. <sup>July 61. Res. conf.</sup> Date of purchase of bullock? NM Moves here in October. 1960? NM 260.
- PAMP. 18. ~~✓ 152~~. Luthuli awarded Nobel Prize. date? <sup>? Dec 61?</sup> DEC. 1961. / OCT 23/1961.
- NM. 274. ~~✓ 153~~. " receives Prize. date? - and start of MK actai? DEC 16/1961.
- NM. 276. ~~✓ 155~~. Ciskei Conference date FEB 62. Mandela leaves SA? ~~✓~~
- NM. 303 ch ✓ ~~157~~. Mandela's return to SA. <sup>Early August</sup> date? 62. ANC! 5/8/62. NM 303.
- WTWO/ ~~✓ 158~~. My house arrest order <sup>Oct 62!</sup> & Muntke's speech in Parliament? <sup>April 63.</sup> date
- RS. 1. ~~✓ 166~~. Date. Rivonia meeting 11 July 1963.
- ~~✓ 155~~. Battle of Blood River. ~~1838??~~ 1838

S = Simons.

L = Lodge.

TTS = Treason Trial. Sampson.

NM. = Mandela Autobiography.

PAMP = LUTHULI PAMPHLET.

CLAP = A distant clap of thunder.

ACS. African Communist Speech.

SACS South Af. " "

SSC. Suthar - Cronin.

RS: The Rivonia Story. Giffle.

MK: Moses Khatane. Ponting

PP. Patient of a People. Eh W.

WTWO. World that was ours.

Miss. Notes:

- KStano's arrest in g'blog: NOV 42. MEG
- Part of piece bought out: FEB 43 MEG. ] ? NOT COMPATIBLE
- ~~Evidence to Landoname Cur: JULY 43. MEG.~~
- Meyer. Marybeth departed from NB. DEC 42. MEG.
- Laffi interest SEPT 42. released DEC 43?? MEG.
- SL Lavelle arrested by Sgt. Vic Chapman of Tank Corps. NOV 41.
- Protests over imminent Goffe et al: JAN 41. - Release at intervals.  
Goffe only in SEPT 41.
- Is national SL Conference in Jobog: FEB 44.
- ✓ ~~Heldes~~ Electoral win. Nov 44.
- De Plessis elected Dist. Sec. 47 = re-elected in 48.
- Bhadaya moves from Alex to 6000 returned back to Alex?? Jan 47.
- Votes for all Assembly. May 48. 23rd..
- Selection case. (CC). Jan 47. Quashed. May 48. Withdrawn: Oct 48.
- ~~Electors~~ 48. May 28th. VP: 583,000 vote. 65 seats / NP. 409,000: 70 /  
African. 41,000: 9 / Lab. 32,000: 6.
- City Hall stops meetings: banned by City Council. April 1950.
- May Day 1950 strike: Alex 6 dead. 11 wounded; / Baroni 16 / 30photon 1. / WNT. 2-18
- Liquidation letters: sent out in Sept. 1950.
- Danagh Hill meet: Nov 52.
- COD: A. SA Peoples Congress formed in Jobog aq. Jan 53.
- Liberal: SA Lib Assoc. announces it is to form a Liberal Party. May 53
- COD: National Conference of 1000, 2. CT Democratic League: OCT 53. President  
Egmond. Secy J. Hodgson. VP Les Winkler. Hodgson banned NOV 53
- ~~COP: ANC announces joint meet. FEB 54. 1st met at Stanger. Mar 25 '54.~~
- COP: 2844 delegates!
- ~~Xmas. Notes paid Mar '47.~~
- ~~Two Boycotts. 1st in Aug 43. 9 days / 2nd end of 44: 7 weeks.~~
- My House arrest: Nov 62 / Listing: 6/9/51 / Baning: 29/5/49. - repeat 30/5/52  
e again from 11/9/61. / House arrest 23/7/60
- Commission to attend Mollie's funeral. worked on day of funeral. 17/6/64.

