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'The Treason Trial became a landmark in the history of the
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Iggy Joseph. In the next, Nelson Mandela's tgwering , stands \$ngvod3
60H; out. He is a dignified head higher than his colleagues next to .
him. Two rows behind Mandela one immediately notices the then
\$NNQKSecretary-General of the ANC, Duma Nokwe. Joe Slovo, Ruth First,
Gert Sibande, the so-called iLion of the North', and Walter
w
jfaceslike the person standing behind Sisulu's
yuNtU backroom figures amongst the 156 whose achievements have become
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Lve :3ng mews; :3) . /SF
Introduction
In December 1956, 156 leaders of the Congress Alliance were
arrested in dawn swoops throughout South Africa and flown to
Pretoria in military aircraft to face charges of treason.
liberation struggle in South Africa. It dragged on for more than
four years, generating considerable excitement at home and
abroad. The basis of the state's charge was that the ANC and
its allies, via poticies enunciated in the newly adopted
Freedom Charter, were part of a communist-inspired conspiracy to
W in South Africa. Pointing out
parallels with the Nazi-orchestrated Reichstag fire trial of the
1930s, the ANC in turn used the trial to attack the government's
apartheid policies and to articulate an alternative vision for a
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non-racial, democratic South Africa. All those charged were
eventually found not guilty and acquitted.
The marathon trial had the dual effect of both immobilising South
Africa's resistance leaders and, bringi them together in 'kind
of people's parliament - the segyeeiig&- itreason cage' a e_
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speCLaliy constructed wire mesh enclosure Wthh served 'Z'ia'sL/the
dock in a makeshift courtroom set up in the Johannesburg Drill
Hall. The accused wexe seated on irow after row of chairs, as if
they were delegates at a conference'. (1) Eli Weinberg's famous
photograph of the 1 trialists shows the rich mix of
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personality and politital leadership aSsembled by the state. Near
the .bacE is athg' ichifg!_ Albert Lutul%%'Nobel laureate and ?:ZyTijz
Presxdent of the ANC his hand resting o ighghoulder in front AL V
of him. In the centre of the first :0 , the President of the
Congress of Democrats, Piet Beyleveld (later to turn state
witness against his former comrades at the famous Rivoniat and
other trials) is sittii on the ground. Directly behind him sits
v M .. v. . . -
Moses Kotane, aiuggm- 5nlthe history of the liberation struggle. 4oucqv?/
Among those seated in the same row are Ahmed Kathrad (\$39 Helen Flare
5/
Sisululxare bunched together one back and to the left.
truly a who's who of politics. There are also the F: ,
shoulder: accused No.83, Lionel Forman. Forman is one of those
blurred by time. His face is one that would not be instantly
recognised-by the current generation of activists. Yet the story
of this man, five from the right in row seven, 'his thumb up in
the gigjka salute, is one of the most remarkable of the whole
-turbulent decade of the fifties.
Lionel Forman confronted three big adversaries in his lifetime -
apartheid, capitalism and illness. Doqqed since childhood by a
serious heart disease, resulting from a bout_of rheumatic fever

' wmvu . .

"If this doesn't come off you're not to mourn_for'meu I'm going without the slightest fear of death and if I die it will not hurt me at all, except in the thought that it will hurt you ... If there is any meeting of friends, what I want said there clearly and unequivocally is iAll his adult life he tried to be a good communist... Now I am legally safe as houses, I want it trumpeted from the housetops, Lionel Forman belieVed in communism for South Africa with a burning passion till the day he died, and in all his adult years that passion never once diminished ...' No, I'm sorry, I can't fight this confounded druo. I didn't want it, because I am as calm as can be but they insisted. My love to all. Tell the - reason trial we'll achieve freedom in the lifetime of Karl and Frank and Sara - and you Sadie - whether they like it or not. Forward to the total abolition of the colour bar - forward to communism in South Africa... don't mourn and don't let the children mourn. Tell them they must have love for their fellowmen, they must exorcise all race prejudice and understand whv it is abominable ... (IE anything is written they must say), ihe tried to be a good communist. Often he failed but he tried and his life was to brine...' - no, it isn't the dope thats getting me, but they've come for me. All my love my loves. Lionel".

