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We give here, in a slightly abridged form, a statement made by the National Executive Committee of the ANC reviewing the 25 years of Umkhonto we Sizwe



**UMKHONTO WE SIZWE
BORN OF THE
PEOPLE**

This day 25 years ago bomb blasts in several main centres rocked South Africa. Thus was born Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army of our country.

By that time the demands of our people were loud, persistent and clear: all our efforts, the whole record of relentless struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress, were being met with ever-increasing violence and repression by the racist state. The time had arrived when we needed to reinforce our mass political action with the hammer blows of an armed struggle.

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was a response to these needs and the demands of our people. December 16, 1961 accordingly marked an historic turning point in our long march to freedom. With the formation of Umkhonto we

Sizwe our people were now better equipped to grasp history into their own hands.

Born of the people, combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe pledged themselves in our Manifesto to complement the actions of our national liberation movement by means of organised revolutionary violence.

From those small beginnings Umkhonto we Sizwe has emerged today as the guarantor of our people's future and the indispensable fighting arm of our people.

Combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, you are the flower of successive generations of our youth tempered in the crucible of battle. On behalf of the African National Congress and its allies I salute you on this, the 25th anniversary of the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Commitment to Freedom..

We had sought, by every non-violent means at our disposal, to realise the liberation of our people. The decade of the Fifties demonstrated the overwhelming commitment of the masses of our oppressed peoples to freedom. Under the leadership of the Congress Alliance, headed by the African National Congress, all classes and strata, as well as the diverse population groups of our country, steadfastly pursued this objective. Our people mobilised as never before to challenge White minority rule. But true to the traditions of colonialist rule and the ideology of race superiority, the rulers of our country paid no heed to the demands of our people. They drowned our efforts in blood and brutality. The Sharpeville massacre of March 1960 epitomised this reality.

Our People's Answer

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was our people's answer to this historic challenge from the racist rulers of South Africa. In our Manifesto we declared that "the time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight," and that South Africa's rulers had left us with no alternative but to "hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom." We knew then that we were "striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people;" that once we took that road there would be no going back; a road that was going to necessitate total dedication, self-sacrifice and a determination that knew no surrender; a road along which the commitment not to submit but to fight would have to be transformed into the uncompromising warrior pledge — Victory or Death!

Not since the Bambatha Uprising in 1906 had patriots taken to arms in an organised form. The people's reaction to state violence had continued down the years. With the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe we were gathering together in an organised form all the best fighting traditions of our past in order to stride into the future along the path of the seizure of power by the majority of the people.

We knew then that anger alone would not bring victory. We knew then that our people had been deliberately deprived of the skills of modern warfare and denied access to weaponry. We knew then that our terrain presented its own special problems which could not be answered from the

classical textbooks of guerrilla warfare. We knew then that, despite the sweep of the African revolution, we would have to develop the armed struggle without the advantage of rear bases in the neighbouring states. We knew then that we faced a formidable foe underpinned by imperialism.

How were we to move forward? Above all else, we knew too that our strength lay in the masses; we knew that Umkhonto we Sizwe, born of the people, had to be rooted in the masses and strive with the people. Those early combatants took to battle. With home-made bombs and explosives taken from the enemy we blazed a glorious trail.

And what a glorious trail it has been!

Those early exploits struck fear into the hearts of the enemy. Not since the battle of Isandhlwana in 1879 had our rulers been so shaken by our fighting formations. They could not understand what moved giants like Mini, Mkhaba and Khayingo to go singing defiantly to the gallows rather than trade their lives for the life of a fellow combatant by giving evidence for the state. The Minis, like many before them and many more since, emblazoned with their lives into the emblem of Umkhonto we Sizwe the uncompromising motto: Victory or Death! Let us, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of MK, salute these heroes for their commitment to the justness of our cause, and for imprinting on the history of our struggle a standard that we must live up to.