X. included in previous pages.

- ✓ Van Thorne - chair SACP. 1989
- MK. 1. Kofane. date. Gen Sec 39.  
Mwambi do  
X Nadoo. do. / chair '72 / died 72 / died Sept 83.  
Somafco established. - internal.
- S. 350 X Election: 1978 or 29? 29. / SACP 6 seats. NP 78 seats. Hengge takes in Greenwell, Sampson, Bayliff.  
S. 115/121 X Cinescopia of Austria. / 1938 Mar. Post-front of a People. banned 48 / exile in '76 /
- S. 463 X Hengge Sumbe Coalition. ? Afrikaner Party / joined. 25/6/1938. Note = SACP  
Van der Berg. Nat candidate in 1945?  
X USSR ends Neushally. date: 22/6/41.  
John. date of death.  
X Date of joining army. 28/6/44.  
X Christmas in Foggia: 45?
- S. 570 X Date of appointment. Lansdowne Commission. Feb 43.  
S. 589 ✓ Post war general election 1948? - 1948 ✓  
L-34 X May Day strike: 1950 or 51? 1950.  
? SACP. Foundry conference. 53? 1950. Industrial conference.
- SA lead 222 X Baning of COP date Sept 62.  
FT goes independent. date? Nat Actai Comil. Mar 59 / Sec 12.  
X Strangers meety. called. lot: call adopted date.  
Weyburne. Partnership.  
X Great police raid. date 27/9/55 / 26/9/55  
Damages received from Vandebrand.  
SACP Conference. report on Soviet Union split. date.  
Litholeat purchased. date?  
X House arrest order. date. Oct. 62. (The W.T. Wovoo.)  
Minutes names us in house. date.  
✓ Appointment to Kenya. Interview 22/2/49.!

FOR ADDITION TO MANUSCRIPT. AND UNUSUAL THEMES.

1. Bram Fischer. Footnote re his imprisonment & death.  
Dates: Deaths of Dadoo, Kotane, Marks etc.
2. History of OPSUB studies, & others.
3. Western Areas Renewal campaign.
4. Food riots in wartime.
5. Langens' debacle in case of befele broken in Leodlo.
6. On subject of "Seizure of Power".
7. Archieh & Ronnie List in Pretoria jail.
8. Parallel "struggle to get out" at Mayimbe & Bahis wall.
9. ? Footnote on Sam Kahn? Marty Lennan?
10. Celebrations in Glibg Town Hall with Yugoslavs?
11. Pstato boycott?
12. Ludi? Beleveld?

APRIL 98.

MEMORY AGAINST FORGETTING. FINAL PRINT-OUT.

FILE: LIFE -	Single space PAGE.	WORDS.	Double space PAGE.	NUMBER OF	
				from	to.
1.	16.	8 474	25	1	25
2	9	4 896	12	26	37
3.	9	5 059	13	38	50
4	12	7,104	18	51	68
5.	10	5 765	15	69	83
6.	9.	<del>4,934</del> 5,098.	13	84	96
7.	9.	4,934.	13	97	109
8.	9.	5,449	14	110	123
9.	10.	5,819	15	124	138
10.	11	6,651.	16	139	154
11	12	7,440	18	155	172
12	10	6,532	15	173	187
13.	11.	7,286	17.	188	204
14.	13.	7,598	19.	205	223
15.	14.	9,342	21	224	244
16	14.	9,532	21	245	265
17.	13.	8,957	20	266	285
18.	15.	9,276	21	286	306
19.	9.	6,412	14	307	320
20.	13.	9,803	20	321	340
21 epilogue	3.	1,921.	5	341	345.

144,1298

Nov. 97.

FILE.	CHAPTER.	PAGES.	WORDS.	PAGE NO.
WFE-1	Prologue & 1.	18	8,706	1 to 18
2	2	9	4,952	19 - 27
3	3	9	5,141	28 - 36
4	4	12	7,176	37 - 48
5	5	10	5,827	49 - 58
6	6	9	5,181	59 - 67
7	7	9	5,236	68 - 76
8	8	10.	5,762	77 - 86
9	9	10.	6,030 <sup>5A, 012</sup>	87 - 96
10	10	12	6,944 <sup>(6, 956)</sup>	97 - 108
11	11	12.	7,512	109 - 120.
12	12	11.	6,535	121 - 131
13.	13	11	7,319	132 - 142
14.	14	13	7,659	143 - 155
15	15	15	9,617	156 - 170.
16.	16	15	9,580	171 - 185
17.	17	14.	9,205	186 - 199
18.	18	15	<del>9,299</del> 6,407	200 - 214
19.	19	9.	<del>9,825</del>	215 - 223
20.	20	14	9,825	224 - 237.
21.	Epilogue.	3.	1,929.	238 - 240.