300 people attended the memdrial service for Forman. Desoite the lf5f4;iiih presence of the Special Branch, those in attendance stood and (wdk CL"CL5-sang the Integgtiggalg in public/A for the first time since the F&t Achl Communist Party's ban ing in 1950. - \$he-aassae-e-gsem-erman's i 1 I. . L' 2 z t 2- g- H -1. .' q -

II

Lionel Forman was born in Johannesburg on Christmas Day, 1927. He was the second child of David and Sarah Forman. David was an immigrant from Lithuania. Like many other Jews who had fled the pogroms, poverty and anti_semitism of Eastern Europe, he went first to Aldgate in London's East End where he stayed for two years. Sarah Shribnick had been born in Bethnal Green, London of poor parents who in the early 19205 decided to go to South Africa. Lionel's parents met on the boat taking them to the country whose streets they had been told iwere paved with gold'. But the reality was very different. Lionel grew up in Rosettenville, a white working-class area. His parents rented a small shop and worked long hours - ifrom six o'clock in the morning to ten at night'. The family lived in two rooms attached to the shop. Many of the white democrats who supported the .6;& Communist Party and Congress movement in the 19505 shared a similar background. A large proportion were_R&Pwish with a . it&sgamily-history of persecution, and 3052 stronqxahti-fascist sad (dtaa owat . geLifveaee&-Tn revolutionary Marxism, ULLL . 5_ , '(x Qnoululf' dF- ' .ijmufl. for #wv MEI".

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' Forman' was politicised at an early age. He was still a child 77Mu4kee when he witnessed an assault on a black worker in the shop next door and became aware of the injustice of racial discrimination. In He was influenced intellectually by the left-wing Jewish youth /;e%i Hashome: Hatzai: (HH), which he joined as a teenager. There was 0 much discussion of the works of Marx and Lening? in HE, and this made an impact st on Lionel; However, he soon became disillusioned with the organisation because of its 'Israeli- i3 oriented ethicc. By the age of 15 he had switched to the Young , m Communist League (YCLE. Forman read avidly the/marxist classics,i/thgfb played an active part in the YCL debating society and became member of the YCL national committee. He started too, a long A 9 friendship with Ruth Fir st, his o-delegate to the first national YCL conference. On one occasion she saved him from possible expulsion from the YCL after he had made a naive stu;_s;4ticaL.fkwoaatbt speech from a Party platform.

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went to the University of Cape Town at the age of 17. He joined the Communist Party, even though he had not been 18. He described himself as a proud member of the Party. He gained a reputation for his time. In his first reception organising instead a

was 3. 7 .47.). He was threatened when he threatened - : apology. As secretary AIUL'MCA announced against. both/dML amp",- 'ty administration which TaJy'st J on campus. I

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19405 and Forman was
electioneering, writ1 .1
newspaper, and speaking regulazlly at publ 1: meetings on the
Parade. His writings tell us much about resistance politics at
the time of the National Party's coming to power. Participating
in the campaigns of the anti-segregationist Train Apartheid
Resistance Committee, he learned an important political lesson:

italk and theory were useless without the courage to face the 4
enemy'. He was struck by the fact that although members of the jli
Non-European Unity Movement involved in the campaign were, 5high-//
calibre intellectuals ... they showed themselves to be 3
lacking in guts and shied away from direct action. (4) Fofhan
was by then convinced that the best way for South African
socialists to make progress was for them to locate themselves in
the broader national democratic struggle.

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Party were in Cape Town in the
organising. pamphleteering,
Gardi_h, the Party's unofficial

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At the end of 1949 Forman returned to Johannesburg to study law
at the University of the Witwatersrand. In Johannesburg he felt
somewhat rebuffed by the local Party leadership and put this down
to the tensions that existed between the Johannesburg and Cape
Town branches in the late 1940s, as well as to his strong
opposition to the Party's decision to dissolve itself as a pre-
emptive move in the face of the Suppression of Communism Act.

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chGhoy searched every inch of the
Karl whom, he feared, might never catch to know his Father. 'Four
months later an SOS arrived from South Africa: Brian Bunting,
editor of Advance (successor to the now banned Guardian), wanted
to travel overseas and would Lionel return to South Africa to
edit the newspaper in his absence? Agxaggg was the most
vociferous anti-apartheid newspaper in South Africa and the main
mouthpiece of the Congress Alliance- Bunting had been invited to
visit the Soviet Union and needed to do so before his passport
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expired, at which he knew he would be prevented from
travelling abroad again.