The Struggle Goes On

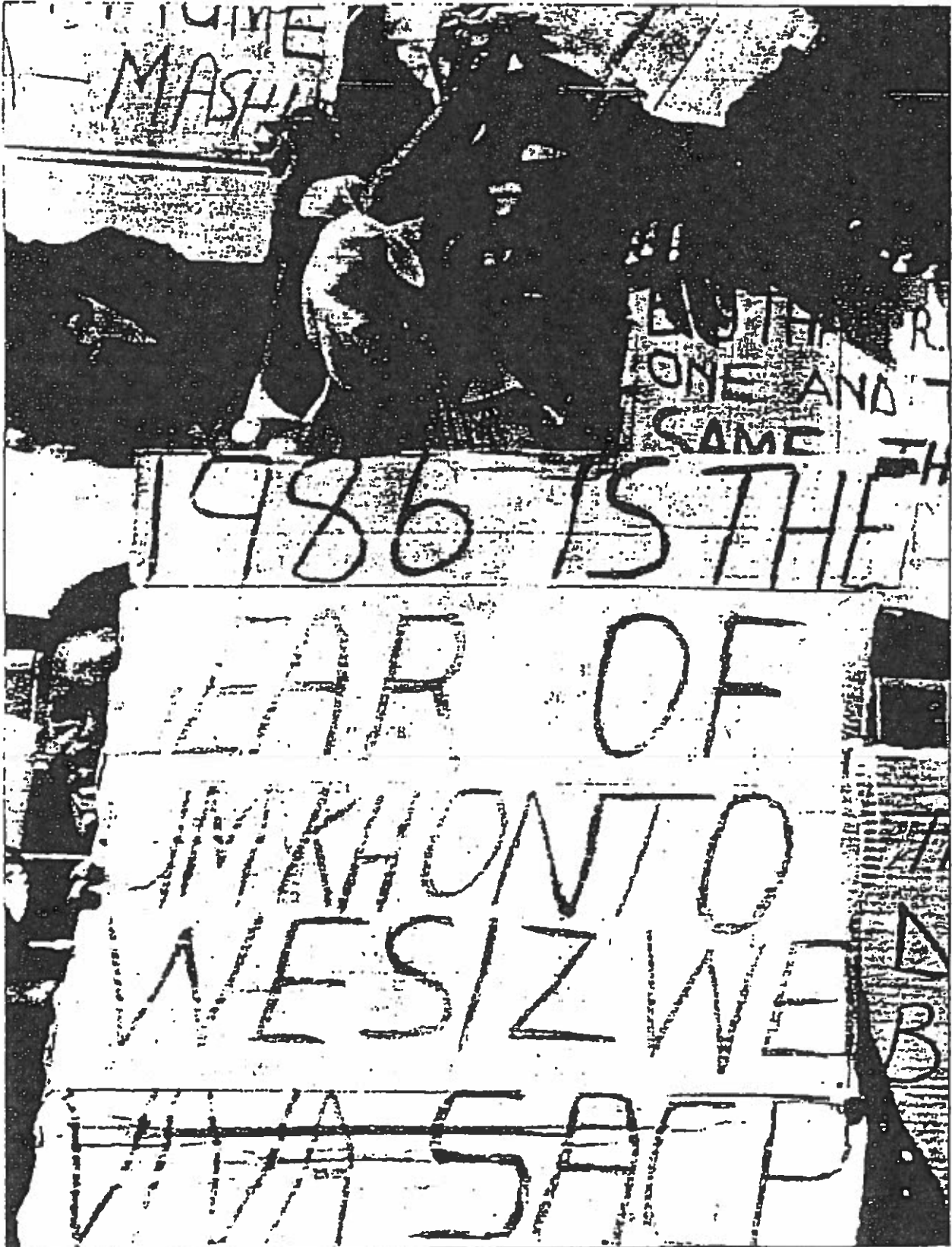
Even in those early days by what cruel twists history sought to underscore both our mistakes and the immense difficulties that our revolution faced. Within less than a year our first commander, Comrade Nelson Mandela, was captured by the enemy. Within two years of our birth the cream of our leadership was captured at Rivonia farm, brought to trial with Comrade Mandela, and sentenced to life imprisonment where they remain to this day. In his statement to the court Comrade Mandela, confronted with the prospect of the gallows, defended the justness of our cause and defiantly proclaimed that for these actions "I am prepared to die." By the end of 1964, with the imprisonment of Wilton Mkwayi and others, it appeared as if the guns of MK had been silenced for all time.

Ever the courage of our masses appeared to

have cowed before the tyrant's might.

But the founders of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the leaders of our national liberation movement had already taken steps which would ensure that

our people would soldier on to victory. In the face of such a massive setback the only cohesive, organised force of our revolution that remained at the time was the comrades who had been sent



Umkhonto we Sizwe — the people's army of the townships.

out of the country to train in politics and the art of modern warfare. We had left our homes imbued with the dream that we would surge back into South Africa to lock immediately into battle with our fascist rulers.

Within the country, in the prisons, and in remote military camps in distant countries of our mother continent, we set out on the long journey of regrouping ourselves, replenishing our courage and resolve and fighting back inch by inch.

Torch-bearers of our Revolution

Looking back over those 25 years, let us today accord proper place and recognition to that generation of MK we know as *umgwenya*, who became the core for our regrouping and the torch-bearers of our revolution. With superhuman dedication to the cause of our people, they held aloft our dream and lived with only one purpose in mind — to get back into our country and to pursue the revolution.

We traversed many countries on foot and by other means. Every failure to reach home became a spur to further efforts and greater daring. We sought to go by land, by sea and by air. We even had comrades traverse our country to reach Lesotho. Our *umgwenya* never gave up hope and never spared their efforts. In that phase of our history we lost many comrades, among them Comrade Flag Boshielo, member of the NEC of the African National Congress and commissar in Umkhonto we Sizwe. In Portuguese-ruled Mozambique we joined forces with our brothers-in-arms, Frelimo, to probe our way into our country.

