



CHAPTER EIGHT

THE RECRUITMENT, TRAINING AND ARMING OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE'S CADRES

As has been the case with much of the history of Umkhonto and the ANC so far, the process whereby people were drawn into the armed struggle after 1961 and the training given to these people went through a number of development phases. The first major change to Umkhonto's recruitment and training of cadres came with the collapse of the underground in the mid-1960's and the assumption of control over the armed struggle by the ANC's Mission in Exile. With the destruction of Umkhonto and the ANC's underground structures inside South Africa by 1965, recruitment and training of cadres had to be done mostly from outside the country. This made matters difficult for the ANC, with the result that there was a corresponding decline in recruitment and the activities of Umkhonto inside the country. It is however doubtful as to whether the ANC and Umkhonto would have been able to deal with any large influx of recruits during these years. Indications are that its organisational infrastructure for the training of recruits from South Africa was almost non-existent in the mid-1960's, which means that at best it could only have accommodated a small number of recruits in these years. What is more, recruits too well qualified for Umkhonto's needs often had to be turned away and as such became permanently lost to both the ANC and Umkhonto, which could neither employ them or pay for their services.⁽¹⁾

The second major change came in the mid-1970's. Although some important changes were effected to the organisational structure and

1. The Daily News (Durban), 1990.04.10.



leadership of the ANC and Umkhonto at the Morogoro Conference in 1969, the indications are that the pattern of recruitment, although accelerated during the first half of the 1970's, remained more or less the same. The training of cadres for Umkhonto, however, had undergone some significant changes during these years. In 1964 the Soviet Union began to supply arms to the ANC. In the years that immediately followed Umkhonto made use of a variety of external training facilities, some in Africa and others outside the African continent, for the training of its cadres. Initially a large percentage of Umkhonto's cadres were also trained in training camps of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) between 1966 and the beginning of the 1970's, when it was discontinued as a result of internal problems in ZAPU. By this stage however the ANC-SACP alliance had also successfully established its own training camps in Tanzania and Zambia for the training of Umkhonto's cadres.

Although the recruitment of cadres continued inside South Africa after 1965 and trained guerrillas were infiltrated into the country from time to time, this was only on a limited scale. The growth and popularity of the Black Consciousness Movement inside South Africa since the late 1960's effectively helped to slow down the flow of recruits into the ranks of the ANC during these years, and it was only with the collapse of Portugal's colonial empire in Southern Africa in 1975 and the outbreak of the Soweto uprising in June 1976, that things dramatically changed in favour of the ANC and Umkhonto. The first development provided Umkhonto with much needed bases immediately across the borders of South Africa, while the second ensured it of a steady influx of new and highly motivated recruits. These developments also altered the pattern by which the ANC and Umkhonto had been recruiting as well as training people; whereas in the past it had to make use of deception, lies and often coercion to get people to leave South Africa and join the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, it could now take its pick from the hundreds of African youths who were almost daily leaving South Africa for the bordering states of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.



Although the influx of recruits from South Africa into the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto began to slow down towards the end of the 1970's, Umkhonto had by this stage sufficient trained cadres and several well established training camps in Angola and Zambia to restart and intensify the armed struggle in South Africa, which it in fact did by the beginning of the 1980's.

Although the influx of recruits from South Africa had substantially slowed down by the beginning of the 1980's the unrest that broke out in the mid-1980's and the manner in which the government dealt with the situation however soon led to a second major influx of new recruits into the liberation alliance.

This second influx of new recruits as well as the problems that the ANC-SACP alliance had been experiencing with regard to organisation and leadership, and the growing dissatisfaction that had been manifesting itself among the rank and file in Umkhonto's training camps in Angola since the latter part of the 1970's, eventually forced the ANC to convene a second National Consultative Conference at Kabwe in 1985. At this venue a detailed "Cadre Policy" dealing with virtually all aspects of ANC membership was adopted in an attempt to solve some of the organisation's pressing problems in this regard. At the same time, it was resolved that in future all members of the ANC-SACP alliance had to undergo both military and political training. It also called for the acceleration of Umkhonto's underground presence inside South Africa and the political education (training) of the masses to prepare them for a people's war.

During the second half of the 1980's however the ANC's campaign to recruit new members and to accelerate the training of cadres inside South Africa suffered a number of setbacks. The first was in January 1986 when the pro-ANC-SACP government of Leabua Jonathan in Lesotho was overthrown and replaced with a pro-South African military government under Major-General Lekhanya. By the end of February virtually



the entire complement of ANC and Umkhonto personnel in Maseru had been expelled from Lesotho. Although Lesotho was never a major factor in the recruitment of ANC Umkhonto personnel, the little recruitment that took place through the mountain kingdom almost completely ceased by the end of 1986.

The second major setback retarding the recruitment of cadres for Umkhonto was the State of Emergency announced by the South African government in 1985, which was renewed annually until 1990. The latter measure so inhibited the ability of the ANC and Umkhonto to strengthen their positions inside South Africa that Ronnie Kasrils, who was one of the senior leaders of Umkhonto, had to admit by the end of 1988 that the ANC could not escalate the armed struggle into a people's war because it was unable to rebuild its underground structure inside South Africa, or recruit sufficient numbers for Umkhonto.

The third factor which slowed down the rate at which the ANC and Umkhonto were able to recruit and organise inside South Africa was the signing of the New York Peace Accord in December 1988. The latter agreement virtually destroyed Umkhonto's ability to escalate the armed struggle inside South Africa. Umkhonto nevertheless attempted to continue with the armed struggle and to step-up its recruitment campaign inside the country, but this was not successful, partially because it could no longer utilise its bases in Angola. Although most of its cadres were transferred from Angola to camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia, indications were that the general atmosphere in Southern Africa was gradually changing in favour of a negotiated settlement in South Africa, which ultimately had a negative affect on both the recruitment and training of Umkhonto's cadres.

The unbanning of the ANC, the SACP and Umkhonto in February 1990, the release from prison of Mandela and others since then, and the return of virtually the entire Umkhonto leadership corps has since enabled the organisation to begin with the restructuring of its underground



presence inside South Africa and the recruitment of new cadres.⁽²⁾ However, the suspension by the ANC of the armed struggle early in 1991 meant that whatever organisational work Umkhonto was doing inside the country had to be done in such a way that it did not become a threat to the negotiating process that was underway at the time.

1. THE INTERNAL PHASE; 1961 - 1965

1.1 Recruitment

The banning of the ANC in 1960 brought fundamental changes to the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. These changes not only involved the altering of the organisational structure and leadership of the ANC but it also forced the ANC, in its alliance with the SACP, to adopt a whole new approach to the recruitment of members. Unable to operate above ground as it had done before April 1960, the ANC and the SACP were now forced to recruit people clandestinely through their underground structures. This, and the fact that membership of the ANC and the SACP was illegal and punishable by the law, led many sympathisers to question their continued membership of the ANC.

To many ANC members the lifestyle of an underground revolutionary was unacceptable, with the result that they left the organisation in the months that followed its banning in April 1960. According to Feit,⁽³⁾ many of the ANC's proclaimed 12 000 strong membership in 1960 were little more than fair-weather friends who were quite willing to remain part of the organisation while it was legal, but once the ANC became an illegal organisation they were not prepared to risk their lives or face the difficulties of an underground existence.⁽⁴⁾

2. The Daily News (Durban), 1990.05.02.

3. Feit, Urban Revolt in South Africa, p. 100.

4. Feit, Urban Revolt in South Africa, p. 100. See also Barrell, MK, pp. 9 - 10; Dawn, Souvenir Issue, pp. 1 - 21.

Consequently, the banning of the ANC in April 1960 subsequently left it with a much reduced membership and the difficulty to find suitable recruits to replace its lost members. The problem was however partially solved with the formation of Umkhonto in November 1961. Because of Umkhonto's multi-racial composition, recruits could be drawn from any of the country's racial groups, including Whites. Moreover, because of Umkhonto's special function, namely to commit sabotage, far fewer recruits were needed to make it functional than would have been the case with the ANC proper after 1960.

Because of its multi-racial character and its close ties with the underground SACP, most of Umkhonto's first recruits and leaders were initially drawn from the ranks of the underground SACP and SACTU, and the ANC. The only exception here was Natal, where hostility between the local leadership of the ANC in Natal and the NEC in Johannesburg over the use of violence, prevented the Regional Command of Umkhonto in the province to draw recruits from the ANC. As a result virtually no members of the ANC in Natal were members of Umkhonto. Attempts to correct the imbalance in 1963 and to involve the ANC in the affairs of Umkhonto came to nothing. Suggestions that Umkhonto should fill its quota of recruits from the ranks of the ANC's old volunteer corps or Amadelakufe also came to nothing when it was discovered that the latter corps had been disbanded in Natal shortly after the banning of the ANC.⁽⁵⁾

Several methods were used during the early 1960's to recruit people into Umkhonto and the armed struggle. While some potential recruits were openly told that they were being recruited for military training outside the country, the majority, it appears, were recruited into Umkhonto under false pretences. Some were told that they were being

5. Feit, Urban Revolt in South Africa, p. 178. See also Mtolo, Umkhonto we Sizwe, p. 73; Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa, pp. 70, 41 - 43. See also Barrell, MK, pp. 1 - 21.



recruited by the ANC to be sent out of the country for educational purposes. Others again were read passages from the scriptures to show that resistance to an oppressive government was justified in terms of the Bible. One example is the case of David Mataung. Having turned down an invitation to join Umkhonto and be sent out of the country for military training, Mataung was quoted a passage from Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, to prove to him that violence against the State was justified under certain circumstances. Faced with such a convincing argument, Mataung decided to join Umkhonto. For this purpose he attended a meeting at Eastwood near Pretoria, where he was inducted into the organisation.⁽⁶⁾

Outside Natal, recruitment into the ranks of Umkhonto was done through a number of organisations including the ANC. In the Eastern Cape region, for instance, where the relationship between the local ANC and Umkhonto was cordial, the leaders of the local ANC and the SACP-SACTU alliance were more often than not also the leaders of Umkhonto. Thus recruitment into Umkhonto was often no more than the re-allocation of members of the ANC.⁽⁷⁾

The following examples of actual people drawn into Umkhonto during the early 1960's will help to illustrate the various methods that were used by the ANC and the underground to recruit people. The first example involves the case of M. Magwayi⁽⁸⁾ and two others who were recruited into Umkhonto some time in 1964/65. According to "Oceanic" Ngoza, who gave evidence in the above trial, the ANC cell to which he belonged in Port Elizabeth was told by their zone leader that two of its members would soon be transferred to what he termed a "new branch" of the ANC. On this occasion the names of Ngoza and Magwayi were put forward as possible candidates for Umkhonto. The fact that Ngoza was not a member of the ANC's volunteer corps and that most recruits for Umkhonto were normally recruited from the

6. The Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 1964.08.25.

7. Felt, Urban Revolt in South Africa, p. 178.

8. Cape Regional Court, Port Elizabeth, Case RC 28/1965, The State against M. Magwayi and 2 others, p. 54. See also Felt, Urban Revolt in South Africa, p. 178.



volunteer corps in the Eastern Cape region, came as a surprise to Ngoza. As a result he accepted the nomination because of the prestige attached to it. To be a member of the ANC's volunteer corps was considered a special honour, particularly in the Eastern Cape where the corps had its origin in the 1950's. On the one hand only the best were recruited for membership of the corps while on the other hand membership of the corps was associated with a lengthy and sometimes emotional ceremony of allegiance and loyalty to the ANC. The ceremony which was normally held in an open space, such as a clearing in the bush or on a soccer or rugby field, was held in awe by most volunteers. At one such ceremony that was held in East London during 1963 and which took place on a golf course, a group of new recruits (the number is not known) were brought together to take an oath of allegiance to the ANC and sign an undertaking in which they made a solemn promise to obey the rules and aims of the ANC at all times and do whatever was required of them by the organisation, even murder. The oath normally took the form of a recruit raising his right fist in the air, saying "Amandle-Nga-Wethu", meaning, "The strength is ours". The ceremony was concluded with the singing of the ANC song, "Mayibuye i Afrika".

Not only did the volunteer corps' members participate in a distinctive ceremony upon induction, but they also had to fill in a lengthy questionnaire prior to taking the oath of loyalty. The questionnaire was a fairly detailed document designed to gain control over the recruit's life. Besides details such as name, age, educational qualifications, training and employment, details of a more intimate and personal nature were also requested. Once the questionnaires were completed they were carefully checked with the recruit who had to sign it in the presence of the recruiting officer once the latter was happy that it was properly completed. The oath of loyalty was so strong that once a man had become a volunteer he could no longer refuse an assignment. To do so could be considered treason and could result in a volunteer being executed by a fellow



volunteer.⁽⁹⁾

In a second case involving the recruitment of cadres for Umkhonto, two Africans were walking home in Duncan Village, near East London, in 1962, when they passed a house where singing was coming from. The house was that of Malcomess Kondoti, who was Chief Steward for the ANC in the area, and the songs were ANC songs.⁽¹⁰⁾

Interested in what was happening inside the house the two paid a small donation at the door and were allowed inside. Here they actively participated in the singing, which went on until dusk. At this point the women were asked to leave, and the men who remained behind were then informed that the gathering was in fact an ANC meeting and that the organisation was looking for recruits willing to fight for the liberation of Africans from the yoke of White domination. Both visitors were so inspired by Kondoti's speech that they signed up as members of the ANC. Over the next few weeks several meetings were held at Kondoti's house during which the aims and objectives of the ANC, particularly the need for armed struggle, were carefully spelled out. Those in attendance were told to begin arming themselves when they attended future meetings. They were told to be loyal to the ANC and its causes, and to pay their fees since money was desperately needed to continue with the struggle. After attending several further meetings, the new recruits were eventually told that they had been recruited for Umkhonto and would be sent out of the country for military training.⁽¹¹⁾

As pointed out above, some recruits were drawn into Umkhonto under false pretences. The case of Houghton Soci is a good example. Trained as a teacher at Lovedale Missionary School near Alice in the

-
9. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/1964, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of: Reginald Mdube, pp. 4 - 6, Bennet Mashiyana, pp. 10 - 11, and Raymond Mhlaba, pp. 61 - 70. See also Microfile, Johannesburg, Sundry Trials, State against Washington Bongco and 4 others, Evidence of Siduma Tana, pp. 333 - 349. See also Feit, Urban Revolt in South Africa, p. 180.
 10. The Daily Dispatch (East London), 1964.02.16.
 11. The Daily Dispatch (East London), 1964.02.16.



Ciskei, Soci was a prime candidate for Umkhonto. Towards the end of 1962 he was approached by Frederich Gqola, a member of the ANC in the Eastern Cape, who told him that since he was an educated man he should join a study group to expand his knowledge of "current affairs". Having decided that this was a good idea, Soci joined the group and was given a book entitled History of the March to Freedom to read. He was told that the aims and objectives of the "study group" were "to learn and teach politics in a secret method so that each and every one would be in future, in a position to teach others". He was also told that in time to come it would be necessary to send people out of the country for "training". He was not told what sort of training it would be nor did he ask. He simply accepted that it had something to do with the group he belonged to.⁽¹²⁾

In most cases where minors were recruited under the pretence of overseas scholarships they were told not to tell anyone, not even their parents, that they were leaving the country. They had to leave home without saying a word.⁽¹³⁾ The recruiters probably knew that once the parents found out where their children were going they would put a stop to it. It was also possible that it might come to the ears of the police.

