



AL3284 - Mark Gevisser's Research Papers for Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred

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Abstract:

The Mark Gevisser collection includes a range of material collected during research done for the Thabo Mbeki biography, *The Dream Deferred*. Classification of the collection follows the structure of the book. Written in eight parts *The Dream Deferred* explores: (1) Thabo Mbeki's familial roots in the Transkei before 1942, the year he was born, the 'New Africaness' of his parents' generation. (2) Thabo Mbeki's childhood and youth in Mbewuleni, his birthplace and in Queenstown, Butterworth and Alice where he schooled; his return to Mbewuleni after being expelled from Lovedale. (3) Mbeki's departure to Johannesburg in 1960, where he prepared for graduate studies, (4) his departure to Europe where he lived and studied from 1962-1971 at Sussex and in Moscow. (5) His return to Africa in 1971 to work for the ANC's 'Revolutionary Council' in Zambia, Swaziland and Nigeria, and his marriage in 1974 to Zanele Dlamini. (6) Mbeki's role and management style as overseer of the Department of Information Propaganda (later Publicity) and as the ANC's political secretary during 1978-1990, his handling of Mugabe, the disappearance of his brother Jama Mbeki, his relationship with Joe Slovo and the SACP, the ANC's relationship with Russia and the US. Mbeki's role in the first meetings between the ANC and the South African government (7) and in reaching a negotiated settlement during 1990-1994 when he and other exiles returned to South Africa. Mbeki's African Renaissance Project. Mbeki replaced as chief negotiator and his growing belief of conspirators set against his ascendancy in the ANC. (8) Mbeki's understanding of government, his handling of debates about the economy, the arms deal, his relationship with Mandela, racial reconciliation and the AIDS crisis during 1994 and onwards.

Introduction

The Mark Gevisser collection comprises the material collected during research done for Mark Gevisser's biography of Thabo Mbeki entitled *The Dream Deferred* (2007). The material mainly consists of secondary research sources in the forms of newspaper clippings, journal articles, book extracts, public and internal ANC documents (such as press statements, minutes of meetings and correspondence), Mbeki's own writing (speeches and articles) and Gevisser's notebooks. The collection further includes audio cassettes of interviews conducted, for the most part, by Mark Gevisser with family, friends and colleagues of Thabo Mbeki.

The Mbeki biography starts with an exploration of the familial roots of the 'non-traditional' Moeranes and Mbekis; the meeting and coming of political awareness of Mbeki's parents Epainette Moerane and Govan Mbeki in 1930s



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Durban; their move to the rural Mbewuleni in the Transkei, Thabo Mbeki's birthplace and Mbeki's childhood and schooling in Mbewuleni, Queenstown and Alice (Lovedale) during the years missionary schools were transferred to state schools under Bantu education. The following part explores Mbeki's move to Johannesburg in 1960 to study for his A levels through Sached in order to do a British degree; his joining of the SACP and his departure into exile in 1962 to study economics at the Sussex University. The next part covers the period from 1962 to 1971 when Thabo Mbeki studied in Britain, against the backdrop of the Rivonia trial and imprisonment of the ANC high command back home, and later at the Lenin Institute in Moscow; Thabo Mbeki's involvement with the international anti-apartheid and anti-racialist movements as well as youth groups YSS and SASA and his relationship to the 'new', anti-Soviet left. The following section tracks Thabo Mbeki's return to Africa in 1971; his marriage to Zanele in 1974; his time spent working in Zambia, Swaziland and Nigeria in the ANC's 'Revolutionary Council' as well as the ANC's relationship with the IFP, and the disintegration of the Mbekis' familial bonds. The final three sections look at the period of negotiations from 1978 to 1994, Thabo Mbeki and other exiles' return home from 1990 and lastly the Mandela and Mbeki presidencies from 1994 onwards. The chapters on negotiations explore Mbeki's role in turning the ANC's public image around in the 1980s whilst overseeing the Department of Information and Publicity, and in securing a negotiated settlement. The final part focuses on Mbeki's relationship with Mandela and the manner in which he handled debates about the economy, the arms deal, racial reconciliation and the AIDS crisis.

Arrangement

The collection is arranged according to the chapter structure of *The Dream Deferred*. Written in eight parts *The Dream Deferred* roughly spans a century, from the early 1900s to 2007 when the book was published.

Notes

Interview transcripts are grouped with relevant chapters and correlate to interviews recorded on audio cassette / CD / mini disc classified under 'X'.

Inventory

A: Introduction

A1: Cited documents

A1.1: Coriolanus from Shakespeare's Political Drama pp. 189-213

A1.2: I Play the Man I Am: Coriolanus from Miles, G. 1996: Shakespeare and the Constant Romans
[1996]

B: PART ONE: ROOTS, 1942 AND EARLIER

[1942]

B1: Part one notes

B1.1: Thabo Mbeki questions

B1.2: Gevisser, M Thabo Mbeki: the full story

B1.3: Sunday Times Lifestyle, 20 June 1999, Tracing Thabo by Mark Gevisser

[20 June 1999]

B2: Chapter 1: The Jews of Kaffirland: The Mbekis

[1904]

Chapter content:

Mbeki's birthplace: Mbewuleni, Epainette and Govan Mbeki moved there to start their family, set up a co-op store, live independent from government salaries, put peasant upliftment into practice; Mbekis lived in the qaba (traditional Xhosa) section of the village, not the amagqoboka (Christian convert) section; the Mbeki family - missionaries, workers; Govan's father, Skelewu Mbeki was a colonial appointed headman, a black Englishman, Mbekis from the amaZizi clan the Mfengu / Fingo an



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outsider clan, displaced in the mid 19th century, Christian converts who assisted the British against the Xhosa, they were educated, non-traditional, Christianised; in latter 19th century they were moved back into the Transkei reserve, Skelewu Mbeki built a homestead at Nyili in ±1904; Govan Mbeki born when Skelewu was 81; story of the Mbekis case in point of the black rural experience in the 20th century: the destruction of the South African peasant economy by the state and mining industry; prosperous peasant class like Mbekis were built up by colonial powers to act as buffers in the Eastern Cape; in 1911 Skelewu dismissed as headman for illegally selling oxen, headmanship offered to Govan in 1934; Mbeki's African Renaissance complicated by the Mfengu legacy: a sense of prosperity lost through colonialism but other benefits - like worldliness, a Western education, a calling to save others - remain

B2.1: Cited documents

- B2.1.1: Rev. John Ayliff and Rev. Joseph Whiteside. 1962. History of the Abambo generally known as Fingos. Struik, Cape Town pp 18-101
[1962]
- B2.1.2: Bundy, C: Schooled for Life