But the true epic of that period belongs to the effort we made in 1967 when, as a combined force of ANC and ZAPU fighters, we crossed the Zambezi into the then Rhodesia in order to hack a path home and for our brothers to entrench themselves in their mother country. That daring effort is known as the Wankie Campaign in which our combatants fought gloriously against the combined racist South African and Smith forces. How the enemy forces were rendered panic-stricken by the relentless courage of our combined forces who, on the banks of the Zambezi, before they marched into the hostile territory of Rhodesia, were named, in memory of our great leader, the late President-General of the African

National Congress, Chief Albert Lutuli, and who are known since then and for all posterity as the Lutuli Detachment.

Our Lutuli Detachment

In battle after battle the racist forces were overwhelmed by the courage and firepower of our gallant fighters. Many members of that indomitable detachment fell in battle. Their names are inscribed on the roll of honour of our revolution. On this day, every year, we pay special tribute to those illustrious combatants who fell on the sacred fields of Zimbabwe with the warrior cry, "Victory or Death!" on their lips: immortal fighters such as Peter Mhlongo, Delmas Sibanyoni, James Masimini and Basil February, who, in several battles, refused to retreat, fought the enemy to the last bullet: heroes such as Patrick Molaoa, President of the African National Congress Youth League, Michael Poo, Andries Motsepe, Jack Simelane and Gandi Hlekanié, all of whom gave their lives in the noble cause of our revolution.

In the unfolding of our revolution it became the sacred duty of Umkhonto we Sizwe to revive the spirit of revolt amongst our people. How Wankie revived the spirits of our people inside our country, restored courage in the face of repression and revitalised the revolution!

That role of Umkhonto we Sizwe has been emulated over and over again. Let us, on this occasion, salute the Lutuli Detachment whose members lie buried in many countries, whose members languish in prison and whose members even today serve in our front ranks. If the revolution survived those dark days, it survived to a significant extent because of our Lutuli Detachment.

At the same time our comrades who were incarcerated in the fascist prisons turned prison into a battleground. Cut off from the masses, they waged campaign after campaign and their invincible spirit flowed out of the prisons to inspire our people.

Activists who had been cut off by wave after wave of repression and activists re-emerging from the fascist prisons joined forces with a new generation of freedom fighters and set about organising the masses. The wave of strikes waged by our workers in 1973 became the precu-



Umkhonto we Sizwe is the solution.

sor of the Soweto explosion of 1976 that shook our country. From then on our revolution caught alight with renewed intensity.

The June 16th Detachment

The imperative of the armed struggle as the key component of our revolutionary way forward was burned into the minds of our Soweto generation by the savage massacres perpetrated by the racist soldiers and police. The brutal gunning down of 13-year-old Hector Petersen turned the protesting youth of 1976 into the warriors who flowed into the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, giving fresh impetus to our armed activities. Almost overnight the Soweto generation finally enabled us to breach the barriers by which the enemy had sought to separate us from the masses. The enemy now unwittingly threw into the ranks of the revolution an army of youth whose anger and courage knew no bounds. Within the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe and under the tutelage

of the *umgwenya* they proudly absorbed the heritage of struggle in our national liberation movement and were awarded the title of the June 16th Detachment. They were to be rapidly joined by the Moncada Detachment, who have been followed by detachment after detachment swelling the ranks of our revolutionary People's Army.

And what glorious pages they are writing!

In the decade since the Soweto Uprising Umkhonto we Sizwe has become entrenched inside our country. Combat operations have dramatically increased in number, in daring, audacity and sophistication. Our combatants, by our operations, have wrenched away the mask of invincibility that the enemy sought to wear. Inspiration and hope and the certainty of victory today surge through the veins of the masses of our people.

The catalogue of achievements is studded with the brilliant attacks on Sasol, the military head-

A priest leading mourners at the funeral of Matthew Goniwe. Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli. Cradock 1985.



no target that is impervious to our combatants, there is no area of our country beyond our reach and that the oppressor and his army will be conquered.

The Tradition of Courage

In this decade of mass revolt the traditions of the Minis have been re-lived by the Solomon Mahlangu, the Jerry Mosololis, the Marcus Motaungs and the Simon Mogoeranes, who have proudly faced Pretoria's hangmen, living up to our pledge: "Victory or Death!" On this day we solemnly recall those warriors who fell at Matola, Maseru and elsewhere, such as Motso Mogabudi, Mduduzi Guma, Krish Rabilal, Zwelakhe Nyanda, Nomkhosi Mini (daughter of Vuyisile), David Skosana, Titus Jobo and Harold Dantile (Morris). The spirit of the Patrick Molaoas and Basil Februarys who fell in Rhodesia has been relived by combatants who have fought it out to the last bullet or hand-grenade, comrades such as the Silverton heroes, Thami Makhuba, Wilfred Madela and Fani Mafoko, Linda Jobane — the Lion of Chiawelo — Khuduga Molokwane, the Dobsonville schoolteacher, and Clifford Brown.