With others again the approach was direct. They were told about South Africa's apartheid laws, the system of influx control, job reservation, low wages, and the influence that these measures were having on the inferior position of Blacks in the country. Once these things were explained, some listeners were eager to join Umkhonto and be sent out of the country for guerrilla training. To many, going overseas, writes Mtolo:

-
12. Supreme Court, Witwatersrand Local Division, Case 562/65, The State against Jackson M. Fuzili and 4 others, Statements made to the SAP by Houghton Soci, Exhibit 18, pp. 330 - 331.
 13. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Opening address Dr. P. Yutar, pp. 10 - 11; See also the Evidence of Isaac Rani, p. D21, and Alfred Jantjies, pp. c17 - 19; Mercer and Mercer, From Shantytown to Forest, p. 58.



was the adventure of a lifetime that might never come their way again. With many of the youngsters, it was not really the political feelings but rather a spirit of adventure that made them so keen to go overseas. The idea that they would come back as someone important encouraged many recruits to avail themselves of this opportunity for overseas training.⁽¹⁴⁾

There is also evidence that in some cases outright coercion was used to "persuade" recruits to join the organisation. This was particularly the case with recruits who were reluctant to leave the country for military training. According to Norman Dondashe, who was a long-standing member of the ANC, he was approached during the latter half of 1962 by a recruiting officer for Umkhonto. He was told to get in touch with William Mtwalo, who was a group leader for the ANC and presumably also one of the local leaders of Umkhonto in Port Elizabeth. On arriving at Mtwalo's house Dondashe was informed that he had been selected to join Umkhonto. Dondashe was not happy with this decision and told Mtwalo that he was not interested. In reaction to this he was told in no uncertain terms that unless he joined Umkhonto he would meet with an "accident"! Faced with such an unpleasant possibility Dondashe reluctantly made himself available for recruitment into Umkhonto.⁽¹⁵⁾

There is also the case of George Mokgoro, who had become so entwined in the complexities of South Africa's racial laws that the only way out of his problems was to join Umkhonto and leave the country. Born on the African reserve of Smithsdrift near Kimberley, Mokgoro, like many other Africans in the region, went to work on the mines near Kuruman in the Northern Cape to support his family. He later returned to the reserve but found it impossible to make a living. He then decided to move to Kimberley. But here he was soon arrested for

-
14. Mtololo, Umkhonto we Sizwe, p. 52. See also Supreme Court, Witwatersrand Division, Case 562/65, *The State against J.M. Fuzili and 4 others*, Statement made to the SAP by J.F.Z. Tangala, Exhibit 19, pp. 335 - 338, and the Evidence of William Senna, pp. 196 - 197.
 15. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, *The State against N. Mandela and others*, Evidence of N. Dondashe, p. G57.



not having the necessary documentation to be in the area. He was given a suspended sentence and ordered to return to Smithsdrift. Knowing that he could not make a living there he moved to Johannesburg where before long, he found himself in the same predicament as in Kimberley. He was arrested by the Johannesburg Municipal Police because he did not have the right documentation and ordered back to the Smithsdrift reserve. Thus, as far as Mokgoro was concerned, he had a limited choice. He could return to the reserve and face starvation or he could go back to Kimberley and be arrested for illegal entry. While there may have been other choices open to Mokgoro such as returning to his former mining job in the Northern Cape, to him the future was bleak and in his distress he turned to the local ANC for help. The latter was eager to help but only if Mokgoro made himself available for military training overseas. Mokgoro was not happy with this solution, but since he could see no other way out of his problem he decided to comply with the request. Like many recruits before him, Mokgoro was arrested at the Bechuanaland border while attempting to leave South Africa in 1965.⁽¹⁶⁾

Exactly how many people were recruited into Umkhonto during the internal phase of the armed struggle is difficult to say. According to Barrell,⁽¹⁷⁾ the ANC (Umkhonto) had about 800 guerrilla trainees in camps in Africa and outside the continent by 1965. A second source estimated that a maximum of 1 000 members of the ANC-SACP alliance had left South Africa between 1960 and 1965. According to the same source "Many of these people, ... especially those with advanced education and training, such as doctors, were however lost to the organisation because they did not fit the mould of young men wanting to enlist for military or other training."⁽¹⁸⁾

-
16. Supreme Court, Witwatersrand Local Division, Case 562/65, The State against J.M. Fuzili and 4 others, Evidence of G. Mokgoro and Peter Metshana, pp. 51 - 55, 178 - 186.
 17. Barrell, MK, p. 19.
 18. The Daily News (Durban), 1990.04.10 (ANC Builds from Within).

According to the evidence of Essop Suliman who operated a mini-bus taxi business from Orlando township, he transported some 360 people between June 1962 and June 1963 from Johannesburg to the Bechuanaland border. Most of these people were being sent out of the country by the ANC for military training.⁽¹⁹⁾ Although Suliman was one of the ANC's chief sources of transportation in Johannesburg and between Johannesburg and the Bechuanaland border it was highly unlikely that he was the organisation's only source of transport. Moreover, not everyone who joined the ANC and Umkhonto between 1961 and 1965 left South Africa via Johannesburg or were taken to the border by Suliman. Many also left the country under their own power via either Basutoland or Swaziland.

Whilst inside South Africa most recruits were transported by rail or by car from the provinces to Johannesburg, which served as the major point of departure for recruits leaving the country. Upon arrival in Johannesburg, if everything went to plan, they were received by a member of the underground and transported by car to S.K. House, which belonged to an African herbalist named English Mashiloana. Once a sufficient number of recruits had been assembled at S.K. House and the necessary travelling arrangements had been made, they were transported by car or by Suliman's taxis from Johannesburg to the Bechuanaland border. According to Suliman's evidence, which in court was sometimes described as unreliable and inaccurate, it appears that he was approached towards the middle of 1962 by a Coloured man named Gerald Lockman, who told him to contact Walter Sisulu at his legal offices in Marcosa House in Commissioner Street, Johannesburg. Suliman duly contacted Sisulu, who told him that the ANC needed his taxi service to transport people to the Bechuanaland border on an irregular basis. Suliman agreed to this and the first group of recruits left S.K. House in his taxis during June 1962. Suliman was also responsible for transporting delegates from South Africa to the ANC's first National Congress held in exile in Bechuanaland towards

19. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of Essop Suliman, pp. 70 - 86.

the end of 1962. According to Suliman he undertook some twelve trips for the ANC to the Bechuanaland border to drop off people. On each of these journeys which began in June 1962, he took twenty or more people. The last trip he made in June 1963 and it involved four mini-busses. On this journey he was arrested by the police.⁽²⁰⁾ It has been estimated that approximately one half of those people recruited and sent out of South Africa between 1962 and 1963 had been arrested either by the South African police while leaving or re-entering the country, or by the Rhodesian authorities while in transit through that country.⁽²¹⁾ In most cases the recruits or trained guerrillas were arrested not due to good police work or surveillance, but because they either acted suspiciously, got themselves lost or became stranded somewhere along the route because someone in the ANC had failed to make the proper arrangements for transportation from one destination to another. Generally, the routes followed by the underground to move recruits in and out of South Africa were from Johannesburg to the Bechuanaland border via Krugersdorp, Koster and Swartruggens or alternatively, via Rustenburg. The crossing of the border into Bechuanaland normally took place in the vicinity of Lobatsi. Once across the border, which in most cases presented no real problems, the recruits were met by officials of the ANC who then escorted them to the Bechuanaland immigration offices in Lobatsi to be registered.⁽²²⁾ As soon as the latter formality was completed they were taken on the next stage of their journey. The route most commonly used to take the recruits from Lobatsi to Dar-es-Salaam was the one that crossed the Bechuanaland-Rhodesian border near Plumtree in Southern Rhodesia. From there the recruits travelled by road or

-
20. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of Essop Suliman, p. 85. See also the cross-examination of Suliman, pp. C1 - 6 and D1 - 5.
 21. Horrell, Action, Reaction and Counter Action, p. 86.
 22. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of E. Suliman, pp. C1 - 6, D1 - 5 and the Evidence of Harry Bambane, pp. D5 - 8; Microfile, Johannesburg, Case SHJ 241/1963, The State against Joe Gqabi, Evidence of Gladstone Makamba, pp. 3 - 28, and Freddie Tyule, pp. 50 - 65, 67 - 96.



rail to Bulawayo, and then further north to Salisbury (the present day Harare) and from there across land to Northern Rhodesia (the present day Zambia), or alternatively to Livingstone in the southern part of Northern Rhodesia. They then headed for Lusaka, Tundama and the Tanganyika border. Once they had crossed the border into Northern Rhodesia they were aided by the United National Independence Party (UNIP) of Kenneth Kaunda, who provided transport and other facilities. When the route through Plumtree became too dangerous during 1963, a new route was brought into operation, that took the recruits from Lobatsi across Bechuanaland to Kasendala in the north, and from there across the Zambezi River by ferry or boat into Northern Rhodesia. Here they were met by members of UNIP,⁽²³⁾ who provided them with the necessary transport for the rest of their journey to Dar-es-Salaam.

Later on, when the overland route from Bechuanaland became too dangerous because too many recruits were being arrested by the South African and Rhodesian security police, new recruits from South Africa were transported by air from Bechuanaland to Dar-es-Salaam. This was however an expensive method of transport: at about R30 000 a flight⁽²⁴⁾ it is doubtful whether too many batches of recruits were taken out of Bechuanaland in this manner. According to Joe Modise, the ANC was aware that "we would not be able to use charters for a long time, firstly because South Africa and the British would exert pressure on the owners, and, secondly, [because] they were very expensive, we reconnoitred a route to Kazangula." According to Modise

-
23. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of Harry Bambane, pp. D5 - 8. Alfred Jantjies, pp. C7 - 9 and Isaac Rani, pp. 23 - 26. See also Microfile, Johannesburg, Case SHJ 241/1963, The State against J. Gqabi, Evidence of Gladstone Makamba, pp. 13 - 18, 23 - 49, and Freddie Tyule, pp. 50 - 65, 67 - 96.
 24. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Opening Address by Dr. Percy Yutar, p. 1. See also Mtolo, Umkonto we Sizwe, p. 75.



the latter route later became the main route whereby recruits for Umkhonto were taken out of South Africa. From Kazangula, recruits went to Livingstone where they were helped by members of the Zambian United Independence Party of Kenneth Kaunda.⁽²⁵⁾

As stated above, a fair number of recruits for Umkhonto also left South Africa via the (then) High Commission Territories of Swaziland and Basutoland.⁽²⁶⁾ Many of those who left via Basutoland eventually also ended up in Bechuanaland from where they followed the various routes to Zambia and Dar-es-Salaam. Thus with the exception of Swaziland from where recruits were sent to Mozambique and from there to Dar-es-Salaam, most recruits for Umkhonto in the early 1960's left South Africa via Johannesburg and Bechuanaland for Zambia.

With the discovery of the Rivonia headquarters in mid-1963 and the eventual collapse of the underground inside the country that followed, the recruitment and transportation of recruits from South Africa came to a virtual standstill as cadres and leaders in the underground began to leave the country themselves in order to escape arrest.

1.2 Training

Although Umkhonto was internally-based and the armed struggle was controlled and directed from inside South Africa between 1961 and the end of 1965, most recruits were sent outside the country for military training. Only a handful were trained inside the country due to the obvious dangers involved in doing so. Mandela's departure from South Africa in January 1962 was directly linked to the need for facilities for the training of Umkhonto we Sizwe's recruits outside the country. In the early 1960's, before the ANC had any formal training camps outside South Africa, recruits from South Africa were trained in a

25. Dawn, Souvenir Issue, p. 12.

26. Feit, Urban Revolt in South Africa, pp. 251 - 253.



number of countries and facilities ranging from Communist China in the East and the Soviet Union and its East Bloc partners in Europe, to Cuba in the west. Cadres also received training in a number of African countries, the most notable among them being Algeria, Tanzania and Ethiopia. (27)

However, not all cadres were trained outside the country. This was particularly the case with those who were selected in 1961 to form Umkhonto and who came to form its initial leadership core. Most of these first recruits who set up Umkhonto in November 1961 were trained by members of the SACP. We will refer to this training as internal training to distinguish it from the external training given to later recruits.

1.2.1. Internal Training

The internal training of Umkhonto's first cadres was a two-fold exercise, namely informally, whereby instructors were sent down from Johannesburg to train members of Umkhonto in the provinces, or where people from the provinces were sent to Johannesburg to receive basic instruction in some or other aspect of sabotage or underground work; and in a more formal manner which saw special training camps being set up and run by the ANC and the SACP for the basic selection and training of cadres for Umkhonto. The latter type of training, was however, not a common phenomenon as it was far too risky to operate internal training camps on a regular basis. (28)

1.2.1.1. Informal Internal Training

Informal internal training was by far the most common form of training that was given to the leaders and cadres of Umkhonto in the early 1960's. In his evidence before the Rivonia court in 1963/4 and later again in his book on the history of Umkhonto in Natal, Mtolo claimed that with the formation of Umkhonto in November 1961, members

27. Dawn, Souvenir Issue, p. 12.

28. Dawn, Souvenir Issue, pp. 16 - 17.



of the NHC in Johannesburg were sent down to instruct them in the manufacturing of explosives and explosive devices. On one occasion he was summoned to Johannesburg by the NHC to be instructed in the latest technique for the manufacturing of explosive devices. On this particular occasion he was instructed by Elias Motsoaledi (who was one of the accused in the Rivonia Trial) on how to make a black powder (gun powder) and termite bomb.⁽²⁹⁾ Motsoaledi instructed him, for instance, to make use of an electric stove rather than a coal-fired stove because a single spark could ignite the mixture. On his return to Durban Mtolo was given permission by the Regional Command to purchase the necessary chemicals to construct the type of bombs that he had been shown in Johannesburg. Mtolo later prepared an explosive device which he successfully exploded in a vacant lot in Bank Road, near Chesterville, just outside Durban.⁽³⁰⁾

Although training sessions such as these took place from time to time they were the exception rather than the rule, as it was generally too dangerous if not impractical for the NHC to conduct training sessions in Johannesburg involving a number of people at a time. It was far safer to send instructors such as Harold Strachan, Percy John Hodgson and others from Johannesburg to the provinces to train people in the manufacture and use of explosives and explosive devices.

The training given to Umkhonto operatives during the early 1960's was rather basic and primitive in comparison with the training given to cadres and the types of equipment used by them in the 1980's. Most of the explosives and explosive devices used by Umkhonto during the first half of the 1960's were largely home-made, crude and not very effective. Although dynamite was used by the underground it was not a common occurrence since it was difficult to obtain.

Generally, very few of the people selected or appointed to serve as Umkhonto's "explosive experts" in the provinces knew anything about

29. Mtolo, Umkonto we Sizwe, pp. 62 - 63.

30. Mtolo, Umkonto we Sizwe, pp. 62 - 63.



their subject or the dangers involved in the use of the various types of explosives, particularly dynamite. For instance, when the Regional Command in Durban was instructed some time between 1962 and 1963 to locate dynamite for sabotage, Mtolo together with Nair and Kasrils went on a dynamite-stealing expedition. In the 1960's dynamite used by construction companies, especially for road construction, was stored in brightly-painted wooden pillar boxes in the countryside away from buildings or inhabited areas. Surrounded only by a single fence (not even a security type of fence), these storage "depots" were easily accessible to anyone who wished to break into them. It was one of these storage depots that Mtolo and company decided to raid in their search for dynamite. According to Mtolo, once they had forced the doors on the wooden containers that housed the dynamite, the latter together with some Cordtex cord was loaded into the boot of their car and the rest was placed on the back seat, presumably unprotected. The dynamite was then transported to the house of George Naicker in Malvern. Not knowing much about dynamite or how it should be used in the manufacturing of bombs, Kasrils was sent off to the Durban Municipal Library to find a book on the subject. From this they learned that dynamite was a highly dangerous and volatile substance and had to be handled with extreme care.⁽³¹⁾ Mtolo writes:

When he [Kasrils] mentioned the danger that we had run, from the time that I had forced the doors of the boxes with a crowbar to the car journey and the dumping in the garage, I was horrified.

But what made him even more aware of how lucky they were, was the fact that he, Mtolo, had been sitting on top of the dynamite in the back of the car.⁽³²⁾

Although the latter incident does not really fit the description of "training", it does indicate the haphazard way in which some Umkhonto

-
31. Mtolo, Umkonto we Sizwe, pp. 30 - 33. See also Dawn, Souvenir Issue, pp. 17 - 18.
32. Mtolo, Umkonto we Sizwe, pp. 30 - 33. See also Dawn, Souvenir Issue, pp. 17 - 18.



cadres and leaders in the early 1960's went about preparing themselves for the sabotage campaign ahead, as well as the way in which they acquired some of their knowledge on explosives and explosive devices. With the information they so dangerously obtained Mtolo and others were, however, able to teach new recruits in the art of bomb-making. Having become quite experienced in the manufacturing of explosives, Mtolo was made the chief training officer for the Durban Regional Command, and probably also for the rest of Natal.⁽³³⁾ On occasion he was sent as far as Bergville in north-eastern Natal to train people specially selected for the task. Thus, while cadres such as Kasrils, Nair, Curdnick Ndhlovu and others were responsible for the political training of recruits, Mtolo's task was to train cadres to become proficient in the manufacturing and use of bombs for sabotage.

1.2.1.2. Formal Internal Training

As indicated above, not all the training of cadres followed an informal pattern and some special training camps were set up inside South Africa for formal guerrilla institutions and selection of cadres for overseas training and presumably, also for internal work. One such training camp was that uncovered by police at Mamre towards the end of December 1962.⁽³⁴⁾ This particular camp, which started the day after Christmas and which was directed by "Comrade Commandant" Dennis Goldberg, and Looksmart Saulwandle Ngundle, his second-in-command, was designed to serve as a preliminary facility for the training and selection of cadres for Umkhonto and for overseas training. Ngundle, who had the rank of "Comrade Sergeant" was the leader of Umkhonto in Cape Town. His position was therefore similar to that of Curdnick Ndhlovu in Natal.

33. Mtolo, Umkonto we Sizwe, pp. 26 - 27.

34. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Opening Address Dr. P. Yutar, p. 10. See also in the same trial the evidence of Pieter Louw, Superintendent of the Department of Coloured Affairs, Mamre, p. H52. See also Dawn, Souvenir Issue, pp. 16 - 17.