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Forman accented enthusiastically. But first he wanted to finish
his book. Working to a tight schedule, Forman
completed the book by mid-December, having written in only three
months a 73,000 word volume. Though written in the third person
which Forman referred to himself

Forman shared with.

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arrived back in South Af
Town Castle. They were welcomed home by
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Czech book were confiscated. The thiniste: of Justice had warned
in 1949, tWe are not goins to staid for any nonsense from the
Communists in South Africa'. The Hrogi gevaar' boqev was still
very much an issue. '5 Fozdan needed f::th:r oioof, he was
oificially tlisttd' und:7 the Suoareszion of Communism Act
within months of his ret;n.
Foruan Got straight back into the oolitical frav. The Buntings
sailed out on the Cape Torn Castle's :etazn iournev and the
next day Lionel Egartegadgea; on AdvanCe. Editorially he
consistently attackeo t EJLHCldLent E'scism o: the South African
state and promoted the objectives of the bzoad Congress movement
as wel; as the socialist, anti-colonialist and ant'-imperialist
aims of the Communist Party which had been secret y reconstituted
in 1953. :awinq on his own recent experiences abroad, Forman
launched a weeklv tCommentator' . column on international
affairs, an innovation which became a permanent feature in t.e
newspaper. When Bunting resumed the editorship, he took over
writing the column under the byline iSpectator'.
Forman also seized the opportunity of his editorship to launch a
debate on a topic about which he had been thinking for some time
- the national question. In an editorial - tDon't Spread Malan's
Lie' - Forman arqued that the Congress ovement should abandon
use of the word trace' in favour of tnat'onat qroups'. By using

the false word race to categorise people, the liberation movement was helping to spread the influence of the ruling classes which keeps us in slavery'. Moreover, the importance of language and culture needed greater recognition. The dependence of the urban-based liberation movement on the English language, Forman suggested, confined the struggle to a relatively small section of South Africans. It had to be taken into every kraal, hessian shack and pondokkie in terms the people can understand'. The best way to ensure this, he argued, was to encourage the many national groups in South Africa to develop fully their own languages and culture.

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Cu: Zulu poets must sing songs of liberation; 3. in their mother tongue the people must rock. With laughter: at Sacha satires On the Nation. Let our very folk dances exemplify a kick in the pants for Maian and our music the drumbeats of freedom.

He concluded by suggesting that the liberation movement needed to study and understand fully the forces of racial segregation and utilise it in the struggle for freedom' or it would stumble and falter'. In Forman's view, people's nationalism was a healthy phenomenon, completely different from the exploitative white man's nationalism of the apartheidists'.

The editorial evoked a considerable response. While some, like Joe Matthews of the ANC Youth League wrote welcoming it, a senior SACP official, Dr. Dadoo, criticised Forman for: using an editorial to raise issues of theoretical controversy. He suggested they should take the form of separate articles'. So in the issue of 22 April 1954 Forman developed his ideas into a full-scale article entitled 'Discussion of South Africa's National Question'. In it he examined definitions of the term 'Nation' and why it matters' but then went on to stress that it was also important that the class struggle must not be blurred' which he felt was a danger if the emphasis was put on race'.

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In response to this article, the South Africa Club, just left discussion took place in Cape Town. convened a special debate on the issue. Forman participated together with Kenny Jordaan of the Non-European Unity Movement, the ANC's Thomas Ngwenya and the noted lecturer and marxist, Jack Simons. In terms of the debate within the Congress movement, the main lines of distinction were between Simons and Forman.

Reflecting the dominant position in the ANC and the SACP, Simons argued that, given the history of divide-and-rule through the vehicle of segregation and apartheid in South Africa, the liberation movement had to stress the unity and oneness of South Africa's people. Pointing out that South Africa was not a multi-national country but rather a nation in the making, Simons strongly attacked what he claimed was Forman's view that different national cultures in South Africa should enjoy the