We recall and salute Richard Molokoane (Barney), one of our most outstanding field commanders, who died with Victor Khayiyane and Vincent Sekete during a daring bid to attack Sasol once again with rockets, Linda Khuzwayo, who fell in Ingwavuma, Livingstone Gaza, Vincent Tshabalala, Lukas Njongwe, Eldridge Yakiti, Jerry Nene, Clement Molapo and Samule Segola, and many more courageous combatants who were prepared to welcome death in order that our people should be victorious. Their deeds shall inspire our army and our people for all time, and their spears have been picked up by others.

These events have an added dimension of significance. Between the Rivonia arrests and the Soweto Uprising, the question as to how to advance revolutionary warfare without safe rear bases in the neighbouring states appeared to elude practical answers. The renewed actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe on a sustained basis and the continuous upsurge of the masses provided the answer to this question and showed that our bases would, of necessity, have to be located among our people. Our theory and practice of revolutionary warfare came to be properly understood in terms of People's War.

quarters at Voortrekkerhoogte, the nuclear power station at Koeberg, the bomb blast outside the headquarters in Pretoria of the racist South African Air Force, the attacks on enemy communications, and the limpet and land mine attacks inside the borders and deep within the country. Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants merging with the combat groups that are springing up all over the townships have made grenade attacks an everyday event. Even John Vorster Square, the headquarters of the hated security police, has reverberated from the explosion of the limpet mine. At last enemy soldiers and police walk fearfully in our townships.

We have a long road ahead and many obstacles to overcome, but we can justly say that there is

2/10/85
10/10/85

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The Four Pillars of our Struggle

We have had to elaborate on concrete programmes that would enable the masses to be transformed into political revolutionary bases. It has also meant that we have had to develop a deep and thoroughgoing understanding of the interrelationships between the four pillars of our struggle, which we have characterised as the building of the underground network of our movement, the mass action of our people, the expansion of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside South Africa, and the further mobilisation of the international community, aimed at the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

MK has played and continues to play a crucial role in the development of our masses into political revolutionary bases. Without the all-round active participation of the masses we cannot develop People's War in the fullest sense.

The revolt of the masses of our people has become a tidal wave which no amount of repression and violence is capable of containing. The State of Emergency — martial law in reality — has become a permanent instrument for the racists' uncertain survival. The masses have made our country ungovernable for the regime and rendered apartheid unworkable.

How far, then, are we from truly realising People's War? In our daily lives our people have abundantly demonstrated that apartheid has become intolerable. At the level of united mass action our people are surging ahead. Every organised formation of our people — our workers, our women, our rural people, our youth and students, the township residents, religious congregations and leaders, our teachers and those in various professions, our progressive Whites — are beginning to act in concert.

This is the true significance of our call to the people: **Every patriot a combatant — every combatant a patriot!**

Foundations of People's Power

We are witnessing today the masses steadily taking to arms; we are in the midst of death-defying deeds where combat groups, supported by the people, are erecting barricades, stringing barbed wire across roads, digging defence trenches, driving enemy forces into death traps, raining petrol bombs against armoured vehicles, arming themselves by dispossessing the enemy of his

weapons, ridding our townships of informers and collaborators, eliminating enemy personnel.

The full majesty of these actions lies in the determination of our people to lock in battle with the enemy forces and annihilate them physically.

MK units are today being welcomed and their leadership and guidance sought by our people. Side by side with this development, township after township is building the foundations of People's Power which are transforming them into fortresses of the revolution.

Through centuries of White domination our people have learnt how to die for a future. Today, even our eight-year-old children in the townships defiantly pit their strength against the might of the racist soldiers and police. The cream of our youth have begun to mobilise themselves into mass combat groups determined to ensure that the regime will never again restore its control over the lives and destiny of our people. The enemy forces are being compelled to recognise that the only cause that they have to defend is the survival of a dying order.

Make People's War a Reality

We who know how to die for the future can understand the majesty of our young lions who have taken to war and, side by side with Umkhonto we Sizwe, moved our masses to make People's War a reality. As a tribute to these heroic young lions, who are daily losing their lives, it is appropriate that we in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army, should, on this 25th anniversary of our foundation, pledge ourselves that they shall not die in vain.