According to one of the recruits, Caswell Nboxele,⁽³⁵⁾ who attended the Mamre camp, he was approached by Teddington Nquaby (probably a recruiting officer for Umkhonto in the Western Cape) sometime in December 1962, and asked whether he wanted to go on a week's "picnic". He was told to bring his own bedding and an extra set of clothing, but not to worry about food as this would be provided by the organisers of the event - he had to pay for transport however. The following day he went to the house of Nquaby. From here, together with others, he was taken to an empty house where they met more recruits. The party of recruits then travelled on foot to the Nyanga East bus terminus where they waited for a further group of recruits to join them. Once those recruits, who were from Nyanga West, arrived they were all taken by car to Mowbray station where they met Ngundle as well as a third group of recruits. At this stage they numbered seventeen. They were later joined by a further group of six recruits as well as Goldberg, who accompanied the truck that came to fetch them from the station. From Mowbray station the group travelled to Landsdowne where they picked up more recruits as well as four tents, which made it five tents with the one already in the truck. They also loaded a car engine.⁽³⁶⁾

To keep the camp secret the tents were set up some distance away from the road behind some large bushes. Once everything was in place, the recruits were paraded by Goldberg who divided them into 6 groups and told them to call one another "comrades". Ngundle acted as interpreter. Each of the six groups consisted of four recruits and they had to appoint a "Comrade Sergeant". They were further told by Goldberg that the camp was arranged by the ANC and that he was acting on instructions from "higher authority". He also told them that there were other "camps" in South Africa, like Mamre.

-
35. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of C.Z. Nboxele, pp. D12 - 13.
36. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of C.Z. Nboxele, p. D13.



As Mamre was a military training camp the recruits were told that everything in the camp would be done under strict discipline. Anybody disobeying instructions or breaching discipline would be punished. This, they were told, was necessary if they were to learn the skills needed to fight the White people in South Africa. Guards were posted at night to warn against any possible intruders.

The training programme scheduled for the three weeks was very ambitious. It included, among other things, lectures on politics, economics, the workings of the internal combustion engine, first-aid, the use of field telephones and judo classes. The latter was conducted by a Coloured, Cyril Davids. During lectures on politics and economics the recruits had to listen to political recordings and sing freedom songs such as "Follow, Follow Luthuli" and "Come, Come Mandela". They also had to listen to the radio and make notes on anything to do with "liberation" and "freedom". These notes were later discussed around the campfire. They also received lectures on guerrilla warfare and the teachings of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. (37)

The Cuban revolution and the particular role that Fidel Castro played in it was apparently a popular subject with Goldberg. In addition to the various lectures, they also had to do physical training every morning. This, Nboxele told the court, was to get them fit to fight the Whites in South Africa when "the time comes for it". (38)

On 29 December, Albie Sachs, a lawyer from Cape Town, arrived at the camp to deliver a lecture on economics and politics. On the same day the local superintendent of the Coloured Affairs Department of Mamre was instructed by the secretary of the Department to investigate the camp. Uncertain as to what he might find at the camp, the superin-

-
37. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, p. D13.
38. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of C.Z. Nboxele, pp. D15 - 16.



tendent took some policemen with him. On their arrival at the camp they were met by Goldberg and Sachs who initially refused to identify themselves. The police took one look at the set-up and decided to return for reinforcements. As soon as the Coloured Affairs Superintendent and the police had left the camp the recruits were told by Goldberg that their camp was illegal and that they had to make a fire to burn some of the documents and notes in the camp. Some of the equipment used in the camp such as a typewriter and a roneo machine, were put in Sachs' car. They were still busy with this when the police returned to search the camp. Later on more police arrived and these, together with the first group, took Goldberg, Davids and Sachs back with them to Mamre police station. Once everyone had gone Ngundle told the recruits that the "Comrade Commandant" and the others had been "arrested", and that since there was nothing they could do, they should cook some food and play football. Later a large contingent of police arrived, who took down the names and particulars of the recruits.⁽³⁹⁾

The recruits remained at the camp until the Sunday when Goldberg (he had not been arrested as Ngundle told the recruits, but was only questioned by the police) returned with a truck to take them back to Cape Town.

Although the Mamre camp was the only one ever discovered by the police, there is evidence that suggests that it was not the only camp of its type run by the underground in the Cape in the early 1960's. According to Nboxele, after the Mamre incident he was approached on at least two more occasions to attend similar training camps, but declined to do so. On both occasions Ngundle was the contact.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Whether similar camps were also run by the underground in other parts of the country such as the Eastern Cape, is not clear. There is no

39. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of C.Z. Nboxele, pp. D17 - 20, and Superintendent P. Louw, pp. H52 - 55.

40. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of C.Z. Nboxele, pp. D19 - 20.



evidence to suggest that this was indeed the case, yet it does not necessarily mean that such camps did not exist. According to Mtolo the ANC in Natal, for instance, had a group of volunteers who drilled every Sunday.⁽⁴¹⁾ While little else is known about this latter group, it is unlikely that they would have received only drill instruction without some or other form of political education.

With the destruction of the underground by the mid-1960's, however, virtually all internal training, whether formal or informal, ceased due to the increased danger involved and the lack of people to undergo such training.

1.2.2. External Training (See DIAGRAM K)

Although many of the initial leaders and recruits of Umkhonto were trained inside South Africa in the basic skills of underground work and sabotage, the majority of cadres and later leaders of the organisation were sent for training outside the country after early 1962. Most of the acts of sabotage committed immediately before and after 16 December 1961 were thus committed by leaders and cadres trained inside the country and with explosives and explosive devices manufactured locally. The picture as to when the first groups left the country for military training and how many left is not entirely clear. Some sources indicate that the first recruits for Umkhonto left around April/May 1962 while other sources suggest that the first group of recruits left the country in January 1962 after they had a secret meeting with Mandela, the Commander of Umkhonto. According to the latter source although most of the groups who were sent out of the country in early 1962 were under the impression that they were being selected for military training, some apparently were being sent out of the country for specific academic purposes. One particular group that was recruited for Umkhonto was apparently told by Mandela

41. Mtolo, Umkonto we Sizwe, p. 55.



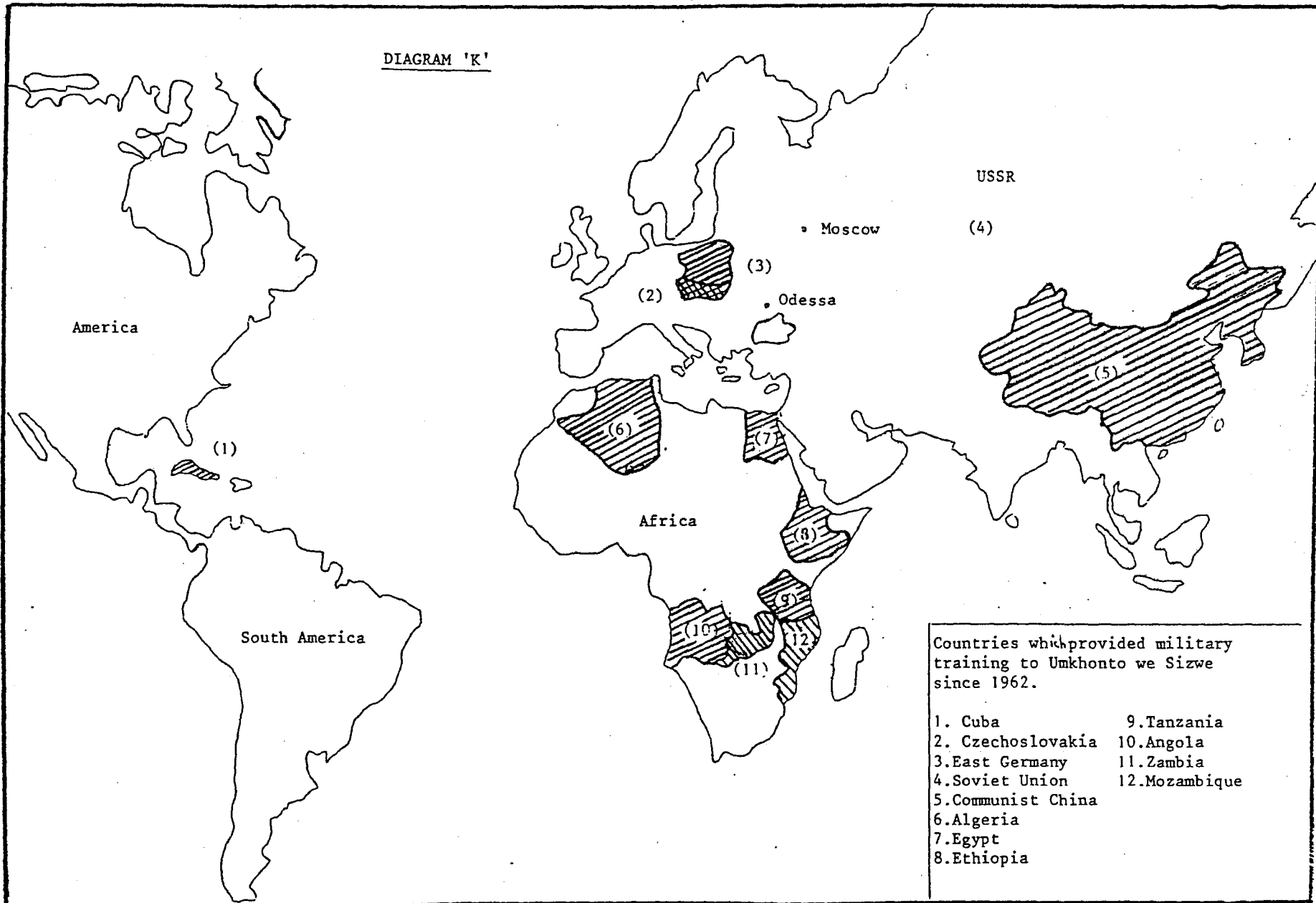
in January 1962 that they had been selected, not for military training but to "study" in the Soviet Union.⁽⁴²⁾ However it can be assumed that although some recruits were sent out of the country for academic reasons, the majority after January 1962 were sent out to undergo guerrilla training in African countries to the north. This was particularly so after Mandela had met with a number of African leaders during his African tour and had made arrangements for the training of Umkhonto's cadres. Mandela himself underwent a crash course in guerrilla training at Aijda in Algeria during the first half of 1962. By mid-1963 more than 300 recruits, according to Barrell, had been sent out of South Africa to receive military training.⁽⁴³⁾ This figure corresponds closely to that mentioned by Essop Suliman at the Rivonia trial in 1963/4 referred to above.

By 1965 the ANC and Umkhonto had about 800 guerrilla trainees outside South Africa, based at camps in Tanzania (where Umkhonto were sharing facilities with ZAPU), or undergoing military training courses in, among other places, the Soviet Union (Odessa), Czechoslovakia and (until the Sino-Soviet split) China. Umkhonto cadres also received training in Algeria, Ethiopia and Egypt. Tanzania however seemed to have been the main source of training for most of Umkhonto's early cadres. Joe Modise was made commander of Umkhonto in 1965 after the arrest of the internal leaders of the ANC and Umkhonto and the collapse of these two organisation's combined underground structures inside South Africa.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The general impression regarding the training of Umkhonto's cadres in the early 1960's is that only the brightest and more able of recruits were sent abroad to Cuba, the Soviet Union, China or elsewhere for military training while the rest were being trained on African soil by Soviet, Cuban or Algerian instructors in the art of guerrilla

-
42. The Daily News (Durban), 1990.04.09 (ANC old guard turns back the clock).
 43. Barrell, MK, p. 13.
 44. Barrell, MK, pp. 18 - 19. See also Dawn, Souvenir Issue, p. 12; The Daily News (Durban), 1990.04.09 (ANC old guard turns back the clock).

DIAGRAM 'K'





tails), the cutting of telephone and other types of communications and the burning of sugar cane. Although the explosive devices described above were popular with Umkhonto guerrillas in the early days of the armed struggle, these crude devices were extremely dangerous and unstable. Several of the early guerrillas lost their lives due to these bombs exploding unexpectedly. Johannes Molefe was for instance blown up in December 1961 when the explosive device he was carrying exploded. A second guerrilla who was with him suffered serious burns on his hands and face.⁽⁴⁹⁾

But explosive devices such as those referred to above were not the only type used by Umkhonto during the early 1960's. By 1962 the organisation was also making use of dynamite stolen from storage depots at road working camps, construction sites as well as small quantities that the organisation obtained from sympathetic mine-workers.⁽⁵⁰⁾ But since dynamite was difficult to obtain and not always available plans were drawn up towards the end of 1962 for the clandestine manufacturing of massive quantities of explosives, explosive devices, timers and hand grenades. Goldberg was in charge of this operation. Exactly how far they had progressed with these plans by the middle of 1963 was not clear but according to Slovo they had found a way of doing it successfully, using local materials. One can therefore assume that an attempt would have been made to manufacture these explosives had it not been for the discovery of the Rivonia underground headquarters, and the subsequent destruction of the internal structures of the ANC-SACP alliance and Umkhonto by the mid-1960's.⁽⁵¹⁾

-
49. Dawn, Souvenir Issue, p. 8; See also Mtolo, Umkonto we Sizwe, p. 22.
50. Dawn, Souvenir Issue, p. 17.
51. Dawn, Souvenir Issue, pp. 24 - 25.



2. THE EXTERNAL PHASE, 1965 - 1988

2.1 Recruitment

2.1.1. The Period 1965 - 1976

The discovery of the combined underground headquarters of the ANC, the SACP and Umkhonto at Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia in June 1963 and the action taken by the state and the police, virtually destroyed the ANC and the SACP's recruitment campaign in the country. It also brought all internal training to a standstill. With most members of the underground in deep hiding or having left the country, it is doubtful whether the ANC or Umkhonto were in any position to do any meaningful recruiting between 1963 and 1965. According to information that was recently released on developments in the ANC during these early years, it has been estimated that approximately a thousand people had left South Africa between 1960 and 1965 and that the figure sharply declined thereafter.⁽⁵²⁾

This means that if all the people who had left South Africa between 1960 and 1965 had joined the ANC in exile, the organisation probably had in the region of a thousand people in exile. It is, however, doubtful whether all those who had left South Africa during the first half of the 1960's actually joined the ANC's Mission in Exile. This means that the organisation probably had less than a thousand people living in exile by the mid-1960's. Exactly how many of these people belonged to or were earmarked for Umkhonto is not clear, but if half were sent for military training then Umkhonto probably had between 400 and 600 trained cadres outside the country by the mid-1960's. This figure is supported by the fact that Umkhonto's guerrillas only formed about one third of the combined ANC-ZAPU force that crossed into Rhodesia in August 1967.⁽⁵³⁾

52. The Daily News (Durban), 1990.04.10 (ANC builds from within).
53. Mercer and Mercer, From Shantytown to Forest, pp. 71 - 72;
Horrell, Action, Reaction and Counter Action, p. 119;
Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1967,
pp. 66 - 67.

While it is difficult to determine with certainty how many people were members of Umkhonto by the end of the 1960's, there were clear indications by the beginning of the 1970's that there was serious dissatisfaction among the rank and file in Umkhonto's training camps over the failure of the combined Umkhonto-ZAPU operations and the ANC's general inability to resume the armed struggle inside South Africa. Many also felt that as a result of weak leadership and poor direction, Umkhonto's cadres ran unnecessary risks during the Rhodesian incursions.

There was also serious dissatisfaction within the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto over a number of other issues which ranged from poor food, lack of equipment, a shortage of money to buy equipment and to pay recruits, the ill-treatment of recruits, as well as growing dissatisfaction with the national leadership of the ANC and the SACP.⁽⁵⁴⁾ According to one report that appeared in the press, recruits who refused to undergo military training on the grounds that they were initially recruited into the ANC on the understanding that they would be sent overseas to further their education, were either tortured, beaten or simply left to rot in Tanzanian gaols. It was also reported that there was growing dissension over the fact that while the leaders of the ANC and Umkhonto were living in apparent luxury in Lusaka and elsewhere, the men in Umkhonto's training camps had to make do with the poorest of conditions. Apparently, some cadres had even attempted to murder some of the ANC's leaders while others who were fed up with conditions in the camps had fled or attempted to flee the camps for the safety of Kenya. According to information released by the South African security police, some 72 Umkhonto guerrillas had escaped in Dar-es-Salaam while en route from training holding camps in Algeria. In an attempt to prevent any

54. The Sunday Times (Johannesburg), 1969.02.26. See also Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations, 1969, p. 10; Die Vaderland (Pretoria), 1968.07.10 (Groot onmin heers in geledere van ANC en Kie); The Sunday Times (Johannesburg), 1969.07.06 (Secret paper reveals spreading revolt among ANC "Freedom Fighters"); The Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 1969.02.11 (People Killed in Fight for ANC Leadership).



similar incidents, many cadres were kept in holding cells or under strict guard while in transit from one training facility to another or before they were sent out to fight.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Further reports that appeared in the press during May 1969 confirmed much of what was reported earlier, but added that the possibility existed that up to 300 Umkhonto cadres could have fled the organisation's training camps for the safety of Kenya. According to a report that appeared in the Sunday Times of 6 July 1969, four of those stranded in Nairobi sent documents to organisations in Western countries in which they urged them to cease all further support to the ANC since this money was used mainly for the benefit of the organisation's leadership while the men in the training camps had to live under the worst of conditions. It was also claimed that corruption was rife in the ANC and that some of the organisation's leaders were selling clothing and other items that had been donated to the ANC and Umkhonto for their own enrichment. Anyone complaining about this type of corruption was severely dealt with. On at least two occasions there were claims that men who had opposed the ANC's leadership, were sent on ill-planned or suicide missions into Rhodesia or Mozambique.⁽⁵⁶⁾

On the whole, therefore, morale in the ANC and Umkhonto's training camps seems to have been very low by the end of the 1960's. Because much of it had been extensively reported on in the press in South Africa, it is doubtful whether many recruits would have joined the ANC and Umkhonto during these years. The general failure of the combined operation between Umkhonto and ZAPU into Rhodesia despite claims by the ANC to the contrary, undoubtedly also affected the ANC's ability to recruit people inside the country during this period.

