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Q: ...Now at what stage from outside did you...the top leadership that was wiped out. . .the impression which other researchers have given is that the ANC lost contact completely with the inside, and the first indication I had is round about 1974 and that I got from Island when Chris Hani operated from Maseru...would that mean that between '64 and '74...?

gngake

A: You see, Mike Dingake and myself were the last to leave after the arrest of Mkwazi. At that time the movement was completely defeated after Rivonia. You recall that you people had sent a message to us to say that you wish we'd form a shadow executive, but there was no executive to speak of. You know, it was Mkwazi, myself...others got arrested...I remained with Mike. We then had to leave. There was a total vacuum. You people also sent word to say the security situation was not good enough, we also had to leave. We left. I mean, there was no movement to talk of.

Q: When I was brought from P.E. it was to train a shadow national executive because at the time it was arranged that the headquarters of the ANC school move to Lobatse. We left, then Duma and I would be in that office to co-ordinate the work in the country. Now, during the month I was here I was trained amongst the others...These people I was training here so that they should do the work of the national executive from inside the country. Now, the regions were to have reported to these people and these

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people would have relayed that to Duma and myself, who in turn then would be dealing with the entire national executive outside. But that didn't happen, this shadow group, I suppose, either left the country or fell into jail...?

They left the country. Makgoti was arrested...

Which would mean that, therefore, between '64 and '74 hardly anything happened, as directed by the ANC?

No. It's absolutely correct. Nothing as all because I remember that there was even resistance...when we wanted to leave...People like Tlapene at the time of his arrest, he was saying all the guys who had left the country for training, who were supposed to have come back have not come back, therefore we should not leave, I mean, we should wait until people were (back into the country?)...

But there was...Where was Gaetsewe, when did Gaetsewe come back into the country? What year was it, because Gaetsewe left for training and came back into the country and then got arrested...?

But you see, it is quite true that there was nothing happening in the country during that time...

What about from '74 to '80?

I wouldn't know because in '74 I was in Helsinki...During that period is when Thabo...Chris was sent to Lesotho, the decision was that I should go to Botswana...there was tension in the camps...that time when Zimbabwe happened - operations - because we had no presence inside the country, here. Some of us, in assessing that decision, we thought

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that it was actually suicidal because we had to be surviving for a very long time - when you had Rhodesia between our base and Zambia and South Africa...When they sent some of the white comrades into the country purely for purposes of ...into the country here...We began to have people coming out of the country in good numbers as a result of people like Thabo in Swaziland, otherwise the name of the movement was kept alive...At that time I think Turok was saying to me that it doesn't work sending people into the country to come and live and work and leave the country, go out of the country all the time, because that was what was happening...

This information, I hope we're going to collect it, is important. Many people have researched - the '70s and the '80s - ...Tom Lodge, he's now the "authority"...but now they've written without information from the ANC. Now if I come out with information I should be able to say specifically this is what the ANC (says?)...and where documents can be presented I should be able, even if it's at the tail end of the book to say...

You see, Morogoro was precisely because there was a lot of pressure because there was no presence inside the country...cadres arguing that it's because the leadership was sitting in Morogoro comfortably, was not making any effort (to send people into the country) and then the Revolutionary Council was formed by the Morogoro Conference in 1969...

...You see this book I published last year, Th r 1



tor Liberation in South Africa, I say Morogoro was in 1969. Now Tom Lodge, reviewing the book, says I don't even know the date, Morogoro was not in 1969, it was in 1967...? Of course it was in 1969. Of course it was in 1969. And I can say quite a lot about Morogoro itself because for the first time guys were coughing it out. J.B. who was presiding there said, you know, you can insult us if you want. And the guys were actually inciting the leadership for the first time, some form of democratisation was being introduced in the ANC. Morogoro was in 1969 and Morogoro adopted Strategy and Tactics for the first time, because the argument was that the movement had no strategy and tactics. And created the Revolutionary Council which was to focus on the development and reconstruction of the movement inside the country. Joe Mathews was the first Secretary of the RC, Chairman being OR, Dadoo Deputy Chairman, Joe Slovo...It was meant to build the movement inside the country. They made efforts then to infiltrate people into the country, the RC. Mathews had said he had been offered a job by the Botswana government and it was agreed that he should be there as a cover to infiltrate cadres into the country.