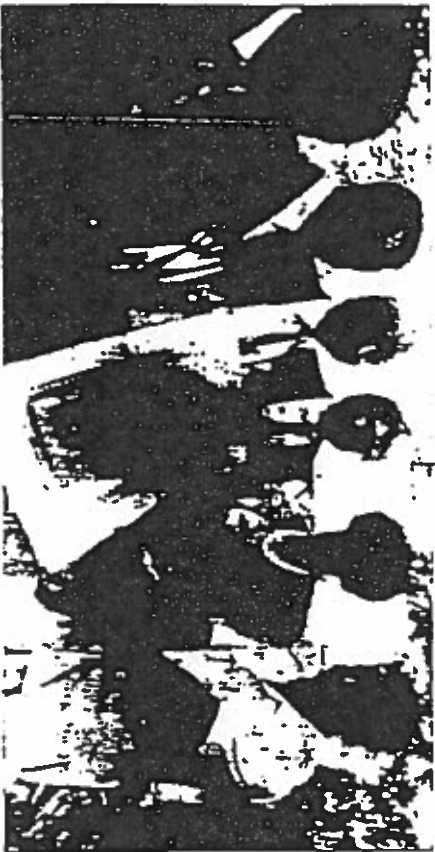
At this moment, as we reach into the high tide of our revolution, let us remind ourselves that we face a vicious and inhuman foe. Our enemy is now committed irrevocably to a course aimed at destroying the mass resistance of our people to the extent of perpetrating genocide. It has marshalled all its power to destroy Umkhonto we Sizwe, the African National Congress and its allies, within and outside our country. It has firmly set its course on marauding the independent states of Southern Africa in pursuit of reducing them to abject client states.

We cannot let this day pass without paying homage to that great son of Africa, our comrade-in-arms, the late President Samora Machel of

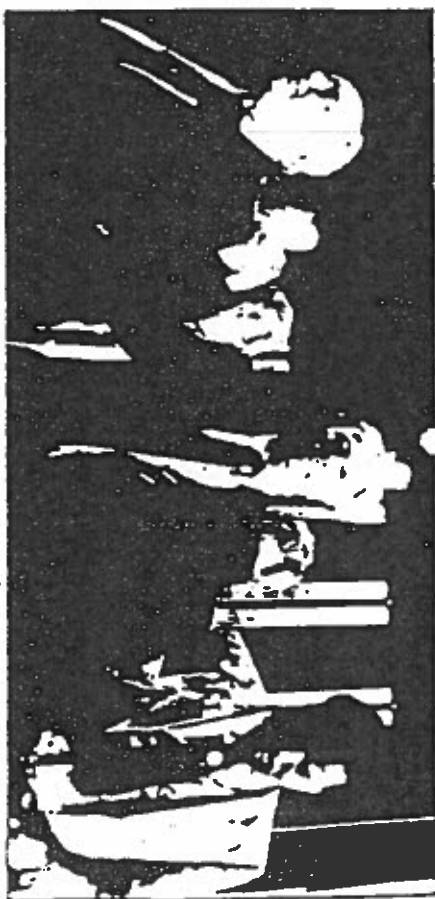
Continued on page 18

MARCH 21st - JUN DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACISM

People of the world show solidarity with the people of South Africa.



Members of the Commonwealth Secretariat present the Third World Prize to Nelson and Winnie Mandela in Soweto, May 1986.



Trade unionists unite: (left to right) Norman Willis, General Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress and Arthur Scargill, President of the British National Union of Mineworkers with James Malhotra, President of the South African National Union of Mineworkers, London, 1980.



The people of Britain demand sanctions against South Africa.



Demonstration in Zimbabwe after the death of Samora Machel.

Continued from page 15

Mozambique, cruelly murdered by the Pretoria regime. His life and his death symbolise the close unity in struggle of our peoples. MK combatants trained together with him and other Frelimo comrades: for years we shared the same military camps; at times we even shared the same trenches on Mozambican soil before its liberation. And he lost his life on South African soil at the hands of our common enemy. We pledge to bring his murderers to account!

In tribute to the independent states of Southern Africa and other states on our continent which have enabled us to become the force that we are, and at this moment when the racist army with the support of imperialism is threatening their independence and sovereignty, we make this pledge: We have always shared the common and noble ideal of freeing our continent of colonialism and racism. As we in Umkhonto we Sizwe tenaciously pursue the enemy in his den, wherever we find you, our friends and brothers, threatened, we shall unhesitatingly stand shoulder to shoulder with you in defence of your independence against this common enemy. We salute the independent states of Southern Africa fighting to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity!

We pledge our unity in battle with the heroic fighting people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO and its armed wing, PLAN!

Enemy Manoeuvres

We need to be ever-vigilant against every manoeuvre, not only to annihilate our movement but to deflect our people from the realisation of our goals.

They seek to entice us by demanding of the African National Congress that we 'renounce violence,' that we abandon the alliance with the South African Communist Party, and that we sever our relations with the socialist countries, in particular with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Cuba.

What do these demands amount to? What is the fundamental lesson that comes out of 25 years of existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe?