B2.2: Research documents

- B2.2.1: Extracts (book source unknown): Growing up in traditional society by Virginia van der Vliet, The Process of Political Incorporation by J.A. Benyon
- B2.2.2: Family trees from J.H. Soga: The South Eastern Bantu Johannesburg, 1931
[1931]
- B2.2.3: Handwritten Mbeki Family tree
- B2.2.4: Native Affairs communication from 1911 - when Skelewu was dismissed for misconduct and replaced as headman - to 1937 when Sipo Mbeki was appointed headman, 1938 when Sipo was reprimanded by the chief magistrate for failing to keep the land from noxious weeds
[1911]
- B2.2.5: Forward by Bessie Head, A retrospect, The grim struggle between right and wrong, and the latter carries the day, One night with the fugitives from Sol Plaatjie (republished 1982) Native life in South Africa: Before and since the European war and the Boer rebellion. Ravan Press, Johannesburg
[1982]
- B2.2.6: A.T. Bryant 1964. A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, Struik, Cape Town, pp 1-47, 92-95
[1964]
- B2.2.7: Christopher Saunders: Pre-Cobbing Mfecane Historiography from Carolyn Hamilton (ed.) 1995. The Mfecane Aftermath: Wits University Press, Johannesburg and University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg
[1995]
- B2.2.8: John Wright Political Transformations in the Thukela-Mzimkulu Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth from Carolyn Hamilton (ed.) 1995. The Mfecane Aftermath Wits University Press, Johannesburg and University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg
[1995]
- B2.2.9: Jeff Peires: Matiwane's Road to Mbholompo: A Reprieve for the Mfecane? from Carolyn Hamilton (ed.) 1995. The Mfecane Aftermath: Wits University Press, Johannesburg and University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg
[1995]
- B2.2.10: Alan Webster: Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited from Carolyn Hamilton (ed.) 1995. The Mfecane Aftermath: Wits University Press, Johannesburg and University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg
[1995]
- B2.2.11: Native Opinion of South Africa, 28 May 1935, Tracing of Fingo Chieftainship



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[28 May 1935]

B2.2.12: The South African Outlook, September 2, 1935: Letters to the Editor: The Fingo Slavery Myth

[September 2, 1935]

B2.2.13: Communication re: investigation into headman Mbeki deliberately delaying applications for kraal sites, 1938-1940

[1938-1940]

B2.2.14: Jessica Dubow: Sedentary space, somatic conversions: phenomenology and the colonial mission station pp 83-99

B2.2.15: Tiyo Soga, 1969: Amakholwa namaqaba : translated Christians and Traditionalists Lovedale

[1969]

B2.2.16: Ngamakwe resident magistrate office documents on headman Skelewu Mbeki and the headmen of Mpukane [mostly on the misconduct and suspension of Skelewu Mbeki]

B2.2.17: Mfengu and missionaries'; Source unknown

B2.2.18: Blight, Cecilia (Cory Library) E-mail to Mark Gevisser, 2 March 2000 re: Mbeki and Moerane family history research

[2 March 2000]

B2.2.19: Mark Gevisser, Report on the Mfengu

B2.2.20: History of the AmaZizi

B2.2.21: Handwritten notes on history of the AmaZizi

B2.2.22: The Methodist Churchman, 1908 obituaries and the African Methodist Conference Minutes

[1908]

B2.2.23: State Intervention and Rural Resistance: The Transkei, 1900-1965 from William Beinart and Colin Bundy: Peasants in Africa, pp 271-315

[1900-1965]

B2.2.24: Mbeki family notes

B3: Chapter 2 :Chekhov in the Transkei: the Moeranes

[1999]

Chapter content:

The Moerane country estate: Mangoloaneng in the Mount Fletcher district, Transkei; Mbeki's grandfather Jacane Moerane; the deterioration of the family farm, Mbeki's interest in the re-institution of independent land-owning black farmers (rather than poverty relief) when he was president; the Moeranes - members of the Bafokeng who were among the first settlers in Lesotho, Moshoeshoe was Africa's first nationalist, he gathered disparate clans and forged them into the Basotho nation; Makhanoi, Jacane's grandfather, was a celebrated convert, like the Fengu he became part of a literate, progressive world that developed around the mission stations (Moshoeshoe welcomed), but unlike the Fengu were not colonial subjects; the Moeranes migrated to the no-man's land between the Cape Colony and Natal; Jacane was a life-long counsellor to Moshoeshoe's son, Jacane the teacher-preacher, very strict, emphasised achievement and productivity; Epainette Mbeki does not remember racial discrimination in Mangoloaneng, Epainette got her impetus for social upliftment from her father, on Epainettes anger at women not doing anything to help themselves on a visit to the village in 1999.

B3.1: Cited documents

B3.1.1: Arbousset Afrique Meridionale: Notice sur Zacheé Mokanoï, écrite par M. Arbousset [notice on Zachee Mokhanoi by M. Arbousset] from Journal des Missions Évangéliques des Paris, 1844, pp 168-187

B3.1.2: Translation of selected passages from Afrique Meridionale

B3.1.3: Ntantala, P: A Life's Mosaic: The autobiography of Phylliss Ntantala; David Philip, Cape Town, pp viii-ix, 38-39, 63, 148-151



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B3.2: Research documents

- B3.2.1: Lessouto maps, from JME, 1883, p 80
- B3.2.2: Notes from interview Mofelehetsi Moerane, Maseru, 26 February 2000 [Themes: The Moerane family history and the death of Jama Mbeki]
[26 February 2000]
- B3.2.3: Moerane family tree, unknown source
- B3.2.4: Handwritten Moerane family tree, Mark Gevisser
- B3.2.5: Malome Mkhomo Letter to Sophie [Moerane], 9 August 1997 [Re: Moerane genealogical tree chart]
[9 August 1997]
- B3.2.6: Marriage register, marriage of Eleazar Moerane (26) and Sofi Mayara (22), 1 November 1899
[1 November 1899]
- B3.2.7: Mark Gevisser E-mail to Sandy Rowolst (researcher) re Moerane family history
- B3.2.8: Minutes, Prime Minister's Office, 19 February 1904 [permission given to PEMS to occupy church and school site in the Mount Fletcher district]
[19 February 1904]
- B3.2.9: Secretary of Lands Letter to The Surveyor-General, 17 March 1926 [transfer of sites in Mount Fletcher district from the PEMS to the United Free Church of Scotland]
[17 March 1926]
- B3.2.10: The Secretary of Native Affairs Letter to The Chief Magistrate, Umtata, 22 February 1920 [Transfer of certain sites from Paris Evangelical Missionary Society to United Free Church of Scotland: Mt. Fletcher and Matatiele Districts.
[22 February 1920]
- B3.2.11: The Secretary for Native Affairs Letter to the Provincial Representative, Department of Lands, Cape Town, date unknown Re: Church and School Site at Mehloloaneng: District of Mount Fletcher
- B3.2.12: Minute, 8 February 1926 [Cancellation of permission given to the United Free Church of Scotland to occupy a church site at Mangolong in the Mt. Fletcher district]
[8 February 1926]
- B3.2.13: Response re Mokhanoi research, sender unknown
- B3.2.14: Report on the Basotho (the Bafokeng, the Moerane family)
- B3.2.15: Moerane/Basotho Timeline (from before 1400 -1940)
[1940]
- B3.2.16: E-mail to Mark Gevisser from Voox Re: residents of Mbewuleni and Mbeki the letter reader
- B3.2.17: M.T. Moerane: I chose freedom: The Autobiography of Mr. M.T. Moerane of South Africa pp 1-7, 16-33, 39, 44, 45
- B3.2.18: Extracts from Lesenlinyana [edited by MT Moerane, Epainette's brother]
- B3.2.19: Newspaper article, source and date unknown: New Editor of the World [MT Moerane]
- B3.2.20: Newspaper article by Carmel Rickard, source and date unknown: Memoirs of a man of the world [extracts from MT Moerane's memoirs]
- B3.2.21: Daily News, 16 August 1999: Inanda Seminary gets a major boost from Mandela by Siphon Khumalo [Norah Moerane, member of the Inanda Seminary Board of Governors]
[16 August 1999]
- B3.2.22: Intsimbi Project summary [community project Epainette Mbeki funded]
- B3.2.23: Hotz, E 1930. Paul Ramseyer: Missionnaire 1870-1929 Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris, pp 50-207
[1930]