240.145,842

Unused notes: re

	<u>NOTES</u> <u>PAGE</u>
Mazumbo: Return, CPSA Conference, Impressions 1988-89.	1, 3, 4.
Cewin, ni ANC. Reasons for visit.	95, 98.
Visit to USSR:	116
John Conell - CIA:	140.
Western Areas Renewal.	141 (?9.)
Kofane, Hamel - Sbro.	55.
Part, in handen. 'Full time workers' - return to SA.	56.
My membership of CC ends.	57
Work in handen, Hereford etc. after leaving CC. including pamphlets on Mueis strike - USSR.	59.
SACP. Tito Conference, Lazar Badi, + Glasnost.	62, 63

	' RANDOM ' PAGES
Mazumbo - Egalitarianism.	1, 3, 6.
On Militarism.	2
Spynk's Leguini:	1.
1960 Emergency.	6.
Mazumbo - and Eastern Europe.	8.
Umkhonto - handen visits and experiences.	9, 10.
Life in UK.	13.
Language in politics.	13
Looking back - not forward	18, 20
The CP old guard.	16.
Re Klerk's reforms.	18
Out of step with CC. (See notes P56)	17
GOD.	25



## NOTES & REFERENCES.

1. On 'mixed' character of war. See Lenin 'A Cavalcade of Marxism' on confusing an 'era of war' with particular struggles within it. (Esp p37.).
2. On relevance of words - especially the much used "seizure of power." Relation of words to realities see e.g. 'dictatorship of proletariat' and reality of dictatorship.
3. "Men make their own history, but they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances <sup>directly</sup> encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.

Marx-Engels Selected Works. Vol. 1. P 339.

Moscow Progress Pub. 1976.

4. "Power is like a drug; the need for either is unknown to anyone who has not tried them, but after the initiation which... can be fortuitous, the dependency and need for ever larger doses is born; also born is the denial of reality and the return to childish dreams of omnipotence.

... The syndrome produced by protracted and undisputed power is clearly visible: a distorted view of the world, degenerate arrogance, need for adulation, compulsive clinging to the levers of command, and contempt for the law."

Primo Levi. The Damned & the Saved, on concentration camp Kapos.

See also Pages 62, 69, 89 & 130 of same work.

as Comments on "Life Doc" - from Frances.

1. All the references to things you don't remember are unnecessary and irritate - the reader doesn't care what you don't remember, only wants to know what you do. Anyway, all memoirs are based on selective memories, no one expects them to be a complete accurate record or feels let down if they aren't.
2. I like reading about history through your personal descriptions of incidents and people, it is very interesting and accessible. Maybe some historical trends/changes could be woven in a bit more. E.g. the rise/fall/changes in the Communist Party - does it grow in size, stay the same, grow in influence etc. Brief references could be made as the story progresses.
3. It would be interesting to know (in the early part) something about your place as a white South African - how your family came to be in South Africa, their social position etc. - did this influence your political awareness in any way?
4. Also the reference to mom (in context of LHY) is tantalisingly brief - a bit more about her role, ideas, character (again it could be woven in in different places) would be interesting. If not it leaves the reader wondering what she was like + what influences she had on your life, on the political scene.

~~5. A little bit about the different political parties~~

5. It would be interesting to know how you came to be in the army - one minute the CP was opposing the war, the next minute you're in Italy. Was there conscription? How did you feel personally about being in the army if the CP was opposing the war?
6. What was the Springbok legion?
7. I'd like to read on!

I think it's fine to have memoirs which are a series of incidents remembered and put into some (historical) political context, it makes a good read. When you have put down all the incidents and events, and some trends/themes can be woven in and followed through, it will be a ~~good~~ useful book, entertaining too.

Miscellaneous dates, notes on  
chronology etc.!



Completed.  
RESEARCH.

1941  
42.  
43.  
only

Guardian. 1948. Jan.  
Protests at interest Max Goffe - Skan.

Jan 41. Sharp debate in Left Book Club over Gollanay attempts to change LBC from open forum to platform for exclusively LP views, & possible change to "League for Victory & Progress." Goffe LBC rejected (T.O.L.) → decided to sever connection with LBC & change name of org. to Goffe "Left Discussion Club."

Interviews included Max Gordon. Finty Lellner. husband of JC of Tobacco Workers Union.  
Relegues take place slowly - one at a time. Goffe only in September.

~~May Day. 1940. / 1941. CP Conference in Jhbq.~~

Meeting. May 41 at Market Sq. Protest at ban of Inkululelo in Parliament. Speaker. Maliba. Mofutsanyana. Msitshana & no. Crown Tombane.

~~St. Regular soldiers reports from the front 1941. 2nd half. from 'Sergeant John' - Moby Toner. - Nov 41. suggests a union for soldiers.  
At same time, Vic Chapman (Sgt. Tank Corps) assumes the banner of the St. Nov 1941~~

~~Jan 42. Inkululelo celebrates end of its 1st year. Still monthly - up to 18th Nov.  
Lacks financial to "change in a few months" to fortnightly. Editor Msitshana.~~

~~July 42. Candidates for T.O.L. Rural seats. Maliba. Mofuts = SM. Lekgetho.~~

~~Sept 42. Ansdid katti interned - Released Dec 43!~~

Nov 42. Kstone arrested in Jhbq.