-
55. The Sunday Times (Johannesburg), 1969.02.26; Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations, 1969, p. 10.
56. Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations, 1969, p. 10. See also The Sunday Times (Johannesburg), 1969.07.06 (Secret paper reveals spreading revolt among ANC "Freedom Fighters").



A third factor that had a negative influence on the ANC's ability to draw recruits into the ranks of Umkhonto during the early 1970's, was the rapidly expanding Black Consciousness Movement inside South Africa. Situated inside South Africa and preaching a militant form of Black Power which concentrated on the concept of Black unity, the Black Consciousness Movement presented many dissatisfied Black youths with a political and organisational alternative to the ANC inside South Africa.

Although the Morogoro Conference of April 1969 settled many organisational problems and gave new direction to Umkhonto and the armed struggle, it took a number of years for these changes to take effect, with the result that neither the ANC nor Umkhonto saw any immediate increase in new recruits entering their ranks between 1969 and 1975. According to statistics released in 1971, Umkhonto was reported to have had something like 2 000 fully trained guerrillas, of whom several hundred had been in joint operations with ZAPU in Rhodesia since 1967.⁽⁵⁷⁾ How accurate this figure is, is not clear. However, if one takes into consideration that approximately a thousand people had left South Africa to join the ANC's External Mission between 1960 and 1965 then it is not unreasonable to assume that a further thousand could have joined the Mission in Exile between 1965 and the beginning of 1970. One thing is certain, one of the biggest problems affecting the recruitment of new cadres into the ANC and Umkhonto during these years was the organisation's inability to rebuild its underground structure inside South Africa and to infiltrate sufficient numbers of people in order to step up its recruitment campaign inside the country. Sheridan Johns writes:

Although the accelerated implementation of apartheid has brought new misery to thousands of non-Whites (principally Africans) forced into makeshift resettlement camps and rising levels of

57. Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations, 1971, p. 95; The Daily News (Durban), 1990.04.10 (ANC builds from within).



resentment - noted by both White and African observers - among the urban African population there is little evidence that any ANC (or Umkonto) underground organisations have been able to capitalize upon these events to organise protests against government actions. (58)

Although the ANC and Umkhonto was showing signs of re-establishing itself inside the country by the middle of the 1970's, its presence inside South Africa remained a limited one and had to await the independence of Angola and Mozambique in 1975, the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the banning of the BCM in 1977 to begin its revival inside the country.

2.1.2. The Period 1976 - 1985

The collapse of the Portuguese empire in Southern Africa and the wide-spread unrest that manifested itself among Black students in South Africa in 1976, introduced an entirely new era in the history of Black politics and the armed struggle. For the first time since the formation of Umkhonto in 1961, recruits were streaming into the ANC and Umkhonto without the use of coercion or deception to get people to join them. Faced with a government that was determined more than ever before to stifle any sign of radical Black political opposition inside South Africa, many African youths, despite their Black Consciousness background, left South Africa to join the ANC and Umkhonto.

Although neither the ANC nor its partner the SACP had anything to do with the outbreak of the Soweto uprising in June 1976, they were quick to capitalize on the growing unrest and the general uncertainty that followed. Already in the process of establishing some form of internal structure inside South Africa by 1976, the ANC and Umkhonto through their existing underground cells helped to fan the fires of revolt while at the same time, channeling the exodus of thousands of

58. Johns, Obstacles to Guerrilla Warfare, (The Journal of Modern African Studies 11 (2), 1973, pp. 292 - 293).



dissatisfied and highly politicised African students into the ranks of Umkhonto. The main exodus of students from South Africa began in October 1976 when thousands of African youths fled to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Although some of those who left the country during and after 1976 did so with the aim of continuing their studies overseas and were probably helped by the ANC to do so, most were channeled into Umkhonto's training camps in Angola, Libya, Tanzania, Algeria and elsewhere. In order to facilitate this new development, Umkhonto transferred its headquarters from Tanzania to Mozambique in 1976, where it established at least three guerrilla training camps during the following year.⁽⁵⁹⁾ One of these camps, which was also used as a staging area for troops based elsewhere, was at Ponta do Ouro, just three miles north of the Natal (SA) border. The other, constructed in 1975, just as Frelimo was taking power in Mozambique, was reported to be situated near the confluence of the Rio dos Elefantes and Limpopo River, again within easy reach of the South African-Mozambique border in the northern Transvaal. In addition to these two camps (it is not clear where the third camp was situated) the ANC and Umkhonto also occupied a fortified compound in the Maputo suburb of Matola, which served among others as a planning office for military and political operations inside South Africa. (See DIAGRAM L, p. 528). This latter facility was virtually destroyed by the SADF in 1981, leaving thirteen ANC-SACP-Umkhonto members/operatives dead and three buildings in ruins.⁽⁶⁰⁾

According to figures released by Brigadier C.F. Zietsman of the Security Police in 1978, it was estimated that some 4 000 Black South Africans (of whom the majority were Africans) were undergoing guerrilla training outside South Africa at the time; most under the direct auspices of the ANC and Umkhonto.⁽⁶¹⁾ It was further pointed out that the increase in guerrilla activity after 1976 was

-
59. J. Kane-Berman, Soweto, Black Revolt, White Reaction, pp. 218 - 219; Lodge, The ANC Resurgence, 1976 - 1981, (Reality 14 (2), 1982, p. 7).
60. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, p. 67. See Chapter 5, pp. 235 - 352.
61. Lodge, The ANC Resurgence, 1976 - 1981, (Reality 14 (2), 1982, p. 7); Kane-Berman, Soweto, p. 219.



the direct result of the mass exodus of Blacks from South Africa after the Soweto uprising and the absorption of these people into the ranks of the ANC-SACP and Umkhonto. Generally, the post-Soweto recruits were better educated, better motivated, but, above all, more radical than those who entered Umkhonto in the early 1960's. Thus, many, if not most of those who were members of Umkhonto after 1976, and who were responsible for the gradual resumption of the armed struggle inside South Africa by the latter part of the 1970's, were former students and veterans of the uprising in Soweto and elsewhere in the country. Perhaps one of the more illuminative examples of a schoolboy turning guerrilla for the ANC after 1976, was the case of Solomon Mahlangu after whom the ANC's school at Mazimbu in Tanzania was named in 1979. The school's aim was to cater for the educational needs of the ever-growing number of young Africans such as Mahlangu who had left South Africa after the Soweto uprising.⁽⁶¹⁾

Mahlangu, like so many before him, left South Africa in 1976 in great secrecy without telling anyone. Not even his parents knew where he went. He left South Africa via Swaziland where he made contact with the local leaders of the ANC, who sent him to Mozambique. From there he was sent directly to one of Umkhonto's training camps in Angola where he remained until June the following year, when he was sent back to South Africa via Mozambique and Swaziland to undertake acts of sabotage. The South African police became aware of Mahlangu's cell as it passed through Johannesburg in June 1977. In the skirmish that followed in Goch Street, two Whites were killed. They were the first to die at the hands of this new breed of students-turned-guerrillas and in a way the death of the two Whites on 13 June 1977 marked the revival of the armed struggle in the post-1976 period.

Although the intention of Mahlangu and his two fellow guerrillas appears to have been only to open fire on the police should they at

61. ANC (SA), Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO), Official Opening, 21 - 23 August, 1985, Progress Report, Special Edition, 1985, Introduction, p.1.



any time interfere with their mission - which was to be part of a demonstration in Soweto to celebrate the first anniversary of the 16 June 1976 uprising - the Goch Street shooting at the time raised the question as to whether South Africa was entering a new period of urban guerrilla warfare. The incident also illustrated that the guerrilla of the post-Soweto period was an entirely different breed of recruit from those that had made up the bulk of Umkhonto and the ANC's manpower in the 1960's. Mahlangu was later sentenced to death for his role in the Goch Street shooting. He was executed on 6 April 1979, the same year in which the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College was established. (62)

Although very little has been published or written on the recruiting methods used by the ANC and Umkhonto during the latter half of the 1970's or the course of the 1980's it appears that most recruits after 1976 joined the ANC and Umkhonto on a voluntary basis.

It was with the support of these recruits that the ANC-SACP alliance was able to step up its military presence inside South Africa and increase its political bargaining power in the international arena after 1976. In May 1979, Glen Moss, the editor of Work in Progress, stated that by the end of the 1970's the armed struggle in South Africa had grown into a low-intensity civil war that would not disappear until its roots were removed. It could no longer, he said, be seen as a temporary phenomenon but was a built-in part of the structure of society. He went on to say that the statements made from the dock by people accused under the Terrorism Act showed an acute sense of desperation, in that they saw no constructive avenues of political expression. They displayed a high level of individualism and a strong sense of nonracialism. (63) Of course conditions such as these greatly facilitated the ANC and Umkhonto in their task of recruiting people into the armed struggle after 1976.

62. ANC (SA), The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO), Official Opening, p.1.

63. Glen Moss as quoted in Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1979, p. 152.



One particular development in the post-1976 period that effectively aided the ANC and Umkhonto's recruiting campaign inside South Africa and helped to push hundreds of new people into the ranks of the two organisations, was the banning of the BCM by the government in 1977. Kane Berman wrote:

The banning of the Black Consciousness Organisations on 19 October 1977 might well have decided even great numbers of youngsters that there were not many openings left for constitutional politics within the country. The history of the 1960's, when the banning of the ANC and the PAC simply drove them underground and into violent opposition, seemed to be repeating itself.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Kane Berman went on to cite the case of Sexwale who had joined the ANC (Umkhonto) even before the Black Consciousness organisations were banned in 1977. He writes:

After October 1977 it seemed inevitable that many more people would share his [Sexwale's] views: ... less than half of Soweto's high school students were at school in 1978, and it seemed possible that some of the absentees not already in guerrilla training camps would sooner or later find their way there. Demonstrations in Soweto and indeed in other townships had led to arrests and detentions being worse: they had been very costly in Black lives. For students involved in active campaigns against apartheid, many townships were simply unsafe. No doubt many a student decided that if he were to hang for a lamb, he might as well hang for a sheep.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Exile and graduation into military training, therefore, seemed an almost inevitable scenario for many Black South Africans during the latter half of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's.

According to Stephen Davis,⁽⁶⁶⁾ the average age of an ANC-Umkhonto cadre before June 1976 was about 35 years. After that date, as a result of the mass influx of students from the townships the average age had dropped to twenty-eight.

-
64. Kane-Berman, Soweto, p. 228.
65. Kane-Berman, Soweto, p. 228.
66. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, p. 28.

Although the ANC and Umkhonto initially had to rely on its ageing contacts and a relatively poor organisational infrastructure inside the country to recruit people into Umkhonto in 1976, the steady influx of students and their rapid training soon enabled the organisation to make use of its newly-trained cadres to do recruiting work in the townships around the country.

Although a definite boon to the ANC and Umkhonto, the sudden influx of new recruits into the External Mission, while swelling the ranks of the Umkhonto also placed a heavy burden on the External Mission's limited facilities and funds. In many instances this resulted in the poor training of cadres, the haphazard planning of vitally important missions, and major security leaks as a result of poor screening methods. In the end this led to the arrest or death of many of Umkhonto's cadres. By relying on amateurish agents inside South Africa to resume the armed struggle and to re-establish Umkhonto, the ANC, argued Stephen Davis, ran the risk of scaring off potential enlistees, just as had happened in 1962 and 1963, when large numbers of people were caught while leaving the country.⁽⁶⁷⁾ However, despite these problems and instances of inept organisation, dissatisfied dissidents continued to fill the ranks of Umkhonto outside the country, using the ANC's underground structure in South Africa that had grown steadily since 1976.

Although it is difficult to determine the exact number of people who had left the country after June 1976, it has been estimated that at the height of the Soweto unrest in 1976, some 450 Blacks were leaving the country each month, either on their own or with ANC support. Of these people only about one-fifth could be classified as adults.

According to Davis, the approximately 450 people that had left South Africa per month during the period October 1976 to mid-1977, gradually decreased to about 250 per month in 1978. This figure further decreased to about forty people per month in 1979. As a result by the beginning of the 1980's Umkhonto was estimated to have

67. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 28 - 29.



had some 8 000 to 9 000 guerrillas under its command - the majority of which had joined the organisation since the Soweto uprising in 1976. It has also been estimated that about 75 per cent of all the people who had left South Africa in the wake of the 1976 unrest were channeled into Umkhonto and the ANC.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Although many of the recruits who joined the ANC since 1976 were sent for military training, by the end of the 1970's a fair number were also being sent to the ANC's educational centre at Mazimbu as well as on overseas scholarships.⁽⁶⁹⁾

By the end of the 1970's and at the beginning of the 1980's, however, the outflow of recruits from South Africa into the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto had slowed down considerably. This, surprisingly, came at a time when the ANC was actively engaged in attempts to accelerate the armed struggle inside South Africa. Attacks on industrial installations began in 1980 with attacks on strategic targets such as SASOL in June and on a number of power stations around the country in 1981, including the incompleting Koeberg nuclear power station in the Western Cape in December of that year. Whether the new wave of attacks that hit the country after 1980 was partially designed to give vent to growing pressure inside Umkhonto's overfull training camps or to encourage further recruitment into the organisation, is not clear - it was probably done to achieve both these aims.

With the signing of the secret bilateral agreement between South Africa and Swaziland in 1982⁽⁷⁰⁾ which committed the Swazi government to help combat the ANC, and a similar agreement reached between the South African government and Mozambique's Frelimo government at Nkomati on 16 March 1984, the movement of recruits and trained guerrillas to and from Mozambique via Swaziland suffered a severe setback. As a result the movement of recruits and guerrillas across

68. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 56 - 57.

69. Douglas and Davis, Revolt on the Veldt, (Harpers 267, December 1983, p. 35).

70. Lodge, Mayilome! Let Us Go To War. From Nkomati to Kabwe. The African National Congress, January 1984 - June 1985, (The South African Review 3, 1985, p. 9); Davis, Apartheid's Rebels p. 57.

South Africa's borders substantially decreased by the second half of 1984,⁽⁷¹⁾ despite claims by the ANC to the contrary. Over a hundred ANC and Umkhonto operatives alone were deported from Swaziland in 1984, while scores of ANC and Umkhonto personnel were forced to leave Mozambique during March and April 1984 to escape their possible expulsion by the FRELIMO government. At the same time, it was reported that with the virtual closure of the Mozambique-Swaziland route, the ANC was increasingly turning its attention to Botswana and Lesotho as major routes for recruits from South Africa and the return of trained guerrillas to the country.

While it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact number of recruits that had left South Africa up to 1984, or how many trained guerrillas entered the country up to then, some indication of the strength of Umkhonto and its presence inside South Africa can be gained from the fact that, according to statistics released by the Minister of Law and Order and published in the South African Institute of Race Relations' Annual Survey in 1984, the ANC and Umkhonto had only between 1 500 and 2 000 trained guerrillas available to them and that no more than 30 Umkhonto guerrillas were deployed on active service inside the country at any given time. The Minister further claimed that it was becoming increasingly obvious that the ANC was having difficulty in recruiting people for military training and active service inside South Africa. He attributed this to the counterinsurgency measures of the security forces and the successes it had had in uncovering ANC cells inside the country. According to the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Pretoria, the total strength of the ANC and Umkhonto by the early 1980's stood at between two and four thousand people.⁽⁷²⁾

The decline in recruitment by the end of 1984 was, however, only a temporary development until the ANC and Umkhonto had established new

71. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, p. 57.

72. Cooper, A Survey of Race Relations, 1984, pp. 2 - 3; The Sunday Star (Johannesburg), 1986.01.19; For a different perspective on the estimated number of Umkhonto guerrillas available to the ANC, see Lodge, State of Exile, (Third World Quarterly, 9 (1), January 1987, pp. 5 - 6).



routes and found new ways of reversing the effects of the Nkomati and Swaziland accords. Part of this was achieved between 1985 and 1986 when the sudden influx of a second major wave of recruits into the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto enabled the organisations to strengthen their ranks and establish new and fresh ties with radical-minded groups inside South Africa. One particular organisation that came to play a major role in promoting the cause of the ANC inside South Africa after 1984, was the newly-established United Democratic Front (UDF).

Faced with new challenges, and with new demands being made on its recruitment infrastructure both inside and outside South Africa, the ANC in its alliance with the SACP used its second major consultative conference held at Kabwe, Zambia from 16 to 23 June 1985, to adopt some major resolutions in this regard.

2.1.3. The Kabwe Consultative Conference and the NEC's Commission on Cadre Policy⁽⁷³⁾

The adoption of a comprehensive cadre policy by the ANC at its Kabwe Consultative Conference in 1985 included the first major effort by the organisation and the SACP to deal with the issue of recruitment for Umkhonto. In setting out the need for a comprehensive cadre policy the NEC stated that a fundamental pre-requisite for the success of a revolution is the existence of a strong revolutionary organisation which, in turn, was determined by both the quantity and quality of its members or cadres. Hence, in the development and consistent strengthening of a revolutionary organisation, the "formulation and adoption of a specific cadre policy occupies a central role."⁽⁷⁴⁾

-
73. A "cadre" was defined by the Kabwe Conference as "all members of the Movement involved in the formulation and practical implementation of policy and willing to carry out all tasks assigned [to them]." Source: African National Congress Consultative Conference, June 1985. Commission on Cadre Policy, Political and Ideological Work, p. 1.
74. ANC, National Consultative Conference, June 1985, Commission on Cadre Policy, p. 1.