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- B3.2.24: Lagden, G. 1909. The Basutos: The Mountaineers and their country, Vol. 1 Hutchinson & Co. London, pp 218-219
[1909]
- B3.2.25: Ellenberger, B. 1938. A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland 1833-1933, Morija, Sesuto book depot, pp 188-219
[1938]
- B3.2.26: Hammond-Tooke, W.D. (ed.) 1974. The Bantu speaking people of South Africa, London, pp 72-75
[1974]
- B3.2.27: Walton, J: Early Bafokeng settlement in South Africa from African Studies, 1956 Vol.15 , No. 1, pp 37-44
[1956]

B3.3: Chapter notes

B3.3.1: Family notes

B3.3.2: Notes on documents from Leselinyana, the newsletter of the PEMS

B4: Chapter 3 :The New Africans

[8 January 1940]

Chapter content:

The 1930s an era characterised by idealism, a time when Black South Africans of Mbeki's class discarded the identity of black Englishman for New African; Luthuli wrote of the New Africa, it did not signify a return to the primitive but rather an intense wish to preserve what is valuable in our heritage while discarding the inappropriate and outmoded; Govan and Epainette came of age and politically conscious in this moment, they met in Durban where they both taught at a secondary school; Epainette became a CP member in 1938, ran the Party's night school, introduced to the CPSA by Afrikaner unionist, Bettie du Toit; Govan too teaches by day and is involved in political organisation in the evening; the ANC Youth League formed in 1943, its prime mover is Anton Lembede; believes aggressive nationalism would restore to Africans their sense of self-worth and dignity; Govan not part of Youth League; despite internecine war over race, the CPSA was the only forum where blacks and whites could work together as equals; Epainette explains the difference between her and Govan's views as follows: He says, politics first! I say, economics first!, Epainette attracted to the practical work of the CP, the CP also offered an egalitarian conception of gender; Govan joined CP in 1953; Govan and Epainette got married on 8 January 1940, although highly educated and employable Govan chose to return to the country, Govan involved with Transkei group of intellectuals exploring possibility of co-op societies as means to rural development, start co-op store, the first black owned in Transkei, the first black-owned enterprise in the district.

B4.1: Cited documents:

- B4.1.1: Couzens, T, The New African pp. 32, 33, 36, 37, 46-55, 134-143, 254, 255, 258-277, 288-297
- B4.1.2: Chapters 3-4: Contents
- B4.1.2: Southall, RJ 1982. South Africa's Transkei and The Political Economy of an Independent Bantustan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. London pp 36, 37, 50, 51, 60-103, 172-203, 218-231, 240-247, 312-329
[1982]
- B4.1.3: Bundy, C 30 March 1994. Schooled for life? The early years and education of Govan Mbeki: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town
[30 March 1994]
- B4.1.4: Villa-Vincencio, C: Govan Mbeki, Promoting the Human Project from The Spirit of Hope: Conversations on Religion, Politics and Values: Skotaville Publishers, pp. 160-173
- B4.1.5: Cobley, A. G. 1990. Class and Consciousness: The Black Petty Bourgeoisie in South Africa, 1924 to 1950 Greenwood Press, Westport pp. 4,5, 12, 13, 40-43, 50-51, 60-75, 90-93, 142, 143, 150, 151,



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156, 157

[1990]

B4.1.6: Inkundla ya Bantu (The Bantu Forum), Vol. 3 June 1940 Co-operative Societies by W.M Tsotsi; June 1941 An African Co-operative Store; Vol. 4 October 1941: Co-operative credit societies, African Co-operative Store; 25 February 1943 Commission on Establishment of Co-operative Societies: G.A. Mbeki Leads the Evidence; 30 November 1944 Mr Mbeki Addresses KWT Teachers

[3 June 1940]

B4.1.7: Extract of evidence: Govan Mbeki's examination by Mr. Fischer in the Supreme Court of South Africa, The State vs. Nelson Mandela and others, 5 May 1964

[5 May]

B4.1.8: Biographical Sketch of Thabo Mbeki from Mbeki, T Africa, the time has come

B4.2: Research documents

B4.2.1: Durban: 1930-1939 from McCord, M. 1995. 'The Calling of Katie Makanya' David Philip, CT and Johannesburg, pp 228-239

[1930-1939]

B4.2.2: Maylam, P and Edwards, I (eds.) 1996. The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, pp 4,5,22,23, 67-95 (But Hope Does not Kill: Black Popular Music in Durban, 1913-1939)

[1913-1939]

B4.2.3: David Brown E-mail to Mark Gevisser, 27, 28 April 2000 [Epainette attending Party meetings, introducing Govan to the Party, Govans dancing]

[28 April 2000]

B4.2.4: Union of South Africa Population Census, 7 May 1946, Vol. 1 Geographical distribution of the population of the Union of South Africa [literacy figures]

[7 May 1946]

B4.2.5: Union of South Africa Population Census, 7 May 1946, Vol V, Occupations and Industries of the European, Asiatic, Coloured and Native Population

[7 May 1946]

B4.2.6: Imbongi [praise poem] from Ityala Lamawele 1947, pp 58-59 and translation

[1947]

B4.2.7: Interview with Bettie du Toit, London, 1988

[1988]

B4.3: Chapter notes

B4.3.1: Chapter 3 notes

C: PART TWO: CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH, 1942-1960

[1942-1960]

C1: Chapter 4 : A place of seed: Mbewuleni

[1940s]

Chapter content:

The qaba and gqoboka sides of Mbewuleni, two ways of living side by side; the Mbekis homestead and shop on the qaba side; became the centre of civilisation in Mbewuleni; legislation eroded the rural black agricultural economy, Govan turned to territory politics; an upsurge of militancy in black communities in the 1940s, ANC Youth League; also a radicalisation in rural politics, Govan sold insurance an alibi for cross country mobilisation and recruiting people into the ANC; the responsibility of running the shop and raising children fell on Epainette; Mbeki children grew up with books, Epainette raised children with combination of discipline and openness; Education: the Ewing Prep School Mbeki attended; Mbeki went to school (1949) before the



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implementation of apartheid, iniquities were there already, the state spent six and a half times more on a white child than it did on a black child; Bantu Education, independent mission schools finally shut down in 1959, Mbeki one of last to follow same standard curriculum as white students; Mbeki helping out in shop, the letter reader and writer, his comfort with the qaba customers, on belonging to neither qaba nor gqoboka worlds.