Dec 42: MAEXER - Mofuts ordered deported from NR.

1943. Selman: Party Office in Jhbq burnt out - Mofuts co-ordinator injured & man Goffe doppij vessel quailed - arrested. Gony fled.

~~Electors for which I was proposed - & refused - Mid 1943.~~

July 43. Presented Party memo to White Wages Com. with Mofuts.

1944. to July 44' conf.

Jan: CP Conference conf. will discuss HQ & site  
Jan 20. Brooker: proposal for name change to Com. Ass for Pol. Ed.  
Proposals staff engaged at CP conf. HQ remain in CT.  
Feb: Van den Kerff elected Deputy Secy. of Parliamentary comm.  
'do: 1st National Sh conf in July: 89 delegates from cong. - 1/2 in conf. 6%  
woma.

Burford. National Sec. of NUDW.

Greek Maritime Union Secy. Dimitri Galatas. - detained in Prison Ship  
for deportation & to internment in Egypt?? later in 47,  
Held in election in Nov. 44. repeated agent Katsopoulos & others.

2nd Livant opens. June 44

1947. Duplessis elected Secy of CP. July Dist. re-elected 48.

Maddox: Died aged 79. May '47. after 47 years in Parl. Elected his  
cousin as support. Anti Indian legislation 46.5 and attempts to  
found a 'white water party'??

Scott released Herero/Ovambo/Nama petition to UN after delegates  
demand was refused travel permission (left for UN. Oct 47.)  
(Up to June only.)

1948. Jan. national CP Conference in Phranburg. 'resolve to work for  
a bloc the election of a bloc of candidates' in the way NRC  
election - Nominated ETM. Alpheus. ~~for nomination~~. Domane?

Jan: Passie Resister begin crossing borders. Jan.  
Note: Xuma endorsed 'bloc' idea with return of all present  
members - in his New Year message. Denounced by JB called for  
contest 'on a boycott ticket!'

May 48 'Vote for all' assembly represented more people than voted in  
general election - called for a National Assembly - open address Michael  
Scott. Gen. Radibe said like to see a clear ANC statement on  
whether it would support campaign for Natl. Assembly

~~RECORDED~~ 1947.

Grandin. Jan 47. 6000 of Bhadras squatters  
forcibly removed to Alex from Orlando.

Sedition case. Jan 47.

SL. 4th Nat Conf. April 47. Mumukh walks out  
over colour bar / <sup>E</sup> issue of passports to Nandoos &  
Nander protested by S. Present Maj Gen Wehfeld,  
guests from PM, Michin Stejn, Mgr of Jhby. &  
UP, LP, CP.

Jhby Dist.  
CP May 47 Conf: Nandoo chair, QUP secretary -  
called for "a mass national assembly... convened by  
the natl org of the NE people... will submit the  
min demands of the SA people to the govt"

1947. Ramdiance. President till ANC. Bexapay  
secretary. Decides 32/30 to reject motion delaying  
Cons - votes from ANC.

Dec 47. ANC. Natl Conf. 67-7 vote to intensify boycott  
campaign of NRep. Act election.

1948.

CP Natl Conf in July. January: Resolved to  
work for a bloc of candidates in NRC elections  
pledged to work for repeal of the NRep Act,  
& introduction of universal franchise

1948.

Jan. Maliba - Madras. already campaigning pro  
b nomination. - ~~for~~ are box of anti-NRC paper.

Jan. Xuma called for return of all present  
NRC members - in defiance of Bloemfontein res.  
for a date of boycott candidates.

CP. Jhbq Dist Conf. March 48. No Plessis re-elected  
Secy.

Stant of 'Votes for All' Assembly. call of Dr Xuma.

Opposition from Congresses -

May 48. Section ~~are~~ indicated ~~quad~~ of

~~UP TO JUNE 17.~~  
22nd.

Assembly Votes for All. end of May/48. claimed  
elected reps of 706,900 people. (Til-OTS) opened by  
Scott. adopted res. asking for National Assembly where  
People's Charter for Votes for All could be adopted - a ~~unilateral~~  
we wish thee to take all necessary steps - incl. convene

a joint ANC, S.A.C. A.P.O. meeting.

AP. 46,000.

Electors ± May 28. UP. 583,000. NP. 409,000 LP. 32.

UP 65 seats. LP 6. Nats 70 AP 9.

June: Communist ex-service demos against release of  
Leibbrandt - others. over 10,000 at Jhbq City Hall



1948.

June: BSE refused to join SL in delegation to members of Janame Haseya, who also refused to meet any delegation which included SL people, on subject of ex-servicemen's & soldiers' rights.