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right to national self-determination. Unlike in Europe, Simons argued, the demand here was 'for equality within a common society and it would be wrong to disturb or deflect this development by stressing tribal, racial or cultural differences'. He accused Forman of advocating a neo-apartheid position. Angered by what he saw as a misinterpretation and denying that he had called for self-determination for national groups, Forman stood by his argument. Accusing his critics of superficial thinking, he denied that the guarantee of national autonomy in a people's democracy bore the slightest resemblance to apartheid'. He was convinced that the best way to a single united South African nation (and eventually a single world culture) was to create conditions by which the different national cultures in South Africa may first flower, and then merge'. He acknowledged that it was not yet time to press for self-determination because, he believed, nations in South Africa, only pre-nations, but they will surely come when it will be a correct and social demand'. (EAL, // Forman's ideas on the national question N65: have been adopted as policy by the Party of the Congress movement. But they did highlight the different, often contradictory positions within the movement, and the need for theoretical clarification. Did South Africa consist of many nations - Eon: nation: (white coloured, Indian and Afrikaner), or two nations (black and white, 00912550: and considered or one nation? Over the years there has been some confusion on this issue. Raymond Suttner has pointed out, for example, that the word 'national' is used in two ways in the Freedom Charter. In the important clause 'all national groups shall have equal rights', the Charter appears to be referring to four distinct racial groups while elsewhere in the Charter the word 'national' refers to all South Africans. (6) Critics have declared that the former reference shows that the Congress movement envisages the creation of four nations in South Africa, or that its struggle is based on the premise that there are four nations in South Africa. (7) Suttner, the current political education head of the ANC, however, contends that this four-nation theory never was Congress policy and that it survives not in the Charter itself or amongst its supporters but mainly in polemical writings against the democratic movement as a whole'. (8) The raw material in the chapters on the national question debate in this book should provide fertile ground for activists and academics concerned with the so-called four nations debate of the 1950s. At the time the debate could not develop, even though it was decided at the very purpose of organising a nationwide discussion on the national question, the SACF stifled the debate when it took a policy decision not to discuss the question at this point. Nonetheless, the national question continued to be one of Forman's main pre-occupations. As Ray Alexander has commented, the more he studied and wrote,

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the more convinced he became that the way to freedom lay through a recognition and total acceptance of South Africa's multinational composition'. (9) Four years were to pass before Forman could again develop his arguments in print. So let us return to Forman's unfolding career.

his overseas trip: 5 Annii 1954/hhtg

When Brian Buntino returned from

to take over again as editor of Advance, Forman went to Johannesburg to complete his law studies at Wits which had been interrupted by his stay abroad. After completing his degree, he returned to Cape Town in November 1954 and set up chambers in Parliament Street as an advocate. He was soon defending trade unionists and other victims of apartheid by when one or other of the political

cases Lionel defended was not to a former colleague he

due to the movement'

unionists and other victims of apartheid

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not reported in the press'. Accordi

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was brilliant in court and extremely valuable

because he was one of only a few advocates at the time who would

readily represent it in the Supreme Court. (10)-

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But earning a living was hard going because Forman-manage-E7AZLK

essentially not to charge his clients in political cases. When

Albie Sachs returned to South Africa in 1990 after more than two

decades in exile, acclaimed as a writer, thinker and

internationally-recognized legal expert, he acknowledged the

-influence' Forman had had on him as a young lawyer in the 1950s;

Forman told 'M4 that it was the responsibility of the

oppressive lawyer to put himself at the disposal of the

oppressed without reservation: avmeht, Sachs told a welcoming

audience in a goin' first speech after his return. Right us

to a forthright before his death. when he was banned while

defending Ronald Seale (editor of the Anti-apartheid journal) in

a highly publicised trial, Forman used the courts at every

opportunity to fight apartheid. (11)

However, Forman did not confine himself to his legal practice

after qualifying as an advocate. In fact he became better known

as a journalist and political activist. From the start of his

political life he had been involved as an occasional reporter and

photographer on party journals. helpino with political education,

propaganda, publicity and sales. As Ben Turok has recalled,

'You ... joined the Guardian -when you joined the

movement...' (12) This was certainly the case with Forman. After

his stint as editor of Agygggg, he continued to be closely

involved with the paper. When it was banned in October of the

same year, he wrote a letter to the Rang gaily Mail (29.10.54)

slamming the establishment press for its half-hearted defence of

press freedom, and announcing the imminent appearance of a

successor called New Age.

He became one of the core group running New Age. There are a

number of references in the next few years to Forman being editor

of the newspaper. But this did not mean that he was solely in

charge. New Age was effectively run as a collective. We remain

a moment with the newspaper which was in many respects unique.

Started in 1937 as The Guardian, it appeared weekly for 25 years.