C1.1: Cited documents

- C1.1.1: Bundy, C. Land and liberation: popular rural protest and the national liberation movements in South Africa, 1920-1960 from *The politics of race, class and nationalism* pp 254-283
[1920-1960]
- C1.1.2: Christie, Pam 1991. *The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa: A Sached Trust / Ravan Press Publication* pp. 36-39, 54-57, 68-91, 108-111, 114-115, 226-227
[1991]
- C1.1.3: Haines, E.S. *The Transkei Trader* in *The South African Journal of Economics*, pp. 201-216
- C1.1.4: *A Survey of Race Relations 1950-51* pp 52-57
[1950]

C1.2: Research documents

- C1.2.1: *Eighteenth Annual Report of the SA Institute of Race Relations* pp 26-29
- C1.2.2: *A Survey of Race Relations 1948-49* pp 28, 29, 40-43, 54, 55
[1948]
- C1.2.3: *A Survey of Race Relations 1949-50* pp 8-11, 24-27, 62-69
[1949]
- C1.2.4: *A Survey of Race Relations 1951-52* pp 18-21, 46-53
[1951]
- C1.2.5: *A Survey of Race Relations 1952-53* pp 64-69
[1952]
- C1.2.6: *A Survey of Race Relations 1953-54* pp 92-105, 164-165
[1953]
- C1.2.7: *A Survey of Race Relations 1954-55* pp 170-189
[1954]
- C1.2.8: *A Survey of Race Relations 1955-56* pp 186-191
[1955]
- C1.2.9: *A Survey of Race Relations 1956-57* pp 24, 25, 32, 33, 184-195
[1956]
- C1.2.10: *A Survey of Race Relations 1957-58* pp 182-207
[1957]
- C1.2.11: *A Survey of Race Relations 1958-59* pp 254-281
[1958]
- C1.2.12: *A Survey of Race Relations 1959-60* pp 208-221
[1959]
- C1.2.13: *A Survey of Race Relations 1961* pp 228-235, 238-241
[1961]
- C1.2.14: *The Bureau of Census and Statistics. 1960. Union statistics for fifty years: Jubilee Issue 1910-1960. Pretoria [Literacy levels of Bantu over 50 years]*
[1910-1960]
- C1.2.15: *Walshe, P. The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952* University California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, pp 134-159, 412-423



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[1912-1952]

C1.2.16: Bunting in the Transkei from Roux Time Longer than Rope, pp 224-239

C1.2.17: Inkundla ya Bantu (The Bantu Forum) Gallery of African Heroes, Vol. 3 March 1941, May 1941, June 1941, August 1941, December 1941

[3 March 1941]

C1.2.18: English translation of Ivenkile Yangaphandle from James J.R. Jolobe. 1973. Amavo Wits University Press, Johannesburg, pp 68-77

[1973]

C1.2.19: Author and title unknown, Essay on Govan Mbeki's political career

C1.2.20: Source unknown, Govan Mbeki: Political activities and public offices in 1940s

[1940s]

C1.2.21: References [literature on South African education] from unknown source

C1.2.22: Moeletsi Mbeki thesis, untitled

C1.3: Chapter notes

C1.3.1: Notes on Govan Mbeki at the Rivonia trial and on Robben Island

C1.3.2: Notes on education (the Bantu Education Act, Mission Education, resistance to Bantu Education, what children were taught, primary and secondary education, Mbekis primary and secondary education)

C2: Chapter 5: Family

[1950]

Chapter content:

The Mbeki's difficult marriage; Epainette forced to give up her political life and activism for the family and shop, at the time: the NP government began a programme of political suppression, in 1950 it passed the Suppression of Communism Act, the SACP went underground; Govan Mbeki fell out of the ANC's urban leadership, the newspapers he wrote for were banned, he resigned from the Bhunga; left the Transkei to take a teaching post in Ladysmith, then moved to PE where he worked as full time organiser for the ANC; on being absent from his children's lives, Govan's Marxist understanding of family relationships, should not distract from revolutionary matters, of the family as a political rather than a biological unit; leadership of liberation struggle built around myth of man who gives up family life for the benefit of the people; informed by very traditional notions of masculinity; Govan was not just an absent father because he was a revolutionary; Thabo, Moeletsi, Jama, Linda: their political commitment.

C2.1: Cited documents

C2.1.1: Thompson, B Interview with Govan Mbeki; Source: Mayibuye Archives, RIM-084

C2.2: Research documents

C2.2.1: John Battersby E-mail to Mark Gevisser, 13 September 2000; Subject: Govan Mbeki in Ladysmith [extracts from Gillian Harts paper by the same title]

[13 September 2000]

C2.2.2: Sunday Independent, 11/04/96, Roots of Thabo's rise to power by Hadland, A and Rantao, J [extract from The Life and Times of Thabo Mbeki, by Adrian Hadland and Jovial Rantao]

[11/04/96]

C2.2.3: Hart, G Govan Mbeki in Ladysmith Unpublished paper, July 2000

[July 2000]

C2.2.4: Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment (1914), pp 240, 242, 244, 248, 260, 252, 254, 256, 258; The Suppression of Communism Act (1950), pp 549, 551, 553, 555, 557, 559, 561, 563, 565, 567, 569, 571, 573; The Terrorism Act (1967) pp 1236, 1244

[1914]

C2.3: Chapter notes



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C2.3.1: Family notes

C2.3.2: Notes on Jama Mbeki

C2.3.3: Chapter draft

C3: Chapter 6: The African Springtime Orchestra: Queenstown and Butterworth)

[1951]

Chapter content:

In 1951 Thabo moved to his uncle, Michael Moerane, in Queenstown when he was eight; Michael, Epainette's eldest brother was music master at the black high school; Thabo attended the Moravian mission school; he played the flute in the family musical group called The African Springtime Orchestra; Queenstown: a centre for gqoboka life in the Eastern Cape, the Moeranes lived on the outskirts of the old white town, next to the (jazzy) Matshikiza family, in Queenstown that Thabo learned his love for classical and jazz music; Michael Moerane a New African, belonged to the ANC's rival NEUM (Non European Unity Movement (took severe anti-collaborationist stance); Govan and Michael did not get along; 1952 year of white tercentenary celebrations (celebrating Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape), the year Mandela launched the Defiance Campaign, the new Congress movement: a non-racial alliance against apartheid, a direct challenge to ANCYL's exclusivism and anti-communism, communists worked in Congress organisations; at the end of 1952 Thabo is taken to Butterworth to live with the Ngampu family, unhappy about the move away from family life in Queenstown; ANS planning a massive boycott against Bantu Education for 1955, talk of a violent revolution.

C3.1: Cited documents

C3.1.1: Michael Moerane from South African songs, Vol 1, published by SAMRO scores, Includes lyrics for Barabali ba Jerusalema (O Daughters of Jerusalem)

C3.1.2: Fatse La Heso (My Country) symphonic poem composed by Michael Moerane, Photostat of handwritten score, sourced from Music Library, SABC, Johannesburg

C3.1.3: Drum, June 1957. Stars of Jazz by Todd Matshikiza, pp 37-38

[June 1957]

C3.1.4: Drum, July 1957. Jazz comes to Joburg! by Todd Matshikiza, pp 39 -40

[July 1957]

C3.1.5: New Age, Thursday, August 3 1961. An Unholy Alliance by Govan Mbeki, pp 4 - 5

[August 3 1961]

C3.1.6: Extract from Mozart's Symphony no. 38 in D, Km 504 Prague with note by Sophie Moerane pointing to Thabo's solo flute section arranged by Michael Moerane

C3.1.7: Nkosi, L. 1965. Home and Exile Western Printing Services, Bristol pp 3-51

[1965]