July: ANC disarming over VSA for All Ass. Mandela supports crisis, but criticised way the letter was framed without the 3 national organisations. Ramdharoo supported Ass. of W. India of no confidence in Ramo. withdrawal at Provincial ANC Conference.

1949.

Doosan anti-Indian riots. January, 2500 Indian homes destroyed. 15,000 in refugee camps. Mainly African casualties shot by police. Murder state. 1 En. 53 Ind - 83 Af dead.

1883 mynal. (1085 African.)

Mar 49. Jh. NC Party Conf. re. elect Dadoo.

Rev Plessis

1950.

Conference CP in Johannesburg. (National!)  
AB Xuma. Resigns from Congress NEC. Mandl. after allegation that he had been not supported by Youth League, later opposed by them for not supporting call for boycott of disorganising bodies. Dignified

1950 -

March. "Defend Free Speech" - Parliament of the  
Welsh met in July. 528 delegates represent  
over 1 million of TU only. Presided over by  
Morda. Pres of ANC. Called by TU, ANC, July  
District CP, IC & APO! Gandhi Hall march  
to Market Square via City Hall steps - resolution  
call for Nat. Conference - observed May 1  
as Freedom Day.

April: July City Council bonus steps meeting  
(started as LP platform in 1913 General Strike.)  
CP meeting started in 1921.

May Day Protest meeting. Monday May 1st. Killed  
Oliver & dead 11 wounded; Benoni 4/6; Sophocles  
1/1; WNT 2/13.

14 May. Emergency Conf. delegates from ANC  
(convening) SAIC, CP, APO, TONETU, ANCYL played  
joint campaign against Suppression Act.

UP in Select Cttee proposed death sentence for  
hazardous offense of Communism

Liquidator Sends out letters - Sept/Note: June  
26th Protest after Act passed; Note: CC attempt to  
defeat liquidator by court plea that Act only provides

1950

for liquidation of existing organisations. CP had dissolved  
and (see Kalus claim in Cont) "all PCs and other  
members had unanimously agreed to the liquidation."  
Bygone court agreement over evidence of dissolution. Granting  
Nov 9. 1950. — Application dismissed.

1951.

Torch Council. circa May 1951.

Sept: Reply to liquidator. Minutes

"You are attempting to silence first us, but  
ultimately all critics of your regime. We are now  
to be blacklisted because we resisted..."

UP TO MAY 52 ONLY!

Nov 52. Meeting at Damphi Hall in response to  
invitation from Nat'l Action Cttee of ANC & SANC.

Speakers. Sisulu. Cachalia. Thabo. — agreed  
to form an organisation & named provisional title

1953  
Jan 53. A 'SA Peoples Congress' formed in July.  
and confined to July.

in May - SA Liberal Association announced it  
was to form a Liberal Party. — franchise on common  
roll for all "suitably qualified persons."

1953-

Western Areas Protest Ctee formed in August.  
Huddellston as chair - & calls on all Councils  
to refuse to serve on Board. (for removals?)

Oct. 53: "National conference of democrats"  
convened jointly by COO, SL & Democratic League CT.  
& formed in October. Why 'Keports' speed. P. Bayliss  
elected President, G Hodgson Secretary, & Leo Walker. V.P.  
(Hodgson banned in November) - See Hodgson busy  
in ADVANCE. Nov 19, 1953 -

Feb 54: ANC has convened executives of SAT, SACRS  
& SACOD to implement resolution in Congress of the  
People to draw up a Freedom Charter.

Mar 25: Meetg in Durban & elected a  
joint planning ctee. Advance 25/3/54: "The FC will  
not be submitted, even in draft form, by the leaders.  
The charter will emerge from countless discussions among  
the people themselves."

June: Mass rally - over 200 leaders!

Dec 54: ANC National Conference - 200 delegates  
travelled to Stanger for banned Kettle to address  
them: decided to withdraw all African children  
from primary schools on April 1, 1955, on which

1954.

day a new syllabus would be implemented - await further decisions."

1955. At dawn on Feb 9 1955, 2000 police came moved in on Sophiatown. - dramatic night of storm.

Removals: to Meadowlands. Forced Verwoerd to drop 'Eit "seurie" in favour of houses. Note slogan 'we shall not move!'

BANTU GO. CAMPAIGN. See New Age 2/6/55

COP. 2844 delegates.

UP TO JUNE 26/1955

July 1, 1954. New Age: 'Over 100 police armed with automatic weapons broke into the mass anti-apartheid conference here on Sunday (June 27.) The 1200 delegates rose like one man and sang 'Nkosi S. A.'

Chronology:

To be checked against manuscript!