-497-

In terms of recruitment the commission recommended that in future the ANC and Umkhonto's recruitment drive should address itself to the question of enlisting more and more members from the working class inside South Africa, particularly the Black working class which was identified as the main basis of recruitment for the liberation movement. The Black worker, therefore, was allowed a leading role in the ANC-SACP's revolutionary organisation and struggle in South Africa. However, it was not only the urban masses that had to be drawn into the struggle, but also the rural masses. To bring the latter into the struggle more effectively, special campaigns had to be launched in the rural areas to recruit members into the struggle and so mobilise the masses.

It was pointed out that in future all recruitment should be based on the acceptance of the basic policy and programme of the ANC, and potential recruits should be made aware of the fact that the armed struggle was basically a sacrifice. It was further suggested that recruitment should be an ongoing process, both inside and outside South Africa, and that special attention should be given to the recruitment of cadres, especially from the ranks of the government and the security forces, including the SADF.

In terms of the multi-racial nature and structure of the ANC and Umkhonto, it was suggested that in future greater care should be taken in the recruitment of people from all national and racial groups and from all over the country, and not only from certain areas. The reason for this was probably to counter any further criticism that the ANC and Umkhonto were little more than ethnic organisations in which Africans of Xhosa origin held a leading position.

Finally it was also suggested that cadres should be specially trained in the art of recruiting and that these cadres should be used to set up underground units inside South Africa - a development with which the ANC and Umkhonto had little success up to 1985. The recruitment of new recruits and the swelling of the ranks of Umkhonto, the

delegates to the conference were told, was "the vital cutting edge of our struggle".⁽⁷⁵⁾

2.1.4. The Post-Kabwe Period 1985 - 1988

To what extent the cadre policy on recruitment adopted at Kabwe contributed to the influx of Black youths into the ranks of the liberation movement, but more particularly into Umkhonto's training camps in Angola and elsewhere after 1985, is impossible to say. Other factors, such as the upsurge of violence and revolutionary activity in the country, and the heightened international prestige of the ANC by the mid-1980's certainly also contributed to this development. As far as Umkhonto is concerned, estimates as to the size of the army in 1986, following the influx of recruits into the organisation after 1984, differs substantially from observer to observer. According to Howard Barrell, a Harare-based journalist who had direct access to ANC sources, Umkhonto's total force in 1986 numbered something in the region of 10 000 men, of which only some 400 were operative inside South Africa at any given time. American intelligence sources were more or less in agreement with this figure, except that they felt the number operative inside South Africa was probably larger than the 400 suggested above. These figures, however, were disputed by the University of Pretoria's Institute of Strategic Studies, which argued that a more accurate assessment of the numerical strength of Umkhonto was between 2 000 and 4 000.⁽⁷⁶⁾ A third observer, Stephen Davis, who also had direct access to ANC sources outside South Africa, was of the opinion that an estimated 5 000 to 6 000 Blacks had left South Africa during the 1985 - 1986 unrest situation to join the ranks of the ANC or the PAC. As a result of this influx of new recruits the ANC's total expatriate community (including Umkhonto) stood at between 13 000 and 14 000 persons by the end of 1986. Of this figure Umkhonto controlled

75. ANC, National Consultative Conference, June 1985, Commission on Cadre Policy, p. 1.

76. Lodge, State of Exile: The ANC of South Africa, 1976 - 1986, (Third World Quarterly 9 (1), January 1987, p. 5.).

controlled about sixty percent while the rest, some 5 000, served the exile movement in a civilian capacity in fields such as education. Thus, by the beginning of 1987 the ANC and Umkhonto, according to Davis, had something like 8 000 men and women under arms. Of those anything between 300 and 400 were operative inside South Africa at the time.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The latter figures and estimates were supported by Tom Lodge, who was a regular observer of the ANC and Umkhonto.⁽⁷⁸⁾

However, from 1986 to 1988 a number of developments negatively influenced the inflow of recruits into the ANC and Umkhonto, which in turn affected the total size of the exile movement. The first was the coup d'état in Lesotho in January 1986. This effectively put an end to this country's role as an access route for Umkhonto and its cadres in and out of South Africa. The second was the political and diplomatic actions taken by the South African government to counter the ANC activities internationally as well as its position in Angola. These latter efforts culminated in the signing of the New York peace accord on 22 December 1988, which called for the immediate withdrawal of all ANC camps and personnel from Angola. This latter development, together with the restoration of some semblance of order and stability to the Black townships around the country with the help of the State of Emergency, undoubtedly had a strong effect on both the recruitment and inflow of new cadres into the ranks of Umkhonto after 1987. By May 1989, it was reported that the ANC (Umkhonto) had moved nearly 1 500 members out of Angola and that only about 800 were still left in the country.⁽⁷⁹⁾ This meant that prior to its expulsion in 1988 Umkhonto had less than 2 500 cadres in camps in Angola. This was a great deal less than the estimated 14 000 quoted by Davis or

77. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, p. 58.

78. According to Lodge the ANC and Umkhonto had a total membership of about 13 000 people spread between Umkhonto's training camps in Angola and the organisation's administrative, diplomatic and financial offices in Lusaka and elsewhere. He also agreed with Davis' estimate that the ANC and Umkhonto probably do not have more than between 300 and 500 operatives inside South Africa at any given time. Cooper, A Survey of Race Relations, 1987/88, p. 701). See also figures quoted in Lodge, State of Exile, (Third World Quarterly, 9 (1), January 1987, pp. 5 - 6).

79. The Daily News (Durban), 1989.05.18.



the 13 000 suggested by Lodge for Umkhonto in 1986-87. The figure of approximately 2 300 supplied by the ANC itself for its forces in Angola is thus closer to the estimates of the Institute for Strategic Studies in Pretoria. It is of course possible that the figures supplied by the ANC with regard to its forces in Angola were deliberately deflated to mislead the South African government, whom they knew would closely monitor their withdrawal from Angola.

2.1.5. The Recruitment of Whites

Since its formation at the end of 1961, Umkhonto had always relied heavily on its White members most of whom were also senior members of the SACP, for its financial, organisational and ideological support. Yet it is significant to note that until the Kabwe Consultative Conference of 1985 no real effort appeared to have been made to recruit new Whites into the ranks of Umkhonto despite the organisation's multi-racial character. Those few Whites such as Kasrils, Slovo and others who formed part of Umkhonto in the early 1960's appeared to have remained at the core of the organisation's White membership through the years of armed struggle. Although a number of Whites such as Hosey, Mounbaris, Martin Legassick, Paula Ensor and others appeared to have become part of Umkhonto's armed struggle during the 1970's, there is no indication that an all-out effort was made to recruit Whites into Umkhonto or that Whites were prepared to join Umkhonto in increasing numbers before the second half of the 1980's, especially before the Kabwe Conference and the accelerated contact that took place between Whites inside South Africa and members of the ANC-SACP alliance after 1985. While it is difficult to fully ascertain the influence that the growing contact between White business, political and community leaders from South Africa and members of the ANC-SACP alliance had on White recruitment and Whites joining Umkhonto after 1985, it is not unreasonable to assume that many Whites, particularly those with strong democratic views were encouraged by these developments and perhaps eventually persuaded by it to join the ranks of Umkhonto by the late 1980's. The opening of the ANC's NEC at Kabwe to people of all races including Whites undoubtedly also encouraged this process. In its recommendations to



the Kabwe Conference on the recruitment and utilization of "democratically-minded Whites" into the ANC and Umkhonto, the ANC's NEC stated that:

Democratic Whites in the country [SA] were faced with a contradiction with the rise of the BCM. They were accused of playing the game while the Blacks stood on the sidelines looking on. Many reverted to playing a 'supportive' role which was mainly providing funds, transport, compiling research material etc. Even with the rise of the Congress movement inside the country and organisations such as Nusas demonstrating their support for the Freedom Charter, democratic Whites are still caught in the trap of playing a supportive role. (80)

Consequently it was recommended that, in order to ensure that Whites become active participants in the armed struggle, they should, among others, work increasingly to popularise the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and explain to the wider South African community why they should not join the South African Defence Force (SADF).

It was further recommended that special support groups should be formed to serve conscientious objectors, war resisters and their supporters; that where possible, these people should be recruited for the ANC and Umkhonto, and that White democratic organisations should broaden their ranks to include the growing number of dissatisfied Whites, "such as those in the Progressive Federal Party (PFP)", who find the National Party (NP) increasingly unacceptable. (81)

It was also suggested that the ANC should encourage joint action by White trade and democratic unions, as well as the promotion of White youth organisations, to join the tide of resistance throughout the

-
80. ANC, National Consultative Conference, June 1985, Internal Commission Report, p. 11. See also Tambo Discusses ANC Strategy in White Areas and on Economy, PANA, 1987.01.05, (SWB, 1987.01.07).
81. ANC, National Consultative Conference, June 1985, Internal Commission Report, p. 11. See also ANC Calls for Whites to Organize Within the SADF, Radio Freedom, Addis Ababa, 1987.01.21, (SWB, 1987.01.24); ANC Speaks to White Community in South Africa, Radio Freedom, Addis Ababa, 1987.01.20, (SWB, 1987.01.23).



country. To facilitate this development, White student organisations were to educate their constituencies on the crisis in education and work relentlessly towards opening the doors of learning and culture to all. In this regard, White student organisations had to work closely with other student organisations on the Education Charter Campaign. In addition, it stated:

Democratic, professional unions, eg. lawyers, health workers and educationists, should be encouraged where people could utilise their skills in the course of the struggle.

Finally it was recommended that White democratic organisations should be encouraged to present the Freedom Charter for discussion in those areas where they were based.⁽⁸²⁾

By the time the Kabwe decisions were taken, the UDF, which had an affiliated membership of some 700 organisations, had managed to recruit a number of White organisations such as the Black Sash, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the ECC⁽⁸³⁾ into its federal structure. Davis writes:

Their [the National Liberation Movement's] ties to the front gave Congress operatives within the UDF new access to information generated by White activists; at the same time the relationship enabled the White organisations to co-ordinate their actions with those of Black groups involved in the overall attack on apartheid. What is more, in an effort to reach further into the ruling race's ranks, the UDF encouraged its White affiliates to move outside their specialities and communicate broad anti-apartheid goals to their compatriots.⁽⁸⁴⁾

In one response, in October 1985 - less than a month and a half after the Kabwe conference - five predominantly White UDF organisations formed a new group called "Concerned Citizens" to promote through

82. ANC, National Consultative Conference, June 1985, Internal Commission Report, p. 11.

83. The ECC was banned on 22 August 1988. The Daily News (Durban), 1988.08.24.

84. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 96 - 97.



public meetings in White residential areas such general UDF themes as "the road to peace through dismantling apartheid". Though not directly linked to the ANC, argues Davis, "such projects mirrored the Congress's interest in undermining apartheid's constituency".⁽⁸⁵⁾

Encouraged by these developments inside South Africa, Tambo in an NEC statement delivered to the ANC regarding the organisation's attitude towards and on the role of Whites in the liberation struggle, stated in January 1986, and again in 1987 and 1988, that the organisation must pay the greatest possible attention to the "mobilization" and "activation" of the White population which should fuse with, and become part of, the motive forces of the democratic revolution. He made an emotional plea to "our White compatriots, and especially the youth, to break ranks with the apartheid system, to refuse to serve in its armed forces ..."⁽⁸⁶⁾

In his NEC address in January 1988 which followed the Dakar meeting between representatives of the ANC and a group of 52 South Africans arranged by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (IDASA) in July 1987, Tambo made it abundantly clear that the participation of democratically-minded Whites was vitally important to the liberation struggle, and that meetings between the ANC and Whites from South Africa such as that which took place at Dakar, were at the centre of the organisation's efforts to undermine apartheid and the system of White minority rule in South Africa.

Although the White groups and individuals who were prepared to associate with the UDF in the 1980's were small in number, it nevertheless represented the beginning of a new trend whereby mainstream White groups, although not yet ready to cede their independence to the UDF or any other similar organisation, nonetheless took note of

85. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, p. 97.

86. ANC's Attitude to White South Africans, (The Spear of the Nation, 1986, pp. 15 - 16). See ANC Speaks to White Community in South Africa, Radio Freedom, Addis Ababa, 1987.01.20, (SWB, 1987.01.23); ANC calls for Whites to Organize Within the SADF, Radio Freedom, Addis Ababa, 1987.01.21, (SWB, 1987.01.24); Tambo Discusses ANC Strategy in White Areas and on Economy, PANA, 1987.01.05, (SWB, 1987.01.07).



the aims of organisations such as the ANC's new approach to Whites and White organisations inside South Africa, and what this might mean to them. The outcome of this was that between June 1985 and the middle of 1989 more than 70 visits by South African Whites, White organisations, and interested groups to the ANC in Lusaka and elsewhere had taken place. In a policy statement prepared for international audiences marking the ANC's 75th birthday in 1987, the organisation's NEC took great pains to project the organisation as a moderate and responsible body seeking only justice, peace and prosperity for South Africa. In its appeal to Whites for their support it declared that while an ANC government would address the questions of ownership, control, and the direction of the economy, it would focus on creating rather than distributing wealth. At the same time it assured Whites that it supported a multi-party democracy with basic Western freedom and guarantees, that were further endorsed by the organisation in its constitutional guidelines published during the first half of 1988.⁽⁸⁷⁾

To what extent the ANC's call on progressive Whites to join the liberation struggle had an influence on the ANC and Umkhonto's recruiting policy among Whites and the flow of Whites into the liberation movement since 1985 is difficult to say. Indications are that the ANC's efforts were undoubtedly not entirely without success. In December 1986 for instance, it was reported that a 32 year-old career officer in the South African Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) had been arrested for spying for the ANC. According to the charge sheet, Major Andre Pienaar was recruited by the ANC in the Frontline states. He was later arrested with two civilians while entering Jan Smuts airport. Major Pienaar was the second intelligence officer since the beginning of the 1980's to be charged with spying for the ANC. The other person was Roland Hunter, who allegedly passed information to the ANC on the training camps of the Resistencia Nacional Mozambique (NMR) in the Transvaal. Also convicted with Hunter were two White Afrikaner civilians who aided him in his spying activities.⁽⁸⁸⁾

87. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, p. 97.

88. Africa Confidential 28 (10), 1987.05.13 (See section entitled "Pointers").

Other Whites who were recruited into the ranks of the liberation movement via front organisations in South Africa such as the UDF and the ECC since the mid-1980's, were Olivia Forsyth (she later turned out to be a police agent) and the four members of the all-White Umkhonto cell that was captured at Broederstroom in May 1988. The fifth member of the Broederstroom cell, alleged to be Paul Colin Annegran (23) of Benoni, was not among the four cell members arrested in May. It was believed that he was at the time imprisoned in an ANC punishment camp in Angola. He was apparently arrested by the ANC after he had abandoned his mission inside South Africa and went back to Lusaka to express his disillusionment with the armed struggle. In Lusaka he was promptly detained and sent to the notorious Quatro camp in Angola. Annegran was apparently recruited into Umkhonto in 1982. (89)

According to a Press report that appeared in November 1988, (90) it was claimed by a British Conservative Party M.P., Andrew Hunter, that an ANC cell, trained by the IRA and operating in Britain, was recruiting members for the organisation from among disgruntled South Africans. According to Hunter, Ronnie Kasrils who fled South Africa in 1965 at the age of 24, his wife, Eleanor, and a third activist, Timothy Jenkins, were all involved in the cell. (Jenkins was one of those who escaped with Alexander Moubarris and Stephen Lee from prison on 12 December 1979.) According to the South African police and the Ministry of Law and Order, Kasrils was the mastermind behind the recruitment of Whites into the ANC and Umkhonto since the mid-1980's. (91)

Two much-publicised cases of Whites who joined the ANC and Umkhonto that caught the attention of the media in 1988 and 1989, were the cases of Hein Grosskopf and the rather mysterious Bradley Richard Stacey, also known as Hodges. Grosskopf, by his own admission, left

89. The Daily News (Durban), 1988.05.16.

90. The Daily News (Durban), 1988.11.04.

91. Pike, A History of Communism in South Africa, pp. 475 - 476. See also The Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 28 July - 3 August 1989.