C3.1.8: African Communist, 1971 First Quarter Why I Joined the Communist Party by Jabulani, J [Mbeki, T] , pp 79-82

[1971]

C3.2: Research documents

C3.2.1: University of South Africa Calendar, 1943: List of graduates for 1941, University register includes Michael Moerane for the degree of bachelor of music

[1943]

C3.2.2: The Bantu composers of Southern Africa by Yvonne Huskisson, pp. 157- 158 lists Michael Moerane and his achievements

C3.2.3: E-mail from Jacob Dlams to Mark Gevisser, Sunday, May 28, 2000, Themes: 1950s Queenstown Jazz scene; the Moerane and Matshikiza families

[May 28, 2000]

C3.2.4: Document marked for the attention of Mark Gevisser, Theme: Michael Moerane



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- C3.2.5: SAMRO archive listing of works by Michael Moerane as at December 1998
[December 1998]
- C3.2.6: South Africa Romantic Music entry for Michael Moerane (1904-1980), Unknown source
[1904-1980]
- C3.2.7: The Oude Meester Foundation for the Performing Arts presents TIMBILA: Orchestral works inspired by elements in African music GM's note: Source album notes to My Country
- C3.2.8: S.B. Ngambu Letter to the Daily Dispatch, 3.6.99 [Mbeki completing his standard five and six in Butterworth, not Queenstown]
- C3.3: Chapter notes
- C3.3.1: Politics 1955-59
[1955]
- C3.3.2: 1950s notes
[1950s]
- C3.3.3: Tabled chapter notes 1947-1963
[1947-1963]
- C4: Chapter 7: Out of the white gates you go!: Lovedale
[March 1957]
- Chapter content:*
- In 1955 Mbeki goes to Lovedale, the first South African high school to admit black students for over a century, founded by Scottish Presbyterian Church; Dr RHW Shepherd the principal when Thabo arrives; on poor living conditions and racial dynamics of school; during Thabo's time there the institution transferred from an independent mission school to a state school under Bantu education; 1956 matriculants wrote the more demanding JHB exams but were banned from entering white universities; on political discussion/activism at school, met with older activists at Fort Hare (followed events like the forced removals and built up of Congress of the People); Thabo joined SOYA the NEUM's youth wing, Shaw House where he lived was SOYA territory, but recruited into ANC when he was 14; March 1957 Mbeki joined a protest against quality of the food, 1957 a turbulent year nationwide (bus boycott in Johannesburg, beginning of rural uprising); Govan is PE news editor for New Age, organising and doing underground work at night; in 1959 Mbeki led the class boycott at Lovedale, him over 200 other students expelled (students could apply for readmission if they signed a loyalty letter to school); Govan Mbeki's New Age article The Rape of Lovedale argues the school is run like a mine compound; Mbeki returns to Mbewuleni, studies for matric under his mother's supervision.*
- C4.1: Cited documents
- C4.1.1: Lovedale Governing Council: Minutes of meeting held on 14th April 1955
[14th April 1955]
- C4.1.2: Lovedale Missionary institution, Report for 1955, cover page only
[1955]
- C4.1.3: Shepherd, R.W.H.Lovedale, Lovedale Press, 1971
[1971]
- C4.1.4: Lovedale Institution: Report 1959, Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, Rhodes University
[1959]
- C4.1.5: Lovedale Institution: Report 1958, Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, Rhodes University
[1958]
- C4.1.6: Monica Wilson. Freedom for my people: The Autobiography of ZK. Matthews: Southern Africa 1901 to 1968 Rex Collings London in association with David Philip Cape Town, 1981 pp 30 199
[1901]
- C4.1.7: New Age, Thursday, 30 July 1959 'The Rape of Lovedale: Famous old school is now run like a mine



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compound by Govan Mbeki

[30 July 1959]

C4.1.8: New Age, Thursday, 21 May 1959. I was a spy at Lovedale by Mlawuli Mbekeni

[21 May]

C4.1.9: New Age, Thursday, 19 March 1959. Spies at Lovedale and 230 are students are sent home.

[19 March 1959]

C4.2: Research documents

C4.2.1: Listing: extracts from books, Lovedale primary sources and articles

C4.2.2: 1985 Lovedale Reports; Letter to Mr Wright, 13/12/57, includes Newspaper article That Lovedale walkout Evening Post, March 19 1957; source: Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, 4214 (b), Rhodes University

[March 19 1957]

C4.2.3: Shepherd, R.W.H. Lovedale, 1956 in The South African Outlook, 1 January 1956

[1 January 1956]

C4.2.4: The Fort Hare Transfer Bill in The South African Outlook, 1 August 1959

[1 August 1959]

C4.2.5: A most happy occasion in The Lovedale Bulletin, No 31, 25 October 1957; source: Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, 4188, Rhodes University

[25 October 1957]

C4.2.6: Pamela Christie. Resistance in education: The Right to Learn, pp228 - 235

C4.2.7: Lovedale Institution, General Rules, 1940s

[1940s]

C4.2.8: Lovedale Governing Council Minutes of meeting held on 11 November 1954; Enrolment 1955; Should hostels be retained? Alexander Kerr, 5 November 1954; Lovedale Governing Council Minutes of meeting held on 10 March 1955; Bantu Education Act, Governing Council minutes, 15 September 1954; Copies of letters from the Education Department addressed to Dr R.H.W. Shepherd. Both letters are dated 2nd March 1955

[11 November 1954]

C4.2.9: Lovedale Governing Council, Minutes of Meeting of Executive held on Thursday, 28 July, 1955

[28 July, 1955]

C4.2.10: Lovedale Governing Council, Minutes of meeting held on 10 November, 1955

[10 November, 1955]

C4.2.11: Lovedale Mission Committee, minutes of meetings held on 8 March, 1956, 21 May 1958

[8 March, 1956]

C4.2.12: Minutes of pro re nata meeting held on 2 July 1958

[2 July 1958]

C4.2.13: Shepherd, R.W.H. Letter to Rev. Watt, 21 December 1955 [re government interference with educational work of churches]

[21 December 1955]

C4.2.14: Letter to Rev. Dougall, sender unknown, 28 December 1956 [high treason arrests]

[28 December 1956]

C4.2.15: Shepherd, R.W.H. Letter to Rev. Watt, 31 December 1956 [treason trials]

[31 December 1956]

C4.2.16: Lovedale Institution: Report 1956, Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, Rhodes University

[1956]