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Ivan Schezmbrucke: based in Johannesburg. Working as a tightly-knit team, these few individuals largely shamed the policy of the paper. Their world view and politics to a large extent became those of the liberation movement. What they wrote became the way in which the liberation movement came to see itself'. (15) The importance of Advaggegew Age therefore went far beyond the outward signs of a struggling newspaper, battling to stay alive. ' And, though few in number, the influence of its journalists was all . It was here that George Forman probably made his most lasting impact.

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(n The state recognised this when they arrested Mzaan on charges of// NI treason; alone with seven other key Age staff members, he was among the 156 leaders of the Congress Alliance netted in countrywide swoops in December 1956 and taken to Pretoria to stand trial. His arrest unleashed a fresh burst of energy from Forman who relished the excitement, the spotlight and the opportunities provided by the trial. "Within days he had smuggled a defiant letter out of prison for publication in New Age. Refusing to use his ill-health as an excuse for any kind of exemption from the rigours of arising from the trial, he soon started to reinstate the proceedings: 'New Age from the treason case'. His weekly reports were captivating, levelling fun and politically potent at the state and its secrets.

In March 1957 he accepted an invitation from the veteran trade unionist Sol; Sachs to co-author a book on the trial, ignoring warnings that this might leave him open to further charges. An ex-Communist Party member and secretary of the Garment Workers Union for 25 years, Sachs was then living in England after being forced out of South Africa by state harassment. They agreed that Sachs would work on the international dimensions of the trial and contribute an analysis of the South African state. Forman would provide the inside story from the Drill Hall and a brief outline of the rise of the ANC and other Congresses culminating in their common programme, the Freedom Charter ...' (16) Their book, though a big gaggle of treason, was banned in South Africa, but it generated considerable publicity abroad. In a review in the 33rd issue of the 20.12.57a. Fenner Brockway was moved to write, 'This is a man whose courage not to be measured. (Has a prisoner under a death charge never before written and published the transcript of his trial whilst in prison, exposing to the world the system which holds him?'

As Forman used Sumner 33' wrote: 'the story of the trial. He started delving back into history to look at the lessons of previous - treason trials and to understand the background and development of the Congress Alliance whose leaders were now facing charges. Soon he was engrossed with this historical work, doing research whenever he had a respite from a busy court routine. He buried himself in newspaper archives and within months he'd decided to write a 'people's history' of the liberation struggle in South Africa. One unintended consequence of this landmark treason trial, therefore, was that it, produced a flood of the most ... fl (HRTW' U .; __, &W&'H reQ .

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Not surprisingly. Forman's first -history article was on 'Treason Trials "n South Africa.' It appeared in the Congress journal, Eightigg Talg, in February 1957. He then tackled the task of writino a 20,000 word overview of nearly 300 years of South African history. He had honed to iaggude this in the book with Sac s, but it was left out r lack of space. Q . .)A . . .

NEverthelegs, istorical r 58a ch and writing now became hls overriding interest. He -532e\$ia-eak4ae-the task.sot seriously L40 ethat rhe"registe(Eg7 for a Ph.D on iThe Histoty of African/4:Q \$M905 Political Organisations,' 1870-1948" at the University of Cape ' Town in 1958. (17) -

By this time he was also writing regular historical articles for _ Egg Age, Between July and-5Eptember 1958, the newspaper published 9 his first substantial writings in the form of seven instalments on the iHistory of the Liberatoryv Movement'. The articles were subsequently published - in revised form and with one chapter added - as a booklet by New Age in April 1959, and reprinted in October. Its title was Chaoters ' the History of the March to FEEEE-OYQ- (T ' -1- 2. , .. - , 1._____.---- -.-.-. - - - , ' 5 u.