1. ~~Western Areas Removal.~~
  2. Squatters Movement. 1943/44. Simons. 547/549.
  3. ~~City Hall Steps.~~
  4. ~~Votes for All Assembly.~~
  5. ~~Disobedience.~~
  6. Alex Bus Boycott. 1. August 43. Simons P 547.
  7. National anti-pass civil 1945. Simons. 548.  
Indian Passes Resistant. - Oct 45. Simons 551.  
~~See~~ Xuma Dadoo paid. Mar 47.  
/ On boycott of electricians. 1946/47. Simons 579-80
- !! CC Sedition case. ended May 48. Nat Govt elected 2 months later!  
Sedition case withdrawn. October 48. 2 years on. Simons 587/88
- May 1950 Strike. & Suppression Act. 1950. Simons 605/609  
& CC members 607.

Elsfield. ok.  
Old Marston ok.  
Horston. com. Studley.

Contact.: Knight: Frank Rutley. 0865. 790077. re Elsfield.

Sharperilla 69 killed 180 wounded

1959 ANC annual Conference Lutulu & Tantsi  
Reports from potato farms. Decided to boycott  
(Benson 210)

Buss Boycotts 1<sup>st</sup> August 43 - 9 days  
2<sup>nd</sup> <sup>end of</sup> 1944 - lasted 7 weeks

1954 ANC annual Conference  
Bantu Education Act  
African Education Movement (Benson 173)

1955 Western Areas Removal



Relevant comment: For inclusion in 'Final' version.

i) The Cape constitution of 1853 (colour blind) commenced a long struggle on the franchise question which was finally settled by Hertzog's Bill in 1936. (Query: "finally?")

Row 65.

ii) Re Act of Union: "Thus the African electors of the Cape lost the right to send men of their own race to Parliament a right which they had not even exercised. But non-Europeans might still be elected to the Provincial Council in the Cape Province."

Row 81.

PHASE 2.

End of Boer war. In Transvaal, respon. 1906  
sible govt immediately made law restroy  
city of Indians, - & new pass law.  
This started off Gandhi's PL movement.  
Rox 110.

Gandhi: Supports British side in Boer 1903.  
War. - Ambulance Corps formed. Rox 112.  
Civil again against Boers: 1906  
1st passive resistance campaign 1908  
Rox 112/113.

Indians born passes Rox 114. 1908

PHASE 3.

National Convention to draft a new constitution 1908.  
Feb. 1909 draft kept Cape native franchise  
but non-Europeans lost the right to sit  
in Parliament. Rox 79.

Cape Parliament voted to uphold that against  
Scheer, with a division 77 to 20, when the  
draft constitution was before them. And  
finally, the Act of Union was accepted in  
Cape Parliament 96 to 2. (w/ P Scheer &  
G. Gordon Spragg) Rox 80.

Jabavu in London 1909 to campaign against 1909.  
Act, advocated ... "manhood & womanhood  
suffrage in the case of whites, the Cape  
franchise throughout the Union in the  
case of Natives ... under such a system  
Native predominance would be prevented."  
Luncheon report Nov. 20. Rox P 20

### Tracing the chronology:

Phase 1: ~~From 1854 voting rights without color bar - rise to 4.7% of Cape electorate by end of century.~~

~~The style of debate & of address - British mid-century idealism, but strongly Westminster style. Leading figures rose in this tradition - both on its elevation.~~

~~Social background: small wealthy class, mainly non-industrial labour; except for doctors, business & agriculture - mainly~~

~~Colored - virtually no black African wealthy class. Political organization - APO etc - dominated by Abdnalman &~~

~~small educated by black elite - teachers & clergy, without a wealthy class constituency amongst African. (NIC. 1894) (APO 1902).~~

~~Growth of Cape for Boer war - broke remains spread to~~

North ~~Note: <sup>not discussing social dynamics</sup> <sup>trade union</sup> <sup>labor relations</sup> of skilled workers not founded~~

~~entirely on racism: include economic social factors~~

Phase 2: ~~The Boer war: as dividing the forces allegiance on the~~

~~problem of black allegiances - to Boers or British, &~~

~~division amongst the masses - not apparently on deep~~

~~political divisions but 'household' loyalties. Note 'Britishness'~~

~~runs as deep in black parliamentarian as amongst whites!~~

~~The 'peace settlement' - and the consequences for black~~

~~political rights. Even now, up to Union, issue of ideology~~

~~centered on 'extension of Cape franchise to the North' - not on~~

~~radical restructuring everywhere. For the foreseeable future, the~~

~~franchise of the franchise is permanently engrossed in attitudes~~

~~to race! Delegations to GB pave the way for disillusion, & thus new black politics~~