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- C4.2.17: The Principal's report, pp 5-9, 12-15, 22-25, 34-35, 38-45, 64-67
- C4.2.18: Lovedale Institution: Report 1957, Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, Rhodes University
[1957]
- C4.2.19: Lovedale Institution: Report 1960, Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, Rhodes University
[1960]
- C4.2.20: Oosthuizen, G.C. Lovedale, The Educationist, Politics-The Inevitable Subject in Shepherd of Lovedale, Johannesburg, Hugh Keartland, 1970, pp 39 - 43, 126-141, 152-
[1970]
- C4.2.21: The Principalship of the Rev. Doctor Robert Shepherd written with the assistance of Prof G.C. Oosthuizen
- C4.2.22: Letter written to Shepherd from the House of Assembly in Cape Town, 10 May 1955 [Discussion of Forth Hare uprising]
[10 May 1955]
- C4.2.23: The South African Institute of Race Relations Topical Briefing, African matric results: 1955 to 1983 by Jennifer Shindler
[1955]
- C4.2.24: New Age, Thursday, 20 July 1961. 50 Lovedale students refused re-admission from Govan Mbeki
[20 July 1961]
- C4.2.25: New Age, Thursday, 27 July 1961. Lovedale students wont be bullied: strike again with support of expelled comrades.
[27 July 1961]
- C4.2.26: New Age, Thursday, 1 January 1959. New Age calendar for 1959
[1 January 1959]
- C4.2.27: New Age, Thursday 2 December 1954, School syllabus for little slaves
[2 December 1954]
- C4.2.28: New Age, Thursday, 1 September 1955, Tense Atmosphere at Fort Hare: ANC Youth League calls for return to normal
[1 September 1955]
- C4.2.29: New Age, Thursday, 9 February 1956, Uproar over tribalism in Bantu schools: Children separated into ethnic groups
[9 February 1956]
- C4.2.30: New Age, Thursday, 17 May 1969. Private schools for Africans worse off than ever by Jarrett-Kerr
[17 May 1969]
- C4.2.31: New Age, Thursday, 21 June 1956. The People Must Organise for Victory
[21 June 1956]
- C4.2.32: New Age, Thursday, 21 August 1958 New University Apartheid Bill worse than the old
[21 August 1958]
- C4.2.33: New Age, Thursday, 6 November 1958. 245 students walk out of Adams College
[6 November 1958]
- C4.2.34: New Age, Thursday, 11 May 1961. Fort Hare to be closed down: Bantu Matric from 1963
[11 May 1961]
- C4.2.35: Shepherd, R.H.W. The human side of civil rights: notes of an address to the East London civil Rights League
- C4.2.36: The South African Outlook, 1 January 1953 pp 10-11 Teachers and Politics, 1 September 1953 pp 129-130 Education Bill, 1 October 1953 pp 149-150 The African Education Bill, 2 November 1953 pp



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164-171 The Character of the Native in South Africa, 1 May 1954 pp 68-71 The Bantu Education Act, 1 June 1964 pp 86-88 The Bantu Education Act, 1 July 1954 pp 100-101 The Bantu Education Act, 1 September 1954 pp 133-137 Bantu Education Act, 1 October 1954 pp149-151 Has Missionary Education Failed?, 1 February 1955 p 18 Bantu Education Act, 2 May 1955 pp 74-76 South African Missionary Institutions, 1 September 1955 pp 132-134 The Bantu Education Department, 1 November 1955 pp169-172 A Code of Conduct for the Urban Bantu, 1 December 1955 pp183-185 The Lovedale Governing Council: Its final meeting, 2 January 1956 Mr and Mrs George McGilivray, 2 April 1956 pp 49-50 Professor Keet and Apartheid, 2 July 1956 pp 100-107 Higher Education of Non-Europeans in South Africa, 1 July 1957 p 107-108 A Two-Sided Vow, 1 November 1957 p 173 Honour for Professor Jabavu, 1 April 1958 pp 60-61 Mixed Schooling in South Africa's History, 2 September 1958 pp 140-141 Alice, Where Art Thou?

[1 January 1953]

C4.2.37: The Black Petty Bourgeoisie from Cobley, A. G. 1990. *Class and Consciousness: The Black Petty Bourgeoisie in South Africa, 1924 to 1950* Greenwood Press, Westport pp 59-69, 72-73, 78-79, 86-89, 120-127, 142-143, 226-227, 250-251

[1990]

C4.2.38: Photocopied photographs of Lovedale

C4.2.39: New Age [articles cover the Freedom Charter, Congress of the People, the bus boycott, Bantu Education] May 26 1955 Wits Mass meeting backs Fort Hare students, 2 December 1955 All Roads lead to Kliptown! Congress of the People will be Greatest Conference Ever, 30 June 1955 Freedom Charter Adopted: Congress of the People Epoch-Making Success in Face of Police Intimidation, 16 June 1955 Congress of the People only nine more days, 4 August 1955 One million for the Freedom Charter! Next Stage in Congress of the People Campaign; 11 August 1955 In the valley where death stalks by Govan Mbeki [Typhoid outbreak in the Eastern Cape], 17 November 1955 Does the Freedom Charter mean Socialism?, 29 December 1955 Democrats Diary for 1855, 5 April 1956 Collective Leadership in the Soviet Union by Michael Harmel, 19 July 1956 The farmers still want slaves by Govan Mbeki, 13 December 1956 Stand by your leaders: mass protests against treason arrests, 20 December 1956 ANC conference stands by Freedom Charter: 300 delegates demand release of arrested leaders by Govan Mbeki, 3 January 1957 The year behind us, 17 January 1957 Bus Boycott still solid: Amazing Demonstration of Peoples Unity, 14 February 1957 Port Elizabeth Workers Join Bus Boycott: Tens of Thousands In Magnificent Gesture of Solidarity, 14 March 1957 New plan to end bus boycott by Michael Harmel, 21 March 1957 People support new plan to end bus boycott by Michael Harmel, Drum, April 1957 A country marching into trouble! The bus boycott and the treason trial have set South Africa on her way to a dangerous pepped-up future, New Age, 13 June 1957 Christian National Education For The Coloured Peoples, 4 July 1957 Whole Eastern Cape answered the call by Govan Mbeki [bus boycott], 11 July 1957 Cape Town shocked by group areas proclamation: Thousands will have to move, 22 August 1957 Boycott ends..., 26 December 1957 A Democrats diary for 1957, 6 February 1958 Freedom Charter is treason-says Pirow, Trial represents clash between democracy and fascism, says Berrange 27 February 1958 Big Change in Soviet farm policy, 30 October 1958 Joburg women say no to passes 13 November 1958 New moves to split the ANC 1 January 1959 Democrats diary for 1958, 15 January 1959 Bantu education shock for parents: Children barred from schools in urban areas

[May 26 1955]

C4.2.40: 1988. *Education in SA: Origins, issues and trends: 1652-1988* Human & Rousseau (Pty)Ltd. Pretoria



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[1988]

C4.2.41: Extracts from Crisis and Challenge, pp 30-43, 194-203, 232-237 [primary schooling, the language issue, teacher education and training]

C4.3: Chapter notes

C4.3.1: Lovedale notes

C5: Chapter 8: Fatherhood

[1958]

Chapter content:

The Mbekis and Mpahlwas, the two leading gqoboka families; romance between Thabo and Olive Mpahlwa started in 1958, Olive's pregnancy discovered at the same time Thabo expelled from Lovedale; the Mpahlwas staunch Christians, Kwanda raised by the Mpahlwas till he was 10 when Epainette gained custody and changed his name to Mbeki; Mbeki studied for his final exam under Epainette; 1959: Verwoerd introduced Bantu Self-Government Act, the Transkei: SA's showpiece for separate development. Bhunga replaced with Bantu Authorities system, growing resistance against it; Govan Mbeki published the leaflet Izwe Lomzi from PE and reports on his trips into the Transkei in New Age. Thabo an agent for New Age in Idutywa; 1960: the year of Africa, the African independence movement; Mbeki sent to Johannesburg in 1960; Kwanda Mbeki very angry about his heritage, he became a migrant manual labourer (SA limited possibilities for black South Africans of Mbeki's class), he is believed to have disappeared in 1981 in the Vaal Triangle; other family members Jama Mbeki disappeared in 1984 and Phindile Mfeti in 1987; Olive and Thabo saw each other in Johannesburg till he left for exile.