Our people have only been taken seriously, whether in Pretoria, London, Washington or Bonn, because of our armed activity. Combatants of MK, without you, our people and the leader

of our revolution, the African National Congress, would be a voice without force. Our history has taught us that people's power cannot come through a change of heart from the rulers.

Unity of Our Forces

Those who ask us to desert our allies ask us to forget the enduring bonds that we have developed together in the trenches. The South African Communist Party in particular is inextricably woven into the fabric of our struggle and by its commitment and actions earned itself the honourable place of being a worthy and indispensable component of the national liberation movement. As for the socialist countries, let it be said unequivocally that they have proved, by word and deed, that they are true friends of our people's cause; that without them and other friends Umkhonto and our national liberation movement, headed by the African National Congress, would not have become the force that we are today.

On this historic occasion let us pledge ourselves once more to the unity of our struggle, commit ourselves again to defend the Alliance and always uphold the fraternal bonds that unite us with the democratic and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

Let us repeat that we shall never allow Umkhonto we Sizwe to be emasculated! Our leaders in prison have repeatedly been offered their release if only they would renounce so-called violence. All the violence in our situation emanates from the racist regime. It is the racists who have to renounce violence, not us.

When we resorted to the armed struggle we said in our Manifesto that this choice is not ours, it has been forced on us by the violence of the apartheid state. Until our people have won their freedom there can be no turning back.

It was not by accident that we launched MK on December 16th. White South Africa observes that day as the triumph of its military might over our people. The violence that they celebrate is the violence of a minority aimed at subjugating the majority of the people of our country. It is a celebration of injustice and the inhumanity of man against man. We chose that day to show how different we were. We celebrate December 16, our Heroes' Day, to underline our commitment that we are waging a just war in pursuit of freedom, democracy and peace.

The funeral in Chesterville of Sibongile Mcunu, shot by the South African Police at the Metal and Allied Workers Union AGM, November 1986.



The racist regime is today trapped in irreversible crisis and our road to victory is open. The history of Umkhonto we Sizwe proves that there is no obstacle we cannot overcome.

In the course of this long march we have scored great achievements. We have also made many mistakes, but we are where we are today because we have always had the capacity to learn from our mistakes as well as from our achievements; to learn from our people as they learn from us.

We are born of the people. As long as we remain part of the people and move ahead with the people, victory is certain. Conditions have now matured in our country for us, together with our people, to mount an all-round offensive in order to advance to People's Power.

It is within this context that I now present you, our glorious People's Army, with your Battle Orders of the day:

I order:

- Train, arm and lead our people into battle;
- Defend our people in town and countryside;
- Sever the enemy's lines of communication and power;
- Disperse and immobilise the enemy forces;
- Destroy the enemy's economic resources;
- Attack the enemy on all fronts and annihilate his forces;
- Make People's War flourish in all its dimensions in every part of our country.

Victory or Death, we shall win!
 Forward to People's Power!
 Long Live the Alliance of our People!
 Long Live Umkhonto we Sizwe!
 Long Live the African National Congress!
 Amandla Ngawethu! Maatla ke a Rona!
 All Power to the People!
 Mayihlome Ke Nako!

GEHEIM

VEILIGHEIDSTAK, M/TVL
S.9/126
1983-05-27

MAJ. F.J.P. MEL

1983-05-29
OPERATIVE

D.2	Origin.
B.2	!

BROADCASTING CORPORATION (BBC)
1983-05-23 : FOCUS ON AFRICA
S. JULIAN MARSHAL (W/M R/F)
M NOMPATI (B/F) (S.4/2796)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)
(S.9/126)

1. On 1983-05-23 the BBC radio program "FOCUS ON AFRICA", the BBC reporter Julian MARSHALL (W/M) interviewed Ruth MOMPATI (B/F) Chief ANC representative in the UNITED KINGDOM.

2. The interview was conducted as follows :

A = Ruth MOMPATI

B = Julian MARSHALL

INTRODUCTION : So once again South African retaliation for ANC activities inside South Africa well as it turned out most of those killed in the PRETORIA bomb blast were civilians, many of them black. Julian MARSHALL asked Ruth MOMPATI, the ANC Chief Representative here if she regretted the car bomb attack.

A : I have no regrets about it because we are at war. The black people of South Africa have got every right to defend themselves against South African fascism.

B : But nonetheless in that bomb attack in PRETORIA on Friday there were a fairly large number of black civilian casualties. Isn't that a rather high price to pay?

A : It is also important to know that, that was a military target, that was the RAF (sic) Headquarters. So the target was not the people who were casualties but the military people. And this is ANC policy. We are sorry if some people were casualties but we are at war and our people are aware of this.

B : The action has in fact brought quite a lot of condemnation from black leaders inside South Africa - people like Bishop Desmond TUTU, for instance.

A : Yes it has, but what do you expect Bishop TUTU to say inside South Africa.

B : You don't think there's any sense in which this kind of action could possibly backfire and make the ANC an unpopular organisation amongst black civilians in South Africa?