~~The beginning of the alliance of British wip & Boer divisions,~~

~~as exemplified by Milner's laws; Chinese labour & 'civilized' labour,~~

~~and divisions of peace treaty on voting rights. The beginning of~~

~~white Labour organization in the North - & LP / organized Afrikaner (APO. NIC etc.).~~

Phase 3: ~~The Act of Union, & its consequences. 1911. Milner's Union Act.~~

~~1913. The Rand Act, Pratzie, Zulu etc. The clearest expression~~

~~yet of non-parliamentary political intervention, but still crushed~~

~~with Ad ideology, as witness delegations to UK. (NIC. <sup>1909</sup> ~~Boer alliance to 'Color bar in Act of Union' - not yet drawn consequences~~).~~

~~Chinese labour, the rise of white labour racism in tandem~~

~~with left socialism, major because 1913 strike and its~~

~~implications for future of white socialism / & Labour socialism~~

~~within nation-wide.~~

~~Judicial struggle broadens out, passive resistance opens on~~

~~a mass basis, Indians force themselves into participation.~~

~~Africans move to unity, from separate citizenry/promie~~

~~organizations, as eg. Natal Native Congress 1907 to national~~

~~Act 1909 National Conference, presaging ANC, is formed. Biii.~~

Bii:   
 "All ...   
 See British attitude   
 LP = ILP!   
 APO = Gandhi   
 Note: construction   
 camp - guerrilla war.   
 By off for 'loyalty' at   
 expense of blacks.

At same time the   
 end of black military   
 resistance - Bambata

Natural convention:   
 use of Af. military.

use: important   
 stage for institutionalized   
 racial racism, in Act.

Decline of Cape   
 (Boer) influences, &   
 growth of the new.

Bii -

Bii/Biii

Biii

Biii

## Phase 4: From Act of Union to war:

So the white radicals & implications for future.

The white political uncertainty is broadened by 'diehard republicans' & result of generals: but also renewed by war.

Labour/socialist front divides - war. or. war - pro war - anti war

Also. labour/nationalist.

The decision - black & white radicals - to "suspend the struggle."

- Smuts. Gandhi's consent.

divides - for first time? - left from right, & paves way for emergence of significant left - mainly white.

Debates on the left. on class & national issues. Class issue reflects white opposition of settled work class - and residual reaction.

National issues seen as "for future" - post socialism. This idea

reinforced by excitement of Russian Revolution - & belief in the imminence of 'Social' in SA. Towards a clear ideology of socialism; affects

- "reproduced leftism."

The further rise of black radicalism, and the rapid war-time growth of a black industrial class. Black politics divided by the franchise - with mass struggles in North, reserved Parliamentarian in South. White politics divided by 'direct action' against Parliamentarians. Scene set for a new "Constitutional Dispersation".

Cambridge, I understand. white class joins African from approach to problems!

INSECT PHASE 5

P. Aliv. The formation of proto Communist organisations - shift of ideological emphasis to white radical arena.

Women's action. Bloemfontein. anti-pass

## Phase 5: The Post War - towards 1922.

The debates and alliances in socialist movement lead to 1921 formation of CP - its racial/class composition. The debate over CP principles: post-war revolutionary idealism vs 'Social' imminence of revolution. The new organisation is at some time period of decline?

Bv. The 1922 strike - its background & white work class reaction & military - a high water point in labourism. The issue of labour & wages of black-white workers clearly focused at last. - The course of the strike - Council of Action vs. unionism; the Comrades & unionism as last stand of progressive Republicanism way to reaction; on the tactics & strategy of the socialist movement, necessity and theory in conflict. The division of policy between CP etc and ANC, highlights problem of national & social struggles in SA.

Separating in order to found new unit?

The aftermath of the strike - white Parliamentary supremacist atmosphere - the demise of the LP in the period of the post 1922: as the end of an era - the death of the white work class as a class force.

## Phase 7: From 1922 to 2nd World War. - The

A period of phase. first - the conclusion of the great theoretical debate on class vs. national issues in the CP. - The constitution

Bv. and its various resolutions, leading up to and culminating in the 'Black Republic' slogan. The international background - sectarianism, the rise of Stalin, etc. as setting for theoretical advance & organisational

INSET ON P Aiii

## B. Phase 5. From war to 1922 strike.

~~In this period, under influence of Russian Revolution, the rise of radical socialist trends amongst blacks: as veld: ANC on black workers, as SWA / Gonaive to peace conference and after / 1919 anti-pass campaign.~~

Especially: rise of the ICU as first significant African class organization  
League of African rights (? date)

Debates in CP on place - role of African pop / class vs. national problems  
as setting for conclusions over 1922 strike

Phase 7 contd. —> The Pact and all its new provisions for extended racism.  
decline of the SACP. to near extinction — including the split from  
the ICU. . Bvi

ICU split marks collapse old 'temperament' mass African politics  
in the period of great depression etc — the disruptive influence  
on SA of the liberal interference. Thus paving the way for  
the new black politics. Bvii  
Bviii

the organisational decline of the ANC in the face of the Hertzog  
Bills, which marked the passing of the age when the Cape black  
vote was significant, and — plus ICU decline — the need for  
reappraisal and regrouping of ANC on new basis.