C5.1: Cited documents

C5.1.1: Hartshorne, K.B. Crisis and Challenge pp 60 - 71

C5.1.2: Testimony from Olive Mpahlwa, Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearings, Port Elizabeth, 23 May 1996

[23 May 1996]

C5.2: Research document

C5.2.1: Listing: extracts from books, primary sources, articles (including New Age)

C5.2.2: Carter, M. Karis, G. Stultz, T. and Newell, M. 1967. South Africa's Transkei Northwestern University Press, USA, pp 3-7, 11-29, 33-45

[1967]

C5.2.3: Marce, J. De Vos, P.J. Underemployment, poverty and migrant labour SAIRR

C5.2.4: Molteno Memo: Memorandum on Sached's possible future activity by Mr. R.V. Moteno

C5.2.5: SAP memo to the Secretary of Justice, 8 October 1962. Provides reasons for arrest of Mbeki and chronological list of activities, including writing for communist publication, New Age

[8 October 1962]

C5.2.6: Sunday Times insight, 15 October 2000. Beacon of education in the apartheid darkness obituary of Ann Welsh

[15 October 2000]

C5.2.7: New Age, December 31, 1999. Happy new year, Africa cartoon

[December 31, 1999]

C5.2.8: New Age, Thursday, 6 September 1956 Ciskei and Transkei famine is unbroken by Govan Mbeki

[6 September 1956]

C5.2.9: New Age, Thursday, 16 February 1956 Demand Emergency Govt. Aid For Transkei! Tens of Thousands Face Starvation

[16 February 1956]

C5.2.10: New Age, Thursday, 22 September 1960 Civil war in the Transkei: Murder and Arson as People Fight Bantu Authorities



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[22 September 1960]

C5.2.11: New Age, Thursday, 7 December 1961 Transkei emergency is 1 year old by Govan Mbeki
[7 December 1961]

C5.2.12: Notes on interview with Linda Jiba?, date unknown

C5.2.13: Interview with Nokwanda Olive Mpahlwa

C5.2.14: Second interview with Olive Mpahlwa

C5.2.15: Questions for Olive Mpahlwa

C5.2.16: Eastern Cape trip notes

C5.2.17: Dispatch online, 27 April 1999. Mbeki's love child -don't hush it up
[27 April 1999]

C5.2.18: June Letter to Rev. Bongani Finca [Re Kwanda Mbeki's disappearance]

C5.2.19: Source and date unknown, Looking for truth over the border: With the case of Thabo Mbeki's missing son, the truth commission is turning its attention to crimes committed by those in exile, writes Stefaans Brümmer

C5.2.20: Drum Magazine, date unknown, Where are you, darling Monwabisi?

C5.2.21: Sunday Independent, 11/04/99 Mbeki's teenage love child secret by Adrian Hadland
[11/04/99]

C5.2.22: The Herald, 25/10/2006 Mbeki's son was an angry young man in search of his heritage by Jimmy Matyu
[25/10/2006]

C5.2.23: Sunday Times Features 27/11/98 , Riddles around Mbeki's missing brother by Chiara Carter
[27/11/98]

C5.2.24: Jama / Kwanda investigation action list

C5.2.25: Mark Gevisser E-mail to Ndzukulu? 12 October 2000 [Contact numbers]
[12 October 2000]

C5.2.26: Mark Gevisser E-mail to Stuart Hess, 9 May 1999
[9 May 1999]

C5.2.27: Notes on Jama Mbeki [from Post and NYC]

C5.2.28: Thabo Mbeki investigation: Jama Mbeki: The Comrade who disappeared without trace

C5.2.29: Notes on Phindile Mfeti's disappearance

C5.2.30: Testimony from Feziwa Mfeti, Human Rights Violations hearing of the TRC, East London, 16 April 1996
[16 April 1996]

C5.2.31: New Age, 28 May 1959. A policeman defends white supremacy by Govan Mbeki, 4 June 1959 Transkei circus in session by Govan Mbeki; Drum, May 1960, New look for Africa in 1960: Change is everywhere. See how things have moved this month ..., September 1960 Trouble in the Bantustans; New Age, 15 December 1960 What is this Pan-Africanism?, 2 March 1961 Thousands more arrested in Transkei round-ups: Complaints flood in of army and police terror by Govan Mbeki, 29 December 1960 20 killed in Transkei battle: More deaths feared
[28 May 1959]

C5.3: Chapter draft

D: PART THREE: JOHANNESBURG, 1960-1962
[1960-1962]

D1: Part three readings

D1.1: Statistics of offences and of penal institution, 1963-64 [Indecent, sexual and related matters]
[1963]



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- D1.2: The beginning of a new Native suburbia: Non-European houses at Dube Urban conditions 1955-1966 South African Institute of Race Relations
[1955-1966]
- D1.3: A survey of race relations 1948-1959
[1948-1959]
- D1.4: A survey of race relations 1961
[1961]
- D1.5: A survey of race relations 1962
[1962]
- D1.6: A survey of race relations 1963
[1963]
- D1.7: A survey of race relations 1964
[1964]
- D1.8: A survey of race relations 1965-
[1965]
- D1.9: Report on A survey of race relations
- D1.10: Newspaper articles 1960-1962 [sixties readings]: Golden City Post, 7 August 1960 They yelled for Jonas; Drum, May 1961 Cape jazz is now the tops; Drum, July 1961 Verwoerd v Mandela; New Age, 17 August 1961 Bantu education in danger; New Age, 26 July 1962 Propaganda battle in Transkei; New Age, 11 October 1962 Starvation in the midst of plenty; New Age, 11 January 1962 Govt. Plans big new bluff: Independence for Transkei?; New Age, 19 July 1962 Defence argument in Turok case ; New Age, 18 October 1962 Bombs, protests as Mandela trial opens
[1960-1962]
- D1.11: Interview with Evie Nonyongo [Sached student, 1964] Johannesburg, 28 April 1988 [sixties readings]
[28 April 1988]
- D1.12: Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, October 1961 Songs for you to sing
[October 1961]
- D1.13: Transvaal Indian Youth Congress 17th annual conference , 26 August
[26 August]
- D1.14: Profoto, October/November 1998 You won't see them again!
[November 1998]
- D1.15: Marie Claire, undated My forbidden love for the president
- D1.16: Sunday Times Final, 22 August 1999 My love affair with Thabo Mbeki [Zena Temkin]
[22 August 1999]
- D2: Chapter 9: Fringe country
[June 1960]
Chapter content:
The existentialist and anarchic Drum generation dominated Johannesburg in 1960s; 1960 year of the Cato Manor riots, the PAC launched anti-pass demonstration, the Sharpeville massacre, followed by a nationwide stay-away and state of emergency; Govan one of the detainees held under the state of emergency; Mbeki arrived in Johannesburg in June 1960 to prepare for A levels in order to do British degree; Fringe country: people of all races live and play together as humans, September 1960 Mbeki moved in with the ANC secretary - general, Duma Nokwe; following the state of emergency Nokwe and Sisulu continued to run the ANC from Macosa House in Ferreirasdorp (where racial boundaries remained blurred); the Rand Youth Club in Macosa House, Sisulu's idea, a social cover for political activism, Mbeki began to socialize with activists from Indian Congress and the Congress of Democrats, he met Ann Nicholson, with whom romantically involved; distinction between the worlds of