A : You know if we had chosen people, if we had chosen soft targets it would have been very easy. It's very difficult to choose the type of target we are using. We can go to any cinema anytime, we can go to any concert hall, we can go to any football field but we don't do that because we happen to be a responsible organisation We choose targets that are important to the regime that is hard targets, military and economic. This is what we are against. We don't say there will be no casualties. There are our own young men, cadres are dying in this fight.

B : So we can expect to see more attacks of this kind on military and economic installations in South Africa?

A : That right.

3. IDENTIFICATION :

PERSONS :

MARSHALL, Julian

MOMPATI, Ruth

TUTU, Desmond

W/M

B/F

B/M

ORGANISATIONS :

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION (BBC)

DL.

INTERROGATION OF H. PASSTOORS BY CAPT. V. NIEKERK.

TAPE 1 SIDE 1

V = CAPT. Van Niekerk
H = Helene Passtoors

..... = Unclear

V - (Unclear) conclusion

"As for my involvement in the armed struggle, I used to be a convinced pacifist. Experience has taught me, however that armed struggle cannot always be avoided and then must be waged courageously. I am convinced that the ANC is a very responsible vanguard of the South African people and I believe that when MK was formed, there was no other choice than joint armed struggle to all the peaceful means of resistance who - by themselves - had proved not to lead to any results. I believe this position holds now as it did in the '60's: all around us we see peaceful resistance being repressed. This now gives way to the people fighting in the streets of the townships with whatever arms they can obtain. In this situation, which has become endemic"

What, What does that mean Helene?

H - Endemic is like epidemic. It's something that it's inside and it can't

V - You can't stop it.

H - can't stop it. It's always there. You can

V - Is the sun in your eyes?

H - No, it's OK. It can sometimes look as if, as if it's stopped but then it comes back again you see?

V - Yes

H -unclear

V - And won't stop, stop before ev, every

"South African has obtained full human and political rights I believe that the ANC should try and direct the people's struggle in order to obtain real change with the least bloodshed.

In other words, what my comrades and I most fervently hope and fight for is that the present government will soon either disappear or make a very decisive turnabout and - with the leaders of all the people of South Africa, not on its own - discuss and bring about the peace and friendship that we are prepared to die for. The struggle of, the structure of the text is as follows:

The first part of a brief confirmation with some more details whenever necessary" Right.

H - Now that should probably be in the in the introductions

V - Ja, I've got your introduction.

H -(unclear)...I should put introduction here?

V - Oh there it is. But then you can't, - this is just the -

H - Oh yeah.

- V - This is actually a forward, preliminary notes, a forward and transcript work I did between Kaputo and Swaziland, mainly during nineteen eighty four. The third part covers my ANC activities in nineteen eighty five, Introduction. Just tell me Helene, your, these views, uh, is that your own views or, as you were trained or as you came to, how, how did you come about these, this knowledge. 1984
- H - It is my own views. That's, that's what I mean. That's what I think.
- V - Does it form part of your training? I mean you were involved-
- H - I haven't done any, I haven't done any political training
- V - Alright, with your involvement with Joe Slovo and Ruth First(unclear).....through them did you gather some of this ideas.
- H - One would think so. Well I know the ANC better and that, and I can appreciate better why they have an armed struggle than before. I mean before, OK I ...(unclear)..... lets say, I hadn't gone into the reasons why and I hadn't understood as well, I mean I believe if you like. But I hadn't understood as well, why. You know, non violent means ...(unclear)....are not enough you see. That's what I'm saying. I'm not saying that they don't do anything, I'm saying they are not enough, you see? Ant that's something that I've learnt probably well I
- V - To a certain extent, they help you clear your mind of certain things
- H - No, That I mean I have always great difficulty to, understand something very well, if I haven't lived it from more or less close by, and I haven't you know I, I, need a long time to digest that you see. Now partially OK, it's been over the years, but partially you know after I came here, I can tell you that it's perhaps interesting for you. When I'd lived here in this, a bit liberal kind of environment, and I was busy with the MK activities more or less(Unclear).....There were moments when I thought now what am I doing actually, is it true that, that by peaceful means it isn't possible, is it, is it really true. Big meetings and things as you know people are very militant, and working hard and you knowbe as, a other people you hear. Beyers Naude, those people you hear. You know, Sheene Duncan you hear other non-people Unionist, and things and then you think, you know, is it really necessary, the armed struggle at a certain moment it looked way out, from the point of view of me at Wits, it looked as if it was not correct. See what I mean?
- V - Mm Mm
- H - So I was a bit confused and then, and I thought and I thought, and I thought, and I read and I asked people I mean I couldn't go to townships you see? Couldn't have you can't have a good idea of whats happening really. And I remember one day, it was beautiful weather and I just had to sit on the grass there for an hour or two, and I thought, I've got to think it out again. I'm getting confused. What am I doing? I mean I always had the freedom to stop. Is it true? you know, do we need that armed struggle I thought. And I sit down and I think and I think and I think(Unclear)..... that, this country what I have read in history ...(unclear) .. seen it over and over again, you see the movement, the UDF's and the other movements, the trade, the trade union na

....(unclear)... thinking of these organisations, that the same kind of reaction, same kind of thing, shooting in the townships, things you know, the repression, if something comes up, and if it wasn't for the armed struggle it wouldn't be I think as far as it was now you see. It wouldn't be

V - So you were thinking about this, this year. But now, this moment, you still think an armed struggle is necessary?