Early moves. — Sigauway 1918, at ISL Conference; Socialist  
CP campaign against Native Admin. Act. of 1917 first campaign with  
directly white worker based; ANC speaks in Socialist meeting  
at Trades Hall (? date). paving the way for new CP, new  
ANC. — (and also all black unity?)

The Youth League — CP 1922/24 as new force. ANC youth  
league much later, both ungenerous, new generation, but  
born to face the new race/class, CP/ANC dichotomies.

The Xuma contribution moves ANC into modern age;  
and the shift of CP/HC to Cape Town likewise. (Note the  
intriguing opposite geographic shifts — for good but separate reasons.)  
and decline of influence of direct & tribal localities.

The political framework for all this: the Scouts Hertzog coalition  
in face of crisis, signals the demise of a white labor opposition.  
and the rise of 'panfied Nationalism' and world and S.A.  
fascism — the rise of co-ordinated black trade unionism;  
of All African Convention, as marker of new black unity.

## Phase 8: War — immediate Post-War — to union strike.

War opens with first signs of revival of CP & ANC, and most open  
perspective yet — Provois laws etc. — both create conditions for  
new mass struggles, military — see anti-war agitation;  
trade union advance — strikes, including Indian workers of Natal.

8 Contd:

The fruits in mass mobilisation of 'anti-war' period. But its politics never reconsidered. But with "change of war" - enthusiasm for USSR / ending of pro-anti war schemes in lib. movement / Atlantic Charter etc. new political concentration towards 'participation' - votes, power.

Note: Sprypho Legin as forerunner for COP.

In war-time conditions, CP mass agitational campaigns tend to obscure the ANC with long-term post-war 'govt. alone' implications in CP ranks.

African Clarion? date) and VE day rallies, victory marches of united CP / black lib - in direct contrast to the new army white force - 'Africaner fascist'. The begin of the decline of white pro-British Smuts middle of roadism, and the new age of stark confrontation. See especially TVLOFS 'Vote for all', 'convention'.

Indian re-orientation of passive resistance as new tool, barrier for IC & Trade Union, and with black-white minority allies.

To formation of first Nationalist Government - as signal of age of overt oppression & frontal confrontation - passive resistance and especially boycotts - highlighted by 1946. African mass strike upsurge - end of NEC - & new era of CP/ANC co-action! ~~End of~~

↑ INVERT order of events. Nat govt. follows strike !! ↓

Phase 9. 1946 mass strike - to MK.

After mass strike, the Nationalist government, and the ANC Programme of Action (1949) open up way to Suppression Act (Note bankruptcy & meteorism of Smuts - CP). The unity in face of Suppression Act, and the first of political general strikes. Development of new tactics of 'non-cooperation' - start with the listing under the Act.

Note: CP consultation over NEC election etc. - Switche et al.

Conscious boycotts & prior voids.

Non-cooperation develops its arsenal: mass political strikes, as eg Mg Dg 1950, June 26. Defiance Campaign - new spirit. Western Areas Campaign and a warning of the days of Leftism. The potato boycott - solidarity of a new kind, School campaign against Bantu Education; the women's mass marches - and the cumulation - COP & the Freedom Charter open a new chapter of ideology, & new foundation of unity.

DISRUPTION OF CP!

Treason Trial, and a test of both unity and ideology - brought to its ~~apex~~ paroxysm by Sharpeville. Emergency action of open confrontation with State, illegality - and the need for reappraisal. The CP programme & CST as a new concept. Underground organisation - & finally

Sabotage, MK, regrouping abroad as a proper ideology of struggle & tactics evolved, via Wloogpro, & latest ANC integrationist policies - The claim to 'power' - and the integration of TVs & Congresses in a single movement - the culmination of a people's united front for liberation.

**Collection Number: A3299**

**Collection Name: Hilda and Rusty BERNSTEIN Papers, 1931-2006**

***PUBLISHER:***

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

*Collection Funder:* **Bernstein family**

*Location:* **Johannesburg**

**©2015**

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of the *Hilda and Rusty Bernstein Papers*, held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.