He didn't...

But he is now claiming that he did.

He didn't...

But he is now claiming that he did. When he came to the Durban conference and we refused him admission into the conference...he wanted to be admitted as a veteran.

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He did come...

Yes he did come. I went to OR, OR said, no, he was expelled by the movement, we cannot allow him. I went to tell him and he said to me, you see, you guys we're at home now..he had a card, a membership card. When he came into the country he joined the Dube branch of the ANC and he was accepted there. He says, look I'm a member and you say I was expelled...Now that was the Morogoro conference. After Morogoro there was a first attempt to send people into the country by creating the RC, and then people started sending people in and out of the country, to leaflet-bomb, there was a unit of the RC that was based in London - Joe Slovo, Ronnie and... - and cassettes - people would record their speeches in the cassettes and these would be played at places like Park Station...

When did you establish PMCs?

...I'm not sure, I'll check on that. I'll check on that.

But, you know, there were very few then. At that time when Ntlanla was Secretary of the PMC I was not on the PMC.

Most of the organisations had been created by Joe anbi after he had left. Joe anbi when inside here, that's also interesting...

After coming, serving his sentence...

When did he come out, Joe?

1974...

Now you see this period you're talking about - 1974 - we were already infiltrated cadres into the country. But at that time they were MK cadres because I remember Joe, when he

came out, in fact, even before he came out...we should politicise the MK cadres because, you know, MK cadres would come into the country and you try to form them into a unit and give them instructions, they would then argue they're not ANC, they're MK. They drew that distinction, and they thought they were independent of the political movement. There was that problem. So during that time MK cadres were being sent into the country when Joe came out. That covers that period of the '70s. Makgoti also had experiences of that nature. Makgoti wrote us a hot letter after coming out of Robben Island...

On my instructions on Robben Island...It was the '70s... And when he came out he had to leave because the system had already discovered he was doing some work, and we instructed him to be based in Botswana. We should look at those dates because they are important. When he was based in, Botswana he was responsible for infiltrating people together with another group of...during that time. And mainly at that time we were infiltrating MK cadres, and we had not yet started PMC structures inside the country.. The first time we heard of PMC structures...we heard of a group of comrades being arrested in Durban was arrested, including...He gave us the low-down of what was happening there, but it was more of criticism of what the ANC was ...doing through there, but was doing through the members of the NIC. And the members of the NIC were given the greenlight...and was doing that for their own purposes...? Ja those were the beginnings of what is today called the

cabal. You see that's also interesting, how this cabal emerged because what had happened in PMC at that time was that we had said in all the mass organisations we should have a nucleus, a core of ANC people to direct the mass movement, caucus groups. Now all those who were supposed to be ANC comrades who were working underground to give direction to the mass movement and even to the mass organisations where they did not exist. What then happened in Durban there was a peculiar situation because the Indian comrades in Durban were not active on the ground. Now the African comrades were active on the ground, so these NIC guys formed these caucuses, and they started strategising because there wasn't much work in their area. And the African guys would come over to the Indian comrades to get directives and they resented this. Now the instructions, it is true, the instructions were sent through them because they were the only ones who had the passports who come out to us to meet, and we would then give them the strategy and say this is what you're supposed to do, which they would convey to those at home here. And these guys, given the Natal situation there have always been tensions between the Indian comrades and the Africans. They resented it, but they couldn't come out. If they had to come out they had to cross the borders and risk their lives, because they did not have the passports. And then these caucus groups, in time became what is regarded as the cabal...And there are lots of documents also complaining about that cabal thing...

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The ANC in giving it's archives to Fort Hare, why are these not brought at the end of...?

No, because the very sensitive ones we requested embassies outside to keep. So they never came into the country.

Because they are very sensitive...

Let's say she goes there and takes...

No she would be allowed because she is in our network of constructors here, but the others should be very relevant.

You know at one time I was told to produce a...You know, some of the reports are mixed reports, you get one report which has got...political matters...Because you see some of this information is very useful, you can use it, in an acceptable manner of course...because it gives an insight about the strategy of the other side...You see, we're talking about this period from '64 to '74...