H - I still think that Ja. But I mean, I had doubts at a certain moment, and I think the doubts came out of the fact that, um I mean outside the country I was more in contact if, if you like, with what was happening in townships and, and that kind of thing, than here. You might think that's strange, but in a way it's true. You seewith other things also (unclear)would come from to aships you know it's different. Very different.

V - Tell me Helena, the armed struggle as such, if you talk about an armed struggle, do you only talk about arms as such, or what do you see in the armed struggle?

H - Well, in that thing there are actually two things, and I hope you get that out of it. Is the armed struggle as a means of, you know, as a political means(unclear).... it's just an, mostly actually armed propaganda it's, it's to say to people, listen, you know, we're strong, you can do it, you don't have to stay(unclear)....slaves and what have you. You don't have to accept it. If you're strong you can do even military, you know you think that you can't do it ... (unclear)... but the other thing, that I think is at the moment more most important, I don't knowin the ANC line, but that's what I think personally. Is that now the people are really fightingtends to become very anarchistic because there's no one to lead them Ja?

V - Is the I, the ANC behind the, the township riots and what would you say hey?

H - Well I think that the problem is that they're not, they're not strongly enough in the townships and they can't pick it up and organise it. I mean, get line into it, that is the big problem I think. The problem is that we're not there, enough, you see?

V - (Unclear)....

H - This kind of thing, you can have an uprising, a popular uprising(unclear)....and people get burned and die, and things and I don't know what, you see, for nothing.

V - Without and result -

H - And - Ja. End result. A big blood bath and, and nothing else, you see. If you let it go. That's my feelings.

V - But where, where -

H - And it's -

V - - where does the ANC stand. Doesn't, doesn't the ANC -

H - The ANC should now organise should be strong enough, to take up the movement, that partially they have, they haven't instigated like you would think, but partially it also through their struggle and the armed struggle, and the political struggle, the people have come to this kind of consciousness, and stage that they stay, you know, well it's a mutual thing. I mean the ANC is also the people, its rooted in the people, so they react(unclear).... you know it's(unclear)... but still as a vanguard, they're

...of this, Ja? They have raised the political consciousness, they have uh, stimulated the people, not the instigators in ...but the whole history of the movement, struggle, the thing the armed struggle, the political struggle, the support they gave and all kind of, you know, to do the support organisation, and do you trade unions, and do you community organisation, and do you trade unions, and do you and do that, and all the propaganda and everything. They have created a political consciousness and a threshold if like of, of anger, of, of capacity to cope with oppression, and people at a certain moment, that's it, you know. And it has been almost reached ... (unclear).... But now, if you think that just go into some kind of a bloodbath for nothing, I think that would be very irresponsible you see. Very bad. You can't respond to that. I think it's very necessary now that the ANC or whoever organises the township quickly

V - That the ANC do what?

H - Organise the township. Get them organised. The ANC or whoever you know.

V - How, how do you think are they gonna do that? to make them legal?

H - Do I mean they are, they say they are the vanguard right. So they should help at least, to, to get order and control everything back in the townships. Doesn't necessarily mean that the townships (unclear).... but that at least there is a co-ordinated effort and co-ordinated things, and the crime is not there anymore and it's organised things, and there I think a very big responsibility.

V - "I was recruited into the ANC in December 1981 by Joe Slovo who asked my then husband, Klaas de Jonge, and me to do reconnaissance work. I have never been a regular member of the ANC or taken part in the usual membership activities, including training."

H - Tell me Helene uh, you say you are not a regular member

H - Oh Ja, Oh no I should say that we have had the training by Tony. I have, I have forgotten that no, Ja? I have forgotten that.

V - (unclear) ... if you want to write that

H - That's further up in the introduction

V - What I what ... (unclear).... is a regular, regular member. I wanted to ask you a question of regular, your regular membership you talk hereof. Uh, you say you, you were you were, what do you say here? You haven't been a regular member. What type of a member were you then?

H - Mm, I don't know, they call it special category. Under cover agent probably. I don't know.

V - Wich in fact you were, an agent?

H - Well I don't know, how do you call that.

V - You worked for maybe the SACP or

H - I told you I'm not SACP.

V - Nonsense

H - I don't know whether, at a certain moment I wouldn't be included to be so.