

- ANC = Inqade
- PAC - Impama
- ARM - Of Res. Mov
- YCC - Yiu Chui Chan Alexander
- BCM. - Black Consciousness Mov.

The memo deals mainly with ANC PAC relations. In order to counteract possible distortions by John Pokela released in RI.

1960s - this section traces PAC hostility, specially after the Rivonia trial. At that time PAC leader on the RI was Selby Ngendane, serving 6 years, and subsequently state witness against PAC. In prison he said that ANC sold the rev to communists and he wished Rivonia trialists to be hanged. He told his men that J.S. was running the ANC and when the Rev. came PAC would march against the ANC. Inside prison ANC gradually put the record straight. PAC members questioned the ability of its leadership. At this stage in 1967 Selby opened discussion with ANC for unity. This 'unity' talks fell through because of opposition by some PAC members.

A committee of all political org was formed including members of ANC PAC ARM & YCC. Selby was the first chairman until he left prison in 1969. The man who took over the leadership for the PAC teamed up with YCC and proposed a committee elected by pol prisoners to interview prisoners. This was because

2. visitors from abroad interviewed only ANC. It
opposed the idea, the com broke up. Two
years later however ANC agreed and relation
with PAC improved.

In the mid 70's about 20 left wingers emerged
within PAC who accepted ^{Marxism} A central
issue was the role of whites in this struggle. They
insisted it was politically wrong to work with
whites. This discussion broke down after the influx
of youth following the 1976 revolt. PAC felt it would
be compromised by the association with ANC

1976 - 1980

SASO ~~Trialists~~ formed themselves in a
'political group' and claimed to be leaders of
BCM which they said was a separate political
org. ANC refused to recognise it, but we
gave them representation on the Prisoners' Committee

Pokela was elected chairman for the first time in
1977. In Jan 1978 a PAC member proposed
that an ARM member be chairman but PAC a

~~man~~ BCM ~~can~~ ~~no~~ man nominated Pokela
At this time PAC YCC & BCM had formed an
anti-ANC front for the sake of unity the
ARM friend withdrew and Pokela was re-elected
In the second term, it was agreed that reps
from political org should interview Red Cross and

3/ a rotating chairman. A SWAPO member was elected chairman in spite of Pokela's opposition. When the IRC came again in 1978, Pokela insisted on leading the delegation there was a split and two delegations met the IRC one from PAC & YCC the other from ANCS WAPO & ARM. BCM did not see the IRC.

New young prisoners on the Island were surprised to find which claimed ~~that~~ ^{an} ~~part~~ ^{of} the politically uncommitted prisoners belong to them. ANC refused to recognize this claim. There was a dispute which occasionally resulted in physical clashes.

PAC first recognized BCM's claims. At a meeting called to discuss this issue BCM accused ANC with "collaborating with the enemy", "buying the youth".

PAC later also used this language against US.

When BCM noticed that PAC was also recruiting relations between them severed. BCM & ANC were on a better footing and held joint classes. ANC's prestige rose because of the armed struggle which it alone was conducting. ANC commemorated 21st March privately in their cells at home together with SWAPO. When Bran that gallant son of the soil died PAC attended the Commemoration. In 1977 BCM decided to recognize 21st March as Heroes Day, invited ANC, SWAPO

and PAC but not ARM.

ANC does not recognise 21st March as Heroes and
because ARM was not invited ANC SWAPO
refused. From that time joint celebrations
stopped. They started again when Sobukwe died

The present arrangement is that some sections
of the prison observe jointly 21st March 16th June
16 Dec.

YCC stopped attending ANC commemorations
when BCM arrived.

PAC recent moves

Pokela left RI on 23/4/80. Before leaving he
asked ANC about a joint letter sent out in 1976
condemning the SOWETO shooting - the All Blacks
visit to SA. The letter said the two orgs
should work closely together. Pokela asked
whether we had anything to add. We said No!
and that the matter was in the hands of the
external mission he then raised a new issue
that is unity. On 16/12/79 MK day speaker
from both ANC & PAC had said we all accept
unity in principle. He said that we should
now consider implementing the principle
more in this direction a RI would be in
line with developments abroad.

5. He said that a leaflet issued by Mizo abroad calling for unity was circulated inside. There followed in June 1979 a radio statement by ~~ANC~~ PAC's N. Floedibe to the effect that PAC had approached ANC on this issue. PAC wanted to know what would be the position of SACP if there was unity. SACP would not be committed to such an ag and could later adopt a separate programme. PAC had no objection in principle to a working agreement with the SACP.

ANC considered these proposals and adopted the following guide lines.

1. We accept unity in principle with all org involved in the struggle. Our external mission however, did not accept unity with PAC. We in RI would not do anything to embarrass ANC outside. Also it would be a political error to revive a ^{dying} PAC. It was agreed to leave this matter in the external mission. ANC on RI should limit itself to improving relations with PAC.
2. No member of the ANC would take

b a unilateral decision calling for unity.
The story about Mizo's alleged leaflet
was discounted

3. Lokela was opportunistic and
largely to blame for bad relations among
organisations on RI. His latest move
might be a stunt to rally PAC ✓
boost himself.

We told PAC that:

- a) We on the Island were not competent
to enter into agreements with PAC on
questions of unity, nor could ANC
do so on behalf of SACP
- b) We thanked him for the information
about the alleged leaflet
- c) Our main concern was to improve
relations on RI.

Last year PAC invited us to a victory
celebration for Zimbabwe. Two of their
Speakers made vicious attacks on us
Relations between PAC & ANC in the main
Sections have reached an all time low

1. One of the Martyburg Treason traitor is James Munge. He attributed the arrests of many operatives to information fed to the police by our personnel outside. Thabo Mber gives police information on who have returned to the country their addresses. Thabo was stationed in Swaz he said and those coming back passed through his hand. When told whose son Thabo is, he replied that the one he is referring to is not Zizi's son. The man referred to is under a false name. He had told his commander but the org insisted on proof before taking steps, he added that his colleagues in an other section of the prison would be able to confirm the allegation about Thabo. Shown an album in which the real Thabo appears he could not identify. When asked why the ANC allowed the name of its cadres to be used as an alias or a pseudonym for an other he said he did not know.

According to him the Thabo that he was talking about was short & spoke Sotho, he was then told that the real Thabo is also short & spoke Sotho. Finally he said that Thabo at intervals ~~to~~ crossed into SA & reported to the police in But