'Lhe basic conflict in a lazqelv agrarian Sou l African society up to 1370 was of inational entities' over land. In the 13705, however, South Africa entered an ientirely new epoch' of caoitalism followinc the diamond discoveries and the ensuino industrial revolution. The class struggle of ithe workina class (irrespective of nationality) against the bosses (irresaective of nationality)' started alongside the national strucgle between iwhite and non-white'. iThe liberation movement, whose leadersi are today charged withxtreason, is a fusion of Ithesel two streams into a mighty river', he wrote (3.7.53). He then went on to deal with early working-class organisation, the first black political organisations and the formation of the modern day ANC in 1912. His aim was to_write a isystematic history of the liberatory , mbvement' as a iuseable' past for the ANC (an clandestine SACP). w Having grown rapidly during the 19505 tow; gar the first time 514. Wa challenge to white minority rule,' the ANC had a - een'appreclation'of the importance of history. Congress leaders ' . regularly evoked history and Congress publications carried historical features. Duzinq the Treason Trial, for example, the Rev. J.C. Calata compiled a short history of the ANC. Joe Matthews, Tennyson Makiwane, Michael Harmel, Brian Bunting, Fatima Near -and R.V. Selope Thema were among others who wrote, historical pieces, while ANC President ,Chief Lutuli, Z.K. Matthews and Selope Thema also wrote autobiographical memoirs which, however, remained unpublished in tuE 19505. A scholar, Luli Callinicos) wrltlnq 30 yeafs later has noted that 'Ultimately, popular history is located in the present ... it Starts from the need to understand and directly confront, not the past for it's own sake, but present day situations and problems'. (18) Nowhere was this more true than in the case of Lionel

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Forman. His articles were topical and related directly to current events. Ch ha: uav 1953, for e"amcle, he wrote on the way that day 35 international working-class solidarity had been celebrated in the past 1J Seath Aftita (Sew A36 1.5.58). During 'the women's anti-tax struggles in late 1950s' he recalled the earliest campaign in the Orange Free State 45 years before. That week happened to be the 75th anniversary of the first independent African newspaper. van Zebantsundu, so he discussed its history as well. Azzznd 1Dincaan's Day (December 16), the holiest of the Afrikaner nationalist holidays. celebrating the victory of the Voortrekkers over the Zulu he exclaimed why Dingane had killed the Voortrekkers: leads: Ret'ef. Launching straight into the ruling-class holy cow, he wrote, 10h December 16 there will be the usual soiree of nauseating Clantzas from pulpits and platforms and press about how at Blood River ... the forces of civilisation and of light, the messengers of God himself, destroyed the power of barbarism and darkness in the form of Dingane's Zulu. It may be a good idea to arm ourselves in advance against being submerged in the wave of emotion by taking a look at the facts' (New Age 11.12.58). Having done so, he listed eight sources: ranging from contemporary diarist to works by both respectable (McMillan) and radical (anarchist) historians in an understandable act of caution.

A few months later on van Riebeeck Day. (A0711 6), another important white holiday commemorating the arrival of the 1602 European colonists. Forman denigrated the founding fathers of white South Africa in an article headed, 'The van Riebeeck was a robber' (New Age 2.4.59).

New Age writing was history with a difference in the Ittktallenged, even if indirect way, the focus of an historical establishment embedded firmly within the system domination, its interpretations and, in fact, the whole process of historiography is a racist one in the universities at 'me - 1 91041 (104-4qu a ,gd wot ' Wt

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As already noted, Forman's history was popular and useable. with no pretensions to academic object;

Volty. His interpretations challenged and deviated sharply from the 'in important respects. His writing departed from the He elevated the history of ethnocentric orthodoxy of the time. black South Africans rather than that of the referred to the indigenous peoples the ruling minority; he by the names they had instead of W, 'J' H'

themselves used ('Khoi Khoi') . descriptives (Hottentot) adopted by the white rulers; he stressed the negative not the positive, or so-called 'civilising', effects of European colonialism; in fact, the colonialists were robbers who had taken the land of the indigenous people from them by force.

Forman also rejected the notion that South African history was essentially about the clash between black and white as the established colonial, Afrikaner nationalist and liberal

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historians tended to emphasise. F0

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 The advent of the industrial revolution was the
 South African history, and not the long
 South Africa's constitutional
 tMQ/56A ideas enjoy wide currency 1
 TQNiseA were unusual, if not original. Forman was in fact developing a
 basic (still little known) Marxist analysis of South African
 intellectuals like Eddie Roux,
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 Hosea Jaffe, Dora
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 Finally, Forman emDhasised
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as the distortions created by Eddie Roux whose books 533;
sic Time Lenses. Then. Roger. were the
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virtually the only) full-length
most important (and then still
1 resistance in South Africa. Roux's ex-Party
works on politics
.colleagues regarded his work as biased and malicious'. Even
worse, one of them wrote, that... his indiscretions border on
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been used against us (in
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