

which had eight members namely:-

- (a) The Commander-in-Chief;
- (b) The Chief Political Officer;
- (c) The Chief-of-Staff;
- (d) The Chief of Security;
- (e) The Chief of Logistics;
- (f) The Chief of Communications;
- (g) The Personnel Officer.

This Headquarters controlled three camps in East Africa , namely, the Kongwa, Morogoro and Dar-es-Salaam Camps. Each Camp had its own administration.

The Kongwa Camp administration was as follows:

- (a) Camp Commander;
- (b) Camp Commissar;
- (c) Chief-of-Staff;
- (d) Chief of Supplies;
- (e) Personnel Officer;
- (f) Ordinance Officer;
- (g) Chief of Operations;
- (h) Finance Officer.

Below the Camp administration we had two Companies, each Company had three Platoons and each Platoon had three Sections. In some Platoons there were four Sections. Each Company had a Company Commander and a Company Commissar. The same applied to the Platoons and the Sections. The situation was slightly different in the Morogoro Camp where the Headquarters was situated. This applied to the Dar-es-Salaam Camp as well. In these two Camps we had a Camp administration and a small number of comrades. They were seldom above platoon strength. This therefore only necessitated the organisation of a Camp administration which controlled the whole group. The administration was as follows:-

- (a) Camp Commander;
- (b) Supply Officer;
- (d) Medical Officer.

The group below this administration was not broken down. It was controlled directly by the administration of the Camp.

In 1966 a number of MK cadres were sent to Zambia .../4

In 1966 a number of MK cadres were sent to Zambia so that they could be near the points of infiltration. The Organisation also concluded an Alliance with ZAPU and as a result of this agreement, two Camps were established which were run jointly by ZAPU and ANC. MK Headquarters also moved to Zambia at that time, and it controlled our cadres in East Africa and Zambia. There was also a large number of cadres outside the camps in Zambia who were carrying out special duties. These cadres were also under the MK Headquarters. The organisation in the camps ~~were~~ were more or less like the organisation in Kongwa Camp except for the fact that the administration in the camps were composed of ANC and ZAPU cadres. However, the situation in Kongwa camp changed due to the removal of large numbers of cadres to the front. The result is that we have a small number of cadres there and the organisation there is composed of the camp administration which has a Camp Commander, Chief-of-Staff, Supply Officer, Finance Officer and a Medical Officer. This administration controls a Platoon. There were also changes in Zambia after infiltrating a number of cadres into Zimbabwe. The camps in Zambia were closed and we are now left with the base in the bush and a number of cadres in town carrying out special duties, and some staying at ANC Residences. MK Headquarters was also dissolved after the Morogoro Consultative Conference in 1969 and the Chief-of-Staff was ordered to set up a new Headquarters under him with the Commander-in-Chief and ~~ex-officio~~ member of this group. The Chief of Staff ~~set~~ set up this administration which functioned until 1970 when a large number of cadres were sent for further training. Amongst these cadres were members of the Headquarters. Thereafter a Special Committee was set up to control MK cadres in Zambia. Tanzania has a Regional Administration now composed of a Regional Commander, Chief of Logistics, Chief-of-Staff and a Member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC who serves as liaison between the N.E.C and MK. He is stationed at the ANC Headquarters.

The Special Committee was a temporary arrangement and there is need to replace it and re-organise the whole MK machinery. In my opinion, the position of Commander-in-Chief must be done away with at this stage. The Revolutionary Council should be responsible for MK and it must organise an administration under it which will control MK. At a later stage inside the country there will be a need for the position of C-in-C, not now. This will go hand in hand organisation of MK inside the country. The organisation of MK inside the country will be done in accordance with the strategic plans of the ANC. There should be no problem with the organisation of the MK outside the country as this depends largely on the programme of the Organisation.



an end to these differences. The ANC and MK should be one and the same organisation.

#### MEMBERSHIP OF MK.

Membership of MK is open to all South Africans who are prepared to abide by the Policies of MK which are dictated by the African National Congress. It is for this reason that the MK membership consists of members of ANC, SACP, CPC, C.O.D, S.A.I.C, SACTU and people who do not belong to any political organisation in South Africa.

There is a theory expressed that all people joining MK automatically become members of the ANC. This is not so in practice because people coming from all these other Organisations, with the exception of SACTU, cannot hold positions of leadership inside the ANC. The whole question of membership in MK must be examined. in due course because the risks we are running are the same in the struggle and the say in MK is confined or limited to the ANC alone. This may not create problems now but could create problems in future and we still have a long way to go.

#### INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL STRUCTURES OF MK AND THEIR CO-ORDINATION WITH ANC.

The internal structure of MK was as follows:

(a) There was a High Command with its Headquarters in Rivonia. This High Command was composed of members of the ANC and the SACP with Mandela at its head. You will observe that there were no members of the SAIC and the CPC in this High Command because the SAIC disagreed with the launching of the armed struggle, and the CPC was not ready then for the armed struggle. This left the ANC and the SACP to decide on the formation of MK and the manning of its High Command.

(b) Below the High Command we had the Regional Commands. There were four Regions in the internal structure, namely:

Transvaal Region, Natal Region, Eastern Cape Region and Western Cape Region. All these Regions had their own Regional Commands which were controlled by the High Command.

(c) Below the Regions we had the Sections, each Region having a number of Sections. There was no limitation to the number of Sections within the Region (these depended on the abilities of the Region) but there were limitations to the size of the Section. Each Section was composed of five members, the fifth member being the Section Commander. All Sections were controlled by the Regional Command.

The External structure of MK was composed of a Headquarters which had eight members.../3

STATEMENT ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
THE ANC (SOUTH AFRICA) AND M.K.

MK was formed in 1961 as the Military Wing of the African National Congress but the connection between the ANC and MK was kept secret in order to protect known members of the ANC from police arrests. This was considered necessary because MK had embarked on sabotage activities inside the country which would lead to the arrest of anybody connected with MK. This situation continued inside the country until after Rivonia when Mandela stated in his evidence in court that the ANC had played a leading role in the creation of MK. He stated that he was personally responsible for the creation of MK.

At this stage there were a number of ANC members and leaders together with MK cadres outside the country. The dangers which existed inside the country for the organisation did not exist outside the country, so the ANC and MK worked openly together.

In the last few years the ANC has sent ~~leaflets~~ leaflets to the country calling upon the people to support the armed struggle and openly associating the ANC with MK. In other words, creating the impression that the ANC and MK were one and the same organisation. This question of ANC and MK being one and the same organisation has been strongly canvassed and a large number of people hold the view that they are in fact the same organisation whereas in practice there <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ differences though a lot of agitation has been carried out to eliminate these differences. The differences manifest themselves in various ways, for example:

- (a) ANC members do not take the same oath that MK members are obliged to take;
- (b) MK members who carry out ANC functions on a full-time basis are not given allowances whereas ANC members carrying out similar functions do get allowances. However there has been a small change of late. There are some MK cadres who are now receiving some allowances;
- (c) Only MK cadres have been going home for the purposes of carrying out the work of the ANC. I do not know of any ANC member of the ANC who is not also a member of MK who has gone home.

These are but a few examples that I felt I should point out.

The time is now long overdue that the Organization should eliminate these differences, and I also want to join those who are advocating for  
and end to .../2