South Africa in 1986 to join the ranks of Umkhonto. He joined the ANC and Umkhonto in Lusaka after travelling via Botswana. According to police reports Grosskopf was allegedly responsible for a series of car bombings during 1988, which left three people dead and 90 injured. While the police insisted that Grosskopf was responsible for the blasts, the ANC maintained that he was in Lusaka at the time of the attacks. A delegation from South Africa, collectively known as the Five Freedoms Forum, who held talks with the ANC in Lusaka at the end of June 1989, were surprised to find Grosskopf participating in the meeting as Head of ANC Protocol.⁽⁹²⁾

The case of the second person, Bradley Richard Stacey, is less clear. According to reports Stacey and three others (a Coloured and two Blacks) were responsible for the attempted hijack of a Soviet Aeroflot airliner in June 1989, carrying 157 members of the ANC and Umkhonto from Luanda to Dar-es-Salaam as part of the withdrawal of ANC personnel from Angola. The hijack failed and Stacey was subsequently sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in Tanzania. According to information supplied by ANC members caught while entering South Africa, the airlifting of the 157 members was probably part of a process whereby disillusioned dissidents were being dumped in internment camps as far afield as Uganda and that the attempted hijack was a desperate attempt to prevent this from taking place. According to the same source, those who disagreed with the ANC's policies were sent to either Uganda or Tanzania and were never heard of again. Aids, apparently, was a serious problem in the internment camps in Uganda and Tanzania and to be sent to these camps amounted to an almost certain death sentence. It was not clear when Stacey joined the ANC but it appeared to have been during the 1985-86 disturbances. According to reports he was sought by the security police in South Africa in connection with the arson attack on the campus of the University of Natal in 1986, in which the life-work of Prof. Lawrence Schlemmer was destroyed. The ANC however, maintained that Stacey was a South African police agent planted by the police to sow disunity in

92. The Sunday Times (Johannesburg), 1989.07.09.



the organisation following a call by the Minister of Police, Adrian Vlok, to ANC members to renounce violence and return to South Africa. The latter's call to ANC-Umkhonto cadres to denounce violence received extensive media coverage in Africa as well as on the BBC's service.⁽⁹³⁾

It is of course possible that both Grosskopf and Stacey were police agents sent out of the country during the unrest of the mid-1980's to infiltrate the ANC, and that the spreading of rumours and allegations were part of an elaborate security cover for them. While such a possibility cannot be ruled out, it is highly unlikely that they were police agents.

The most recent case of Whites allegedly spying for the ANC was that of Peter and Sue Dobson. According to a report that appeared in the Sunday press on 22 October 1989,⁽⁹⁴⁾ the Dobsons had been spying for the ANC since the beginning of the 1980's. They both joined the organisation shortly after leaving school. According to the report, Peter Dobson's task was to acquire information about government-related organisations and personnel, and to penetrate the sanctions-busting, computer purchasing industry. Sue Dobson's task was more elaborate and varied than that of her husband. As a journalist, she worked on a number of different Sunday newspapers, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and finally, for the state-controlled Bureau of Information.

A question that remains to be answered is the effect that the recruitment of Whites into the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto, and the frequent contact that has been taking place between White groups and the ANC has had on White opinion in South Africa. In his reaction to the discovery of the all-White Broederstroom Umkhonto cell in 1988, Lodge stated that it clearly illustrated the "continuing trend of young, well-educated liberal and left-wing Whites who identify

93. The Daily News (Durban), 1989.06.4 - 5.
94. The Daily News (Durban), 1989.10.22.



themselves with the ANC and saw the organisation as a legitimate and morally admirable political force"; and "that the involvement of Whites in the ANC and Umkhonto obviously had a much greater impact on the attitudes of White South Africans than the involvement of Blacks only".⁽⁹⁵⁾

Lodge's views were supported by Wim Booyse, a senior researcher at the International Freedom Foundation in South Africa, who argued that the formation of the Broederstroom cell was the direct result of the decision taken at the Kabwe conference to involve more Whites in the armed struggle. The relative failure of the ANC's military wing since 1984, he said, led to the recruitment and use of more White South Africans who, due to their higher and more sophisticated levels of education, were more easily trained than their Black South African counterparts.⁽⁹⁶⁾

Kasrils, in his assessment of the armed struggle at the end of 1988 and the effects that South Africa's political, military and diplomatic initiatives were having on it, also voiced the opinion that the ANC-SACP alliance and Umkhonto had to make greater use of liberal and radical Whites inside South Africa to swing the armed struggle in favour of the revolutionaries. In a document entitled "Politics and the Armed Struggle: The Revolutionary Army", Kasrils pointed out that in future the ANC and Umkhonto would have an increasingly important task to "work within the enemy forces, to agitate and politicise soldiers, police, vigilantes and other auxiliary forces of the enemy, thus rendering them ineffective to the State".⁽⁹⁷⁾

Kasrils further pointed out that the ANC and Umkhonto should step up their recruitment campaign among White conscripts within the SADF, but more particularly among those who showed dissatisfaction with the army. He argued:

-
95. The Daily News (Durban), 1988.04.12 (ANC recruiting Whites).
96. The Daily News (Durban), 1988.04.12 (ANC recruiting Whites).
97. Kasrils, Politics and the Armed Struggle, (Sechaba, September 1988, pp. 12 - 13).



The disaffection of many White conscripts within the SADF creates possibilities of at least neutralising significant sections of the White soldiers and possibly winning over to our side, at the decisive moment, some elements. He went on to point out that given the enemy's acute White manpower shortage the mere neutralisation of even, ... say, one-tenth of the White conscript army at a decisive moment could make all the difference to the balance of forces. But we have to move away simply from encouraging Whites to refuse to serve in the SADF, to getting them actively involved in the SADF for purposes of clandestinely organising and agitating from within, no matter how difficult the task may appear to be. (**)

2.2. External Training 1965 - 1988

2.2.1. Training facilities, Camps and the Nature of Instruction

As we have stated above, Umkhonto's first training facility in Africa was established at Kongwa, near Dodoma in Tanzania probably some time between 1964/1966. (**) Up to this time ANC and Umkhonto recruits were trained in various African countries such as Algeria, Ethiopia and Egypt as well as in other parts of the communist world such as China, the Soviet Union, Cuba and Czechoslovakia. In none of these countries did the ANC and Umkhonto appear to have possessed their own training facilities. With the granting of independence to Zambia in 1964 the ANC and Umkhonto were able to set up training facilities in that country. Thus from 1964, while still sharing the training facilities of other liberation organisations such as SWAPO, ZAPU and others, the ANC and Umkhonto were beginning to take control of their own training. This was at least the case as far as the camp at Kongwa was concerned. Recruits who showed a particular aptitude for guerrilla training or who displayed leadership skills were however still being sent overseas to the Soviet Union or other Eastern European

98. Kasrils, Politics and the Armed Struggle, (Sechaba, September 1988, p. 13).

99. The Daily News (Durban), 1990.04.10 (ANC builds from within).



countries for advanced military and political training.

An interesting aspect of some of the training facilities that Umkhonto shared with other liberation movements was that it appeared to have made use, where possible, of its own instructors, most of whom were Xhosas. This was especially the case at Dabrasseur (or Dabrazid) in Ethiopia where according to two Umkhonto recruits who received their training there, most of the instructors at the camp were Xhosas. Both the Captain of the camp, Captain Marmo and his Second-in-Command were for instance, Xhosas.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ As far as the training given to recruits was concerned this ranged from drill work to physical exercises, to the use of a wide variety of weapons, both light and heavy as well as explosives, particularly demolition charges and mines. Recruits also received training in map reading, radio work and first aid - in short, they were trained in all aspects of both conventional and guerrilla warfare.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

According to an article, accompanied by a detailed map, that appeared in To the Point in February 1973 it was claimed that no less than seven different liberation organisations were operative in Zambia and that there were more than 80 permanent guerrilla bases in the country. This and the fact that the OAU-based Centre of African Liberation had its permanent headquarters in Lusaka, made Zambia one if not the most important African country by the beginning of the 1970's for the training of guerrilla fighters and the exportation of revolutionary violence to African countries not under Black rule.⁽¹⁰²⁾

According to the above source by 1973 most of the ANC and Umkhonto's training facilities or bases in Zambia were situated in an area

-
100. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of A. Jantjies, pp. C7 - 19, and I. Rani, pp. D25 - 26.
 101. Supreme Court, Transvaal Division, Case 65/64, The State against N. Mandela and others, Evidence of A. Jantjies, pp. C7 - 19, and I. Rani, pp. D25 - 26.
 102. To the Point, 1973.02.10 (Secret bases in Zambia), pp. 25 - 29. See also Morris, Armed Conflict in Southern Africa, p. 243.



between the Kariba Dam and the town of Livingstone. (See DIAGRAM L.) Most of these camps, with the largest concentration being east of Livingstone, called "West Camp of Deka", were jointly staffed and operated by the ANC (Umkhonto) and ZAPU. The latter organisation also operated a number of training facilities near Chirundu, known as "East Camp", as well as in the Mpata Gorge near Feira. It is thus possible that the ANC (Umkhonto) might also have made use of these facilities from time to time. According to Michael Morris, the ANC (Umkhonto) and ZAPU also operated a combined training facility just outside Lusaka, called Nkomo Camp. (103)

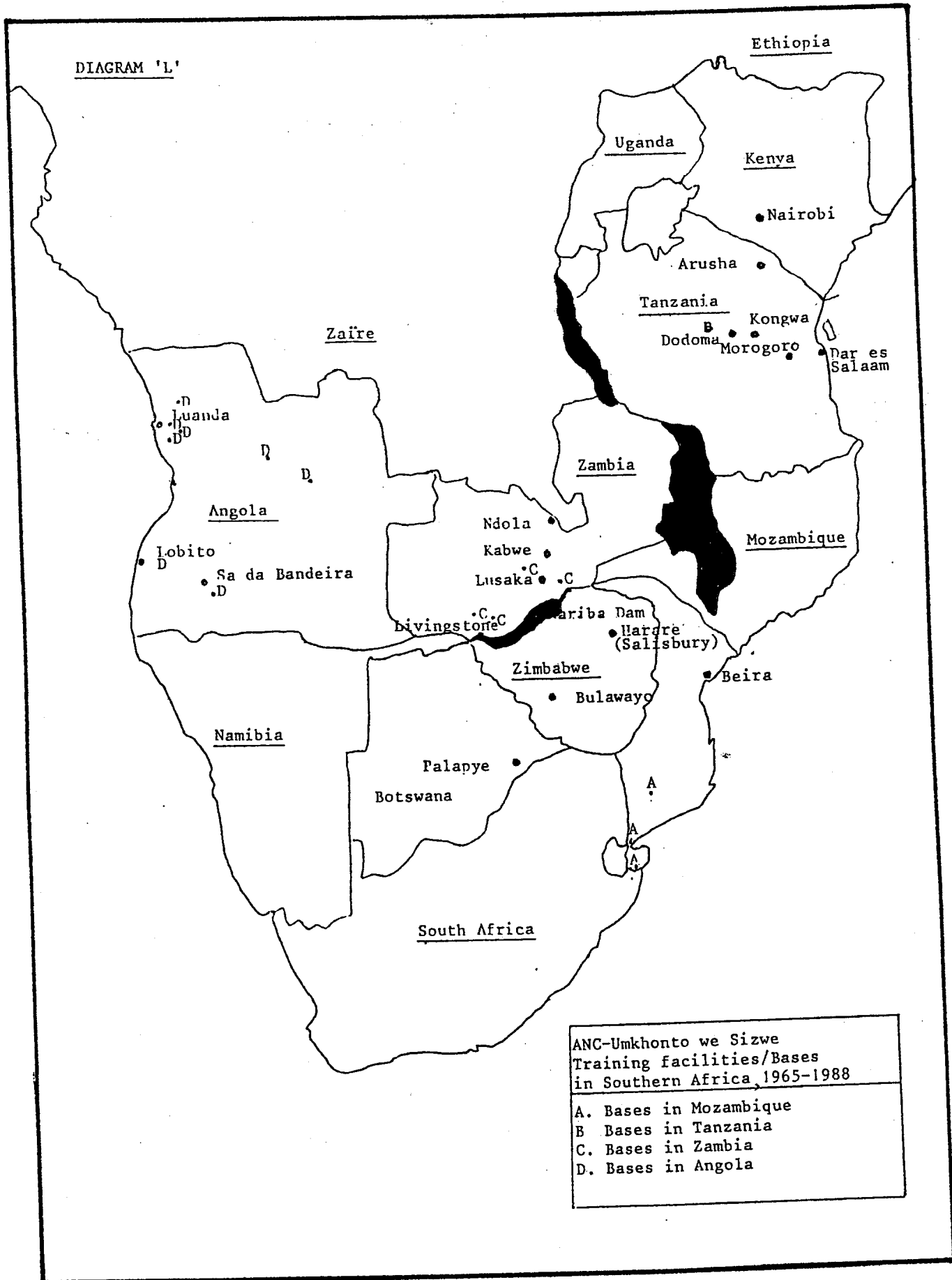
However, as pointed out, not all of Umkhonto's cadres, including those who joined ZAPU in the 1967 to 1969 incursions into Rhodesia, were African trained. A substantial number of the organisation's cadres such as James April, for instance, were trained outside the continent. April was trained in both East Germany and the Soviet Union after he had left South Africa in 1962. Having survived the Wankie incursions into Rhodesia in August 1967, he was one of those later jailed by the Botswana authorities for illegal arms possession when he tried to escape via that country. On his release from prison in 1968 he was deported to Zambia. From there he was sent to London where he was updated by Slovo and Hodgson on the latest techniques of infiltration and secret communication. (104)

With the granting of independence to and the establishment of Marxist regimes in Angola and Mozambique in 1975 the ANC-SACP alliance also set up training and transit facilities in these countries. As a result Angola took over from Zambia and Tanzania in 1977 as the main training ground for Umkhonto's cadres. Most of those who left South Africa in the post-1976 period were channeled to Umkhonto's training camps in Angola. With the collapse of the ANC and Umkhonto's facilities and structures in Mozambique by 1984 following the SADF's repeated raids on them between 1981 and 1983, and the signing of the

103. Morris, Armed Conflict in Southern Africa, p. 245.

104. Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations, 1971, pp. 86 - 87;

Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations, 1973, pp. 80 - 81.





Nkomati Accord the following year Angola became the key training centre for the ANC and Umkhonto. As such it became central to the survival of the ANC's armed struggle in South Africa. At the same time Botswana became the main route through which recruits were taken out of South Africa and trained guerrillas were returned to the country.

Although Angola became the most important centre for the training of ANC-Umkhonto guerrillas by the mid-1980's, indications were that some recruits were also still being trained in Zambia and to a lesser extent in Tanzania. New transit facilities were also established closer to South Africa in frontline states such as the newly-independent Zimbabwe and in Botswana to make up for facilities lost in Mozambique and Swaziland after 1984 and Lesotho after 1986.

2.2.2. The Kabwe Conference on Education and Training

At the 1985 Kabwe conference an extensive policy was adopted on the political, ideological, and military training of cadres as well as the moral, academic and cultural education of ANC-SACP-Umkhonto members. As far as the political and ideological training of cadres was concerned, it was stated that this should be based in "patriotism" and "boundless hatred for the enemy". In addition a "good" cadre should have "sterling revolutionary attributes, loyalty, discipline, dedication, devotion and strong determination". They should further be "staunch believers in revolutionary nationalism and anti-imperialism". At the same time cadres were expected to be well-versed with "the political and ideological forces within South Africa" so as to train cadres to exercise political leadership and to be organisers inside the country. But even more important, they should be sufficiently informed and trained to transmit independently ANC (and Umkhonto) policy to all sections of the people inside the country. Towards this end the liberation movement had set up its own political school which formed part of SOMAFCO at Mazimbu.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

105. ANC, National Consultative Conference, June 1985, Commission on Cadre Policy, p. 1; See also SOMAFCO, Official Opening 21 - 23 August 1985, Progress Report, Special Edition.



With regard to the adoption of a cadre training policy, a number of recommendations were made which among others called for the adoption of a special cadre slogan entitled "Fight, Learn, Produce". In other words, the emphasis was not on education as a weapon against apartheid, but on the armed struggle and the preparation of cadres to bring about education through liberation, or to put it more simply, "Liberation before Education".

It was further recommended that the newly-elected NEC of the ANC should gear itself towards the practical implementation of the ANC's educational programme. It was suggested that this should be done as soon as possible to solve some pressing problems, such as the existence of a sizeable number of cadres in Zambia and elsewhere who were not employed in any of the activities undertaken by Umkhonto. In view of the latter situation it was recommended and later accepted by the Conference, despite some sizable opposition to the suggestion, that in future all able-bodied members of the liberation movement would be subjected to compulsory military training.

It was further recommended that since Umkhonto had a high degree of illiteracy among its members, an all-out effort had to be made to see to the education of these people. A call was made on recruiting officers to ensure that Umkhonto cadres should be able to read and write, since propaganda formed an important part of their activities. To ensure that this was done it was suggested that all military training of cadres should go hand in hand with basic education for all in the liberation movement. (106)

2.2.3. The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO)

Although SOMAFCO was set up during the second half of the 1970's to serve the educational needs of the ANC-SACP alliance, many of

106. ANC, National Consultative Conference, June 1985, Commission on Cadre Policy, p. 2.



Umkhonto's cadres seemed to have attended the centre at some or other stage of their training. This was particularly the case during the 1980's. Since political education formed a vital part of the ANC's armed struggle, political commissars were for instance extensively employed in the designing and execution of the educational curriculum and policy at SOMAFCO.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ To ensure that this was done in accordance with the policies of the ANC-SACP alliance, a separate "Commissariat" was established at SOMAFCO during the first half of the 1980's to oversee all political and ideological aspects of the teaching programme at the college. In terms of the latter, a "special political commissar" was appointed to each eight-person dormitory room. Their work in turn was supervised by a "building political commissar" who in turn was responsible to a "unit political commissar" and so on. Presiding over this hierarchy of political education and commissars was a "student political commissar" who reported directly to the head of the structure, the "chief political commissar" who was also the head of the college. This elaborated hierarchy which was typical military in nature appeared to have existed throughout the entire educational set-up at SOMAFCO and was at the basis of the institute's political and educational discipline. As a result, it was virtually impossible for anyone to make a decision or do something without the political commissar and thus the head of the college knowing about it.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

SOMAFCO thus played an important role in the political education of all Umkhonto cadres, particularly during the second half of the 1980's, following the decision taken at Kabwe which made political and military training compulsory for all members of the liberation alliance.