You see this period, I think it was 1970, when Msomi was sent into the country. At that time we'd just heard the military command, the cadres who sent into the country were then arrested and asked for accommodation from Dorothy Nyembe. Dorothy then reported them to Gatsha Buthelezi...

I remember that...

Gatsha then wrote to Joe Mathews and sat: to him that cadres you send into the country must not contact me. And Gatsha had been given a mission of lying low until all MK cadres come into the country, then make arrangements for them...

Mathews actually came to me and said, look, these guys have approached Buthelezi...

But one of them remained underground for a very long time...

Outside there 'was that...sending' people...everybody' who came out of Robben Island was given a mission...

That group was sent by the RC

(Tape not clear at this stage but exchange about dates when particular groups were deployed and by whom...)

You see I'll tell you, there was a problem, I was in Helsinki then. But there was a problem of Gatsha saying that he was a leader of the internal ANC, the ANC in exile was advocating armed struggle, he himself was pursuing the policies of Luthuli. I think that was the political differences started there. But when he was contacted the understanding that we got on the outside was that he cannot be in any case, and we agreed with this, be advocating armed struggle because he is inside here (in order to survive he has to pursue a non-violent struggle). People were debating this, they were saying that they did not believe, he's unreliable. I remember there was a meeting eh, It can't remember, but in any case people like Joe Mathews told us...People like Johnny Makhathini were actually saying he's got a good following...The whole period he kept in touch with OR...A meeting was arranged in 1975 in London. I remember that meeting, people who came, to prepare the agenda and to discuss the nature of the meeting...I was in London from Helsinki, I was then invited to that meeting. And we all agreed that...Felgate, that's where I met him...I think what then happened...there were

agreements that were agreed at that meeting...

Where did it take place?

London 1975...Gatsha convinced the meeting that he was still ANC. When Gatsha arrived here at the airport he met Susan, journalist of the Sunday Times at that time. Gatsha revealed everything. OR was so fed-up that this man could not be trusted as a cover for our underground operations...But some people were still not convinced, like Mabida, Mabida said, I know the man...We kept on sending messages to Gatsha. We also got fed-up because Gatsha would (made those public?). He would say, "uMabida uyathetha ngapha, abanye abamfuni, because uMabida is a Zulu"...Mabida was so fed-up...

Now this is interesting because at the '50s Chief...and then the National Executive appointed Chief and myself, Nkadameng...Bantu Administration, and I opposed this. And discussed this for a long time, and I opposed it. I say, Chief, you haven't got the experience of participation in these institutions. And once he is there, he can't get out, and he'll be used by the other side. Alright we didn't agree...But then again the issue arose amongst us, today, Gatshas, some of us thought Gatsha is doing very good work, we differed for a long time, the E.Cape and the TVL on the question of participation in these institutions. What is it that ended our discussion in jail on that, it was a book. Mlangeni was doing political science and it was recommended because it was prescribed, where there were contributions by Gatsha...MK and others, and Gatsha stating

in black and white that since the government had made it compulsory these Bantustans, he had no option but to accept them. Now that is in black and white in that book, you can find that out from Mlangeni. Now and you people using him outside...

You know this is interesting, because why we also using him, OR told us this guy was advised by the movement and was ones who advised him to accept the Bantustan system. In order to (stall?) the movement forward towards independence, only self-government not the independence of the Bantustans. And that became our strategy to get guys who would actually, our own people who...would accept self-government, not independence. This is what we did with Mabuza of Kangwane, and this guy in Kwandebele, because we were still following that strategy. But then some people were saying this guy has got a different agenda altogether, it's not to stall the process in our favour, he is now using that process to become a national leader inside the country to replace the ANC.

In fact, I raised this, I raised this in this book, The struggle for National Liberation in south Airiga, because we disagreed amongst ourselves, between Nelson and Sisulu on the one side, and myself and...on the other, and I couldn't disclose that in the book that there was a debate like that over which. we could not agree, it would be others...

Ja, ja. Because also, you know we're talking about '64. There were people who had already come into the



country...(discussion ensues as to who had come into the country at that time). But the fact of the matter is that there were viable structures of the movement during that period. (Another general discussion ensues...and laughs)