-
107. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 61 - 65. See also Douglas and Davis, Revolt on the Veldt, (Harpers 267, December 1983, p. 35)
108. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 61 - 65.



2.2.4. ANC/Umkhonto Training Camps in Angola

As mentioned above, the ANC and Umkhonto had their main training facilities in Angola by the mid-1980's. By 1988 it was claimed that the ANC and Umkhonto had at least eight major facilities in that country for the training and housing of Umkhonto cadres. It is not entirely clear where all these facilities were but at least three, namely Quibaxa, situated about a hundred kilometers north-east of Luanda; Caculama and Pango were positively identified as guerrilla training camps for Umkhonto. Quibaxa, also known as "Camp 13", was reported to be able to accommodate up to 300 recruits while the latter two facilities could accommodate up to 800 and 300 recruits respectively. Pango camp (also referred to as Punga or the David Rabkin Centre) apparently consisted of four separate camps.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ It is not clear whether these latter camps were part of the eight camps referred to above or whether they were merely part of the Pango facility. It is also not clear whether the four separate camps at Pango each could hold 300 recruits at a time or whether the figure of 300 was a combined figure for all four facilities at Pango. The largest of the training facilities namely that at Caculama was equipped with anti-aircraft guns for protection against possible SADF attacks. In addition to the above facilities of which little else is known, the ANC and Umkhonto apparently also operated bases at Funda just outside Luanda and a number of other facilities such as the Vianna transit camp. Umkhonto apparently also had camps at Benguela, the coastal railhead town immediately south of the port of Lobito and at Nova Gagenga.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ The Vianna facility which was also known to Umkhonto operatives as "Engineering Camp", was used for political indoctrination and the accommodation of recruits and trainees en route to East Germany for advanced training.

109. South Africa: Hani's Rise, (Africa Confidential 29 (16), 1988.08.12, pp. 1 - 2); Barrett, The ANC. A Political Military Option, (Unpublished paper, Inkatha Institute, Durban, March 1989, p. 5).

110. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, p. 66.



Comrade September, alias Glory Lephosa Sidebe, a former regional commander and an intelligence officer of Umkhonto who gave evidence for the State in the trial of Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and two others - Acton Mandla Maseko and Simon Dladla - was one of the post-Soweto generation who was trained in Angola. The story of Sidebe, who left South Africa in 1977 to join the ranks of the liberation movement in exile, is typical of many of the African youths who left South Africa after 1976 to join the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Having illegally crossed the South African-Swaziland border in 1977, Sidebe applied for political asylum. This was subsequently granted to him. From Manzini he was sent to the Mawelawela refugee camp, together with about 20 other political refugees. He made contact with recruiting officials of both the ANC and the PAC. Approached by both organisations to join their ranks, Sidebe eventually settled for the ANC, which offered him a scholarship to study overseas. After a brief stay at Mabizela he and three others were taken by road to Mozambique. They remained here for a month, during which time they were thoroughly instructed by Jacob Zuma, then deputy Chief ANC representative in Mozambique and member of the MPC, on aspects of politics and political theory. Inspired by what Zuma had to say, Sidebe then decided to join the ranks of Umkhonto. From Mozambique, Sidebe was flown directly to Luanda in Angola and from there to Vianna or "Engineering Camp", as he referred to it. Here he remained for about a week, rubbing shoulders with Cuban instructors and guerrillas from ZAPU and SWAPO. Then in June 1977, Sidebe, together with 30 other recruits, was sent to East Germany (GDR) for advanced training in virtually all aspects of guerrilla warfare. The camp in the GDR was at Teterow (it is possible that it was the name of the camp and not a place), and they remained here for six months. They were trained in basic drill, topography (both in theory and practice), compass and map reading. This was followed by training in fighting tactics, mainly of a guerrilla nature but also aspects of conventional warfare, and the structures of Western military models

111. G. Moss, *The Strange Saga of Mr X1*, (Work in Progress, 54, June/July 1988, pp. 13 - 16). See also *South Africa: Infiltration*, (Africa Confidential 28 (10), 1987.05.13, pointers). The Case of Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, (Sechaba, December 1987, pp. 14 - 16).

such as that represented by the South African, British and American armies. In addition they also received training in the use of explosives, grenades and a wide range of hand weapons commonly used by guerrilla forces around the world. At the end of six months the training course was rounded off by lectures in politics, particularly the set-up and manner in which underground cells operated. During these lectures it was impressed upon Sidebe and the others that there should never be more than three members to a cell, and that no horizontal contact should ever take place between cells. Lectures on African history were primarily conducted by Dr. Pallo Jordan and Aziz Pahad, who were both members of the ANC's NEC, while the history of the ANC and trade unionism was dealt with by Francis Meli, the editor of Sechaba.

Once they had completed their training in East Germany, they were sent back to Angola. Sidebe was sent to Funda (Punga?) camp where he underwent a "refresher" course. The purpose of this course was not so much to determine who was militarily most competent, but to establish and correct areas of weakness in recruits. By March 1978, Sidebe was returned to Mozambique where he was attached to the Transvaal "military machinery" for operational work inside South Africa. As a member of the latter military machinery he was responsible between 1979 and 1983 for a series of landmine and other attacks in the Transvaal. Among these was the attack on the Hectorspruit fuel depot in 1982. The next year (1983) Sidebe was sent to the Soviet Union for intelligence training and on this occasion he was accompanied by Kasrils, Umkhonto's Chief of Intelligence.

On completion of the course at the KGB (Committee of State Security) training school at Esmolova Park in Moscow, Sidebe was returned to Mozambique, but as a result of the Nkomati Accord signed in March 1984, he was sent to Swaziland where he then became part of Umkhonto's Regional Political Military Council (RPMC) and the Co-ordinating Committee that was set up by Slovo to oversee Umkhonto

and the ANC's operations in the Transvaal.⁽¹¹²⁾ This committee was allegedly chaired by Kasrils while Ebrahim acted as both secretary and treasurer.

Controversy surrounded much of Sidebe's evidence, particularly around the explanation as to how he came to join the South African security police. According to the evidence he gave in camera at the Bethal Treason Trial (which began in Piet Retief in the south-eastern Transvaal in 1987 but was later moved to Bethal in the eastern Transvaal), Sidebe claimed that he was arrested as an illegal immigrant by the Swazi police in mid-August 1986. He then claimed that he was later "sprung" from prison in Swaziland by a group of ANC "colleagues" who advised him to hide out in South Africa to avoid the Swazi authorities. Sidebe then claimed that suddenly while walking in the bushes near Piet Retief he decided that he was tired after nine years as an Umkhonto operative and decided to hand himself over to the South African police. As a result of the information gained from Sidebe, the police were subsequently able to destroy much of the ANC and Umkhonto's underground structures in Swaziland and the eastern Transvaal.⁽¹¹³⁾

In addition to the training and other facilities mentioned above, the ANC and Umkhonto apparently also made use of some former ZAPU training facilities in Angola. These latter facilities allegedly were at Boma just outside Luena (previously known as Luso) and at Sa da Bandeira.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The ANC and Umkhonto apparently also operated a training facility at Katenga Camp until 1979, when it was destroyed by the SADF. Until then Katenga was an important training facility and many of those who had left South Africa after June 1976, and who were recruited into Umkhonto, were trained at Katenga Camp. Before its destruction, both Meli and the SACP theoretician, Jack Simons, a

112. Moss, The Strange Saga of Mr. X1, (Work in Progress 54, June/ July 1988, p. 16). See also The Case of Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, (Sechaba, December 1987, pp. 14 - 16).

113. Moss, The Strange Saga of Mr. X1, (Work in Progress 54, June/ July 1988, p. 16). See also The Case of Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, (Sechaba, December 1987, pp. 14 - 16).

114. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 7, 66.



former lecturer at the University of Cape Town, were attached to Katenga. (115)

Most of the training in the Angolan camps was given by a mixture of Umkhonto, Cuban, East German and Soviet instructors. The latter instructors were particularly involved in the training of recruits in specialist subjects such as advance communications and intelligence work. The latter category of instruction was apparently given at a Fapla (Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola) camp near Malanje. (116)

Besides the above facilities, Umkhonto and the ANC also operated a number of other facilities in Angola such as a farm for the production of pork and vegetables at Quela, supply depots, a creche, a garage to service its fleet of vehicles, medical and other support facilities. In addition, the ANC and Umkhonto controlled a number of apartments in Lusaka where cadres were trained in the art of espionage. Some of the apartments also served as accommodation for senior ANC and Umkhonto officials.

The ANC and Umkhonto also operated a detention facility for the "rehabilitation" of cadres at Quatro, near Quibaxa, and another at Pangi in northern Angola. (117) Quatro, also known as "Camp 32" or "Chitiri", was the better known of the two facilities and was often in the news due to the appalling conditions that existed there. As a result the camp was generally feared by even the most hardened of Umkhonto's guerrillas. Those in the ANC and Umkhonto who became discontented with the organisation for whatever reason or who were suspected of spying for the South African government, were sent to either Quatro or Pangi. Many of those in the organisation who were responsible (or thought to have been responsible) for the wide-spread mutiny in Umkhonto's training camps in Angola in 1984, or who had

115. South Africa: Crackdown hits Hani's men, (Africa Confidential 30 (18), 1989.09.08, p. 3).

116. The Daily News (Durban), 1988.12.16.

117. See South Africa: Forced out of the Laager, and The Great Mutiny, (Africa Confidential 29 (24), 1988.12.02, pp. 3 - 4).

fallen foul of the ANC security organ, the Mbokodo, were sent to Quatro.

Olivia Forsyth, a South African security police agent who had managed to infiltrate the ANC and Umkhonto in the mid-1980's, but who was later sent to Quatro on suspicion of espionage against the organisation, has given a vivid account of conditions in the camp during her imprisonment there in 1986.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ According to Miss Forsyth, who escaped from Quatro in May 1988, conditions in the prison camp were sub-human, with beatings and interrogation being part of the daily routine. Quatro and Pangi, however, were not the only facilities for ANC and Umkhonto cadres who fell foul of the organisation. Pregnant women and those who had contracted the feared Aids disease, or who were suspected of having it, were sent to what Miss Forsyth has described as a "human dumping ground" for such people in Tanzania. Particularly older members of the ANC and Umkhonto, who were considered disloyal to the organisation and the liberation struggle in South Africa, were sent to this facility in Tanzania.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Unfortunately Miss Forsyth did not expand on the Tanzanian camp and little else appears to be available on it.

With the influx of new recruits into the ANC and Umkhonto during the mid-1980's, most of the organisation's training facilities in Angola had to be expanded to accommodate the new intake which, like the 1976 intake, took the organisation by surprise. As a result the ANC had to step up its farming activities in Angola. According to Davis⁽¹²⁰⁾ the ANC was in the process of developing a new fifteen thousand-acre farm in addition to that at Quela in Angola by the mid-1980's, and more such facilities were being planned for the second half of the decade. Whether these farms were ever established is difficult to say, but there can be little doubt that the New York Accord of December 1988 would have put an immediate end to it.

118. The Daily News (Durban), 1989.02.03.

119. The Daily News (Durban), 1989.02.03.

120. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 66 - 67. See also The Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 1984.06.08.



Thus, by the middle of the 1980's, Angola had without a doubt, become the most significant centre for the training of Umkhonto and ANC cadres since the scaling down of operational bases in Mozambique, following the Nkomati Accord. Angola remained a relatively safe haven for the ANC and Umkhonto right up to the end of 1988 when, as a result of the New York Accord on 22 December, the situation underwent a drastic change.

In short the New York Accord came as a crippling experience for those in the ANC-SACP alliance who favoured an outright military solution to South Africa's political problems. Since the independence of Angola in 1975 and the arrival of the Cubans, the ANC and Umkhonto operated largely under the military protection of these forces. Militarily, some ANC-Umkhonto bases were protected from South African counter-insurgency operations by sophisticated Soviet military hardware supplied to both the ruling MPLA government, and the Cuban forces who were there to support it. It was in fact the growing presence of Cuba's military commitment in Angola and the highly sophisticated types of weaponry, particularly in Angola's air defences, that finally helped persuade the South African government in 1988 to seek a political settlement to the war in Angola.⁽¹²¹⁾

While it is true that the specialist training facilities available to the ANC and Umkhonto outside South Africa, particularly in the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries before 1988 were still available to the organisation after December 1988, Umkhonto's ability to recruit, train and invade South Africa with a substantial military force was reduced to almost nil. The spontaneous uprisings of the mid-1980's, together with the diplomatic setbacks suffered by the ANC and Umkhonto in Swaziland in 1982, in Mozambique in 1984, in Lesotho in 1986 and in Angola in 1988, eventually forced the leadership of the ANC and Umkhonto to accept that armed insurrection and revolution would never take place in terms of their 1969 perceptions. Up to 1984 the ANC-SACP alliance believed that revolution in South Africa

121. Africa Confidential 29 (14), 1988.07.05, p. 3.



would not be a spontaneous development, but would have to be "imported" or directed from outside the country's borders by the combined political and military efforts of the ANC-SACP alliance and Umkhonto. In this the latter would play a definite vanguard role. In terms of its 1969 document on Strategy and Tactics, the ANC made it clear that:

while guerrilla warfare was the special and in our case the only form in which the armed liberation struggle can be launched, the organisation rejected untimely, ill-planned or premature manifestations of violence [which] impede and do not advance the prospect for revolutionary change and are clearly counter-revolutionary. The riot, the street fight, the outburst of unorganised violence, individual terrorism; it points out, these were symptoms of the militant spirit but not pointers to revolutionary technique.⁽¹²²⁾

This argument by the ANC that popular mass revolt was likely to fail because:

Under the modern highly sophisticated police state (which South Africa is) it is questionable whether a movement can succeed in a programme of mass political organisation beyond a certain point without starting a new type of action,

however, drastically changed after the spontaneous revolt of the mid-1980's. In a recent assessment of the armed struggle and the role of Umkhonto in it, Kasrils stated that the:

armed struggle must complement mass struggle and the development of the armed struggle is dependent on it being rooted among the people. In other words, our MK combatants and organisers must therefore base themselves amongst the people in order to involve the masses in a People's War.⁽¹²³⁾

-
122. African National Congress (ANC), Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, Morogoro, 1969, pp. 5 - 8, 9, as quoted in Herbst, Prospects for Revolution in South Africa, (Political Science Quarterly 103 (4), 1988, pp. 665 - 666).
123. Kasrils, Politics and the Armed Struggle, (Sechaba, September 1988, pp. 1 - 2).

He went on to say that:

events of the past three years [1985, 1986, 1987] have unmistakably demonstrated just how possible and necessary it is to advance our struggle through a combination of armed and mass uprisings. The people have demonstrated just how ready they are to take up arms. In fact one might say that insurrection has been knocking on the door. (124)

Thus, according to Kasrils, in order to exploit any spontaneous revolutionary development, the ANC and Umkhonto had to set up an efficient and well-rooted underground infrastructure inside the country. The aim and task of such an underground would be to provide instant leadership and logistical support, something which up to the beginning of 1988, was made increasingly difficult by the South African government's diplomatic initiatives and the successes of its counter-insurgency operations.

Despite these unfavourable conditions, Umkhonto nevertheless vowed to step up the armed struggle in South Africa. There was however a marked decline in the acts of sabotage committed during the first half of 1989 as compared to the previous year, when Umkhonto launched an impressive number of attacks in opposition to the October Municipal elections. The overall impression is thus that after its expulsion from Angola, Umkhonto had difficulty in living up to its aims and promises and that although it had begun with the meaningful restructuring of its shattered underground organisation inside South Africa since February 1990, not much has come from this development.

2.3. Arming

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, Umkhonto began its armed struggle in 1961 with an assortment of home-made explosives and explosive devices. These types of explosive devices, which were at times supplemented with dynamite, remained the main armaments in

124. Kasrils, Politics and the Armed Struggle, (Sechaba, September 1988, pp. 2 - 3).

Umkhonto's sabotage campaign until at least the mid 1960's when the Soviet Union began to supply more sophisticated weapons and explosives to the organisation. With the discovery of the movement's combined underground headquarters at Rivonia in 1963, the police found a document which called for the manufacturing of masses of explosives and explosive devices, ranging from anti-personnel mines to hand grenades.

Whether the ANC-SACP alliance would ever have been able to manufacture the large quantities of explosives called for in the document was a much-debated point at the trial of the NHC in 1963. In the opinion of experts called by the state to make an evaluation of the document and the amounts of explosives specified in it, it was stated that the 144 tons of ammonium nitrate, 21,6 tons of aluminium powder and 15 tons of black powder mentioned in the document, if manufactured, would have been sufficient to destroy a city the size of Johannesburg.⁽¹²⁵⁾

The raid on Rivonia in mid-1963 however destroyed the immediate possibility of the underground producing its own explosives or weapons inside South Africa. Indications are that the ANC and the SACP were however aware of the almost impossibility of such an operation before the raid on Rivonia, for Slovo and J.B. Marks were sent out of South Africa in May 1963 to discuss Operation Mayibuye and to make arrangements - presumably with the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries - for arms delivery to the ANC and Umkhonto outside South Africa. These arrangements turned out to be successful because in 1964/65 Umkhonto began receiving its first communist-produced arms.

Over the next decade and a half the arms supply from the Soviet Union and its proxies was systematically stepped up until the Soviet Union, by the end of the 1970's, became the chief supplier of arms and explosives to the ANC and Umkhonto.

125. De Villiers, Rivonia. Operation Mayibuye, pp. 71 - 73.

Up to the joint incursions into Rhodesia in 1967, Umkhonto made primarily use of explosives and explosive devices such as limpet mines to conduct its armed struggle inside South Africa. Although its guerrillas received training in the use of small arms such as the famous Soviet designed AK-47 assault rifle, the Makarov and Tokarev pistols as well as the Czech-made Vz-6I Skorpion machine pistol, very few of these weapons were ever found inside South Africa before the revival of the armed struggle during the second half of the 1970's. This means that although underground units of the ANC and Umkhonto were armed with small arms, their main aim up to the mid-1970's appeared to have been to commit sabotage. Small arms, so it appears, were only to be used in extreme cases of self-defence or when detected by the police or the security force.

After 1976, however, the picture began to change. With the availability of Mozambique and Angola to the ANC and Umkhonto, arms and explosives of various types and caliber could be brought into the country with relative ease. As a result between the mid-1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, when Umkhonto intensified its armed struggle, large caches of arms and explosives were found by the police in various parts of the country, particularly in the Transvaal and Natal. The arms caches were found to contain a variety of communist-made arms and explosives. In addition to the weapons already mentioned, they normally also contained a variety of hand-grenades, such as the F.1, the RG-42, and the RGD-5 defence hand-grenades, and the RG-4 offense hand-grenades, the TM-range of anti-tank and anti-vehicle mines as well as the very popular and highly effective SPM range of limpet and mini-limpet mines.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Of these weapons the Soviet-made RG-42 anti-personnel hand-grenade must be hurled from behind cover to guard the thrower against the 25 metre-wide circle of shrapnel that the weapon was designed to

126. M.N. Kramer, Soviet Arms Transfers to the Third World, (Problems of Communism, September - October 1987, p. 54). See also Handbook of Terrorist Weapons, issued to the South African Police, no date, p. 2 - 52; and Morris and Steenkamp, The SA National Congress Rocket Attack on Voortrekkerhoogte, Special Report, TRC, Cape Town, 1982, pp. 4 - 12, 33a, 34 - 39; as well as Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 70 - 71.



produce. The F.I. was even more dangerous in that it has a fragmentation radius of up to 200 metres from point of impact. The RGD-5 defence hand-grenade was lighter and more compact than other Soviet-made grenades, but its effect was similar to that of the RG-42.⁽¹²⁷⁾

Only the Makarov pistol and the RGD-5 grenade, of all these weapons, were in active military service among Soviet and Eastern European forces. Manufacturing of the Skorpion machine pistol by Czechoslovakia has ended. Its presence in South Africa therefore suggested that it was obtained from obsolete stock either in Czechoslovakia or elsewhere in the communist world such as the Soviet Union or Cuba. The Tokarev too was no longer used by the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries, having been replaced by the smaller and lighter Makarov pistol. The AK-47 which formed the mainstay of Umkhonto's armament was also no longer used by the Warsaw Pact countries. It had been withdrawn in favour of the more advanced AKM version. The Soviet Union also no longer manufactured the AK-47. This was left to Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Similarly, neither the RG-42 nor the F.I. hand-grenades have seen active military service with any of the Warsaw Pact countries since the Second World War.

In short therefore, argued Davis, Umkhonto's arsenal had consisted largely of "surplus supplies of outdated Soviet and East European munitions".⁽¹²⁸⁾ In addition, the weapons also represented a comparatively low level of firepower. The Tokarev and Makarov pistols were both protective weapons rather than assault guns. The AK-47, while being a very reliable weapon with a high rate of fire, was definitely not better than the South African-manufactured R1, R4 and R5 assault rifles. Although the range of weapons made available to the ANC and Umkhonto permitted an insurgent to concentrate most effectively on rapid self-protected assaults on stationary targets,

127. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 70 - 71.

128. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 70 - 71.



few of the arms endowed Umkhonto however with the capacity to directly engage units of the South African Defence Force in battle.⁽¹²⁹⁾

While the above range of weapons were more or less standard equipment used by Umkhonto guerrillas by the end of the 1970's, the beginning of the 1980's however witnessed the use of more sophisticated and heavier arms. In August 1981, following the assassination of Joe Gqabi, the ANC's chief representative in Zimbabwe on 31 July - allegedly by South African agents - a DKZ-B 122 mm surface to surface rocket launcher was for the first time used by Umkhonto guerrillas inside South Africa. This weapon, sometimes also referred to as the Grad-P, is a sophisticated weapon that has seen extensive service on the side of communist forces in the Vietnam War. It was for instance used with great effectiveness in January 1968 in the Tet offensive as well as by the communist-backed Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) in its attacks on Israeli positions in the Middle East, as well as in the war in Lebanon. According to an investigative report into Umkhonto's rocket attack on the Voortrekkerhoogte military base in August 1981, the weapon which can be dismantled into several portable units, was brought into South Africa from Mozambique via Swaziland. According to the same report the rocket attack was planned outside the country by two cells consisting of five men each; five of whom were White foreign nationals who had entered South Africa in advance of the attack to set up a base and logistics facilities. They left the country before the attack took place on 12 August.⁽¹³⁰⁾

According to an ANC press statement released in Dar-es-Salaam on 13 August - the day after the attack - it was alleged that the attack was carried out by Umkhonto guerrillas and that it was done to coincide with the commemorative anniversary of the "Wankie" attacks

129. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, pp. 71 - 72.

130. Morris and Steenkamp, The SA National Congress Rocket Attack, pp. 9a - 9c.

fourteen years earlier.⁽¹³¹⁾ Some seven years later in May 1988, the South African Security police having received information, raided a house at Broederstroom near the Hartebeespoort Dam believed to be the headquarters of an all-White ANC cell. Among the arms uncovered at the house (it was considered to be the largest arms cache ever found in South Africa), the police found a Soviet-made SAM-7 multiple missile launcher and rockets similar to that used by guerrillas during the Rhodesian bush war to shoot down two Rhodesian Air Viscount planes, one in 1978 and one in 1979.⁽¹³²⁾

Although sophisticated heavy weapons such as the SAM-7 and Grad-P were finding their way to the ANC and Umkhonto by the 1980's, they were the exception rather than the rule. There is no indication that they were ever supplied to the ANC and Umkhonto in any large quantities or brought into the country in any quantities. On the whole, most Soviet or Soviet Bloc supplies to the ANC and Umkhonto in the 1980's, particularly to the organisation's training camps in Angola never amounted to more than outdated small arms. "Most Soviet Bloc supplies at the Angolan camps, whether through donor restrictions or ANC request", argued Davis, "appeared to be of the more primitive, inexpensive variety."⁽¹³³⁾

3. CONCLUSION

Since the formation of Umkhonto and the beginning of the armed struggle in 1961, a number of important changes have taken place with regard to the recruitment and training of the cadres of Umkhonto. Some of these changes were brought about by developments inside the liberation movement, but the majority were forced on the ANC-SACP alliance by changing conditions inside South Africa and the successes and failures of the South African government's political, diplomatic and military strategy in Southern Africa. The first major change came with the destruction of the ANC, SACP and Umkhonto's combined

131. Morris and Steenkamp, The SA National Congress Rocket Attack, pp. 9a - 9c.

132. The Daily News (Durban), 1988.05.12.

133. Davis, Apartheid's Rebels, p. 72.



internal underground structure and operations between 1963 and 1965. With the direction and control of Umkhonto and the armed struggle being transferred to the ANC's Mission in Exile after 1965, the recruitment and training of cadres for Umkhonto inside South Africa became a serious problem. As a result, for the next ten years, until the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in Southern Africa and the outbreak of the Soweto unrest, the ANC and Umkhonto had to make do with the few recruits they had. The bulk of those who made up the ranks of the two organisations by the early 1970's had been recruited into the underground and external mission during the early 1960's. Although new recruits continued to enter the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto between 1965 and the mid-1970's, these were few and far between. Despite the growing dissatisfaction among Blacks, particularly the African youth inside South Africa with a host of issues ranging from education to the use of Afrikaans in African schools, and the desire for political rights and expression, very few of these people were prepared to actually join the ranks of Umkhonto to be trained for guerrilla warfare. One of the main reasons for this reluctance was the Black Consciousness Movement, which had its origins in the late 1960's and which provided a political outlet for many Black youths inside the country, something that neither the ANC nor Umkhonto could do at the time. As a result of these and other factors, the ANC and Umkhonto had to use a variety of methods including deception and coercion to get people to join its ranks. These methods were clearly not very successful and were partially responsible for the fact that the ANC's Mission in Exile could not successfully revive the armed struggle inside South Africa before the second half of the 1970's.

By this stage, however, a number of developments had taken place that favoured the cause of the ANC and its armed struggle in South Africa. The first, was the granting of independence to Mozambique and Angola and the establishment of Marxist-Leninist rule in both these former Portuguese colonies. The second was the Soweto uprising which, as a result of the heavy-handed action of the South African government, led to the departure of thousands of radical Black youths from the country, the majority of whom joined the ANC, which packed them off



to Umkhonto's training camps in Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and elsewhere. The influx of these new recruits into the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto - a development that was accelerated with the banning of the Black Consciousness Movement in 1977 - represented the second major change in the development of the armed struggle since 1961. Up to 1976, the ANC and Umkhonto had to rely on a great deal of deception and good fortune to get people to join their ranks, but after that date, most recruits who joined these two organisations did so of their own free will. With the accessibility of Mozambique and Angola after 1975, the ANC and Umkhonto's recruiting agents could intercept Black youths leaving South Africa and channel them into Umkhonto's training camps. Although deception still occurred, most recruits who joined Umkhonto during these years did so primarily to be trained as guerrilla fighters and to be returned to South Africa to fight the South African government.

Although the influx of the new recruits, first in 1976 and again in the mid-1980's, swelled the ranks of the ANC, particularly Umkhonto, and thus enabled the ANC to resume the armed struggle inside South Africa, it also brought with it a host of new problems. Radically-minded, headstrong, difficult to control, and generations younger than most of the leaders of the ANC and Umkhonto, the Black youths (most of them were African) of the post-1976 era placed a great deal of pressure on the existing structures and leadership of the ANC and Umkhonto, who did not always make the best of decisions or advanced the best solutions to the problems facing it. The inevitable outcome of this was growing dissatisfaction among the rank and file of Umkhonto, which finally flared up into a mutiny in the organisation's Angolan training camps in 1981. Although the mutiny was severely suppressed, the dissatisfaction in the camps remained with the result that by the mid-1980's, when the second major influx of recruits into the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto began, the ANC felt itself compelled to draw up a detailed policy on the role, position and future of its cadres. This cadre policy, which was drafted by a Commission of the ANC's National Executive Committee and presented to the second National Consultative Conference held at Kabwe in June 1985, was the first such policy ever adopted by the ANC-SACP alliance.

Although the policy was accepted by the conference and a call was made for its immediate implementation, the fact that dissatisfaction remained in the training camps of Umkhonto and that many of the problems which caused the dissatisfaction in the 1970's were still apparent in the late 1980's tended to suggest that the implementation of the 1985 policy on cadres had not been a success.

Since the Kabwe conference a number of developments had taken place that probably contributed to this. The first was the National State of Emergency declared by the South African government in mid-1986. Armed with the extensive powers granted to it by the emergency regulations, the police was able to undermine much of the ANC and Umkhonto's organisational activities as well as its recruitment campaign inside the country after 1986.

The second development was the coup in Lesotho in January 1986. Although Lesotho had never been a vitally important link in the ANC's underground movement in and out of the country, it did act as a recruiting facility for the ANC whose personnel occupied several buildings and offices in Maseru up to the beginning of 1986. The loss of Lesotho undoubtedly increased the ANC and Umkhonto's dependence on Botswana for the movement of recruits and trained cadres in and out of the country at a time when the latter was no longer a safe route.

The third major setback to the ANC and Umkhonto's activities inside South Africa and the training of its cadres outside the country, came at the end of 1988 with the signing of the New York Peace Accord between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, which directly and immediately affected the position and future presence of the ANC and Umkhonto in that country. In terms of the latter peace agreement the ANC had to dismantle all its bases and remove its troops and personnel from Angola. The ANC and Umkhonto thus found themselves in more or less the same position as the Algerian nationalists and their liberation army - the ALN - found themselves in 1960. With their army being neutralised by the French who had something like 700 000 men in Algeria by 1960, the ALN had little choice but to consider the fact



that a military victory was incomplete unless accompanied by a political victory.⁽¹³⁴⁾ Both the ANC and the South African government were learning that lesson by the end of 1988.

As far as the arming of Umkhonto was concerned this, like much of the history of the liberation struggle, developed through a distinct internal and external phase. Attempts to arm Umkhonto internally during the early years of the armed struggle were not very successful due to the watchful eye of the State's security establishment. Moreover, to set up the type of underground facilities to produce enough explosives and explosive devices to conduct the armed struggle as suggested by Operation Mayibuye and some of the other documents found at Rivonia would have been virtually an impossible undertaking. This much was later admitted by Slovo in a candid assessment of the early years of the armed struggle.⁽¹³⁵⁾ Whatever plans the leaders of Umkhonto, the ANC and the SACP still had by the beginning of 1963 to arm and conduct the armed struggle from inside the country finally had to be shelved with the police discovery of their headquarters at Rivonia in July 1963 and the rapid elimination of the underground by the police in the months that followed.

At the time that the police discovered the Rivonia headquarters of the ANC and Umkhonto, Slovo, a former commander of Umkhonto, and J.B. Marks were abroad to discuss the mechanics of Operation Mayibuye and the internal manufacturing of massive quantities of explosives and explosive devices. They were still outside the country when the police arrested the NHC of Umkhonto at Rivonia. This immediately changed everything. In future the training and arming of Umkhonto's cadres would have to be done from outside the country. As a result of the close association between Umkhonto and the SACP the latter was able to obtain Soviet military aid for the ANC and Umkhonto in 1964/65. Although little is known about this early Soviet military aid to the ANC and Umkhonto, especially how, where, and when it was

134. Davidson, The People's Cause. A History of Guerrillas in Africa, p. 85.

135. Dawn, Souvenir Issue, pp. 24 - 25.

delivered to the liberation alliance, there can be little doubt that by the end of the 1960's the Soviet Union and its Marxist allies had become the main arms supplier of the ANC and Umkhonto. This continued to be the case until the end of 1988. Judging by the type of arms and explosives used by Umkhonto's cadres over the decades since the first major attempt to infiltrate armed guerrillas back into the country in 1968, and what has been published on the subject, the general impression is that while the arms and other equipment given to Umkhonto was highly effective and substantial, it was nonetheless outdated and no longer in production in many of the Soviet Bloc countries in Europe or elsewhere. Although more sophisticated weapons were found in the possession of Umkhonto cadres during the 1980's, these latter types of weapons while highly effective, were few and far between. They were clearly not issued to Umkhonto in large quantities. As a result, their impact on the armed struggle, although devastating when used, was relatively small.

Since the intensification of the armed struggle at the beginning of the 1980's the ANC and Umkhonto had managed to smuggle large quantities of arms and explosive devices, mostly limpet and other types of mines, into the country, either for the purpose of storage for later attacks, or as part of special assignments such as the attacks on SASOL and the Koeberg nuclear power station or for the manufacturing of powerful car bombs such as that used in Pretoria in 1983. Exactly how many weapons were brought into South Africa over the years since the mid-1970's is not clear, but judging by the frequent reports of arms caches discovered by the police since 1976, it would appear that fairly large quantities of mines, ammunition, pistols, machine pistols, explosives, and various models of AK-47 assault rifles had been brought into South Africa since the unrest of the mid-1970's. The loss of many of these arms by the ANC and Umkhonto undoubtedly had an inhibiting effect on the armed struggle over the years. Although the police never uncovered all the arms caches, the fact that they did uncover a substantial number of these caches from time to time and that it often involved large quantities of arms has made it difficult if not impossible for the ANC and Umkhonto to establish a substantial arms build-up inside the country.



Without such an arms build-up inside the country and the availability of a well-oiled underground infrastructure to distribute these arms among the people, the ANC and the SACP were largely unable to root the armed struggle among the people by the end of 1988 despite their substantial political and military efforts to do so. This much was admitted by Kasrils, a senior member of Umkhonto's NHC in 1988. (136)

-
136. Kasrils, Politics and the Armed Struggle, (Sechaba, September 1988, pp. 1 - 22).