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Mbeki and Nat Nakasa, Mbeki's antipathy towards Nakasa and his kind, the Drum magazine's slave mentality, Lewis Nkosi's New African embraced his outlaw status

D2.1: Cited documents

- D2.1.1: Voice of the New Youth, Vol. 1 No 1, October 1961. The Bourgeois by Mbeki, T
[October 1961]
- D2.1.2: New Age, Thursday, 8 June 1961 Fort Hare, Healdtown and Lovedale closed down.
[8 June 1961]
- D2.1.3: Horrill, M, A Survey of Race Relations, 1962 pp 10-13, 16-41, 46-55, 64-87, 108-111, 134-143, 148-149, 196-213, 224-227
[1962]
- D2.1.4: Minutes of Sached Committee meetings: includes that of 28 March 1960
[28 March 1960]
- D2.1.5: The Adelphi literary review, No 1 July 1962 dramatic announcement of the new youth by Thabo Mbeki, p 4
[1 July 1962]
- D2.1.6: Drum, March 1961, Fringe country: where there is no colour-bar by Nat Nakasa
[March 1961]
- D2.1.7: Drum, February 1962. The state against Pam and me!
[February 1962]
- D2.1.8: Nkosi, L. 1965. Home and Exile, pp 1- 51
[1965]
- D2.1.9: Modisane, B. 1963. Blame me on History, pp 5, 8-11, 78-79, 86-87, 136-153, 204-251, 294-297
[1963]

D2.2: Research documents

- D2.2.1: Drum, March 1962. Love across the colour bar: will this kill the imm. Act, The jazz pianist and the blonde [Immorality Act, colour bar]
[March 1962]
- D2.2.2: Drum, August 1961. People in court just gaped [Immorality Act, colour bar]
[August 1961]
- D2.2.3: Patel, E. (ed.) 1975. The World of Nat Nakasa: Selected writings of the late Nat Nakasa Johannesburg, Ravan Press, pp xv-22
[1975]
- D2.2.4: Golden City Post, date unknown, 1960, The Cop & The Beatniks
[1960]
- D2.2.5: Post, 11 September 1960 [Social page: Mandela at the Levy-Madi-Nephtali Moshoeshe fight at the Uncle Tom's Hall, Orlando West]
[11 September 1960]
- D2.2.6: Post, 16 October 1960 Jazz at the Crescent
[16 October 1960]
- D2.2.7: Golden City Post, October 1960 Calling all St. Petrians [St. Peters, the Eton of SA where Duma Nokwe, OR Tambo etc. Went, reunion]
[October 1960]
- D2.2.8: Golden City Post, 1 May 1960 Nokwe: The man who sits alone
[1 May 1960]
- D2.2.9: Golden City Post, November 1960. Scholarships [ad for Sached scholarships]



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- [November 1960]
- D2.2.10: Golden City Post, date unknown (1960) Cops took 4 ½ hours to fetch body 5 streets away [mentions Indian School in Main Street, Ferreirstown]
[1960]
- D2.2.11: Post, 4 December 1960. Orlando keyhole [Jazz sessions at Dorkay House]
[4 December 1960]
- D2.2.12: Fighting Talk, May 1959. Walking home to Mofolo [inter-racial relationships]
[May 1959]
- D2.2.13: Fighting Talk, February 1960. Come Back Africa by Lewis Nkosi [film review]
[February 1960]
- D2.2.14: Fighting Talk, July 1959. The Congress Movement: Its Structure and role [includes article by Duma Nokwe: The high-water mark of race co-operation is in the congress Alliance]
[July 1959]
- D2.2.15: Fighting Talk, March 1959. Bantustans: A Confidence Trick by Duma Nokwe
[March 1959]
- D2.2.16: Fighting Talk, February 1960. Backwards to Bantustans by Govan Mbeki
[February 1960]
- D2.2.17: Fighting Talk, July 1961. Verwoerd Councils in the Townships: Duma Nokwe on the Urban Bantu Councils Act.
[July 1961]
- D2.2.18: Fighting Talk, February 1961. Jackboot over Pondoland by Govan Mbeki
[February 1961]
- D2.2.19: Fighting Talk, April 1962. Looking at Bantustans ...by Duma Nokwe and MM Kotane
[April 1962]
- D2.2.20: Unknown source [architecture of Britzius College an in-city academic building]
- D2.2.21: Mark Givisser Inheritance
- D2.2.22: Photocopied photograph No colour bar March 1961
[March 1961]
- D2.2.23: Dingake, M. 1987. My fight against apartheid Kliptown Books, London, pp 56-81, 140-233 [Sharpeville and after, Robben Island]
[1987]
- D2.2.24: Press Statement issued by the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress/ Protest at closing of Indian high schools in Johannesburg, 14 December 1961, Transvaal Indian Congress file 14.3
[14 December 1961]
- D2.2.25: M. Moolla (Secretary-general of the South African Indian Youth Congress) Letter to The Secretary, Federation of South African Women, 20 July 1961
[20 July 1961]
- D2.2.26: Madressa Anjuman Islamia of Kholvad Letter to Joint-Honorary Secretary, Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, 8 February 1963
[8 February 1963]
- D2.2.27: Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, invite to the 16th annual conference, Duncan Hall Johannesburg, 27 August 1961
[27 August 1961]
- D2.2.28: Post, 25 June 1961 Union artists presents Jazz 1961: A Festival featuring the top local and Cape Town combos, date unknown The cops at Cato, 4 September 1960 The leaders will fight on Nokwe



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[25 June 1961]

D2.2.29: Drum June 1957 social page, November 1959 Last days of Sophiatown, September 1960 advertisement for skin lightening cream

[June 1957]

D2.2.30: New Age, 8 June 1961 Grim fight by PE workers: 2 killed, several injured in clashes by Govan Mbeki, 12 February 1959 King-Kong is jam-packed with singing, dancing, miming, tears and laughs, 2 July 1959 backstage with Nongogo, 6 October 1960 Govt. launches new offensive: Arrests, bans, searches in bid to smash people's opposition, fort Hare students treated like children: New regulations gazetted, 29 December 1960 Democrat's diary for 1960, 16 February 1961 Black-white boxing affiliation a trap: will there be mixed fights to choose the best boxers?

[8 June 1961]

D2.2.31: Golden City Post, 3 July 1960 Said she saw beauty queen with naked white man[mixed-part]

[3 July 1960]

D2.2.32: Duma Nokwe chronology [with attached correspondence between Karen Martin (researcher) and Mark Gevisser]

D2.2.33: Nicholson, A E-mail to Mark Gevisser, 16 May 2001

[16 May 2001]

D2.2.34: SA Committee for Higher Education (SACHED). Minutes of Committee Meeting 18.11.59, 4 January 1960, 8 February 1960, 8 March 1960 [Sached]

[4 January 1960]

D2.2.35: Coleman, G, A History of SACHED: 1959-1987 University of Natal, Durban

[1959-1987]

D2.3: Chapter notes

D2.3.1: Chapters 9-11 notes

D2.3.2: Arrival / New kid in town chapters 9-11 notes

D3: Chapter 10: An honour bestowed upon me

[11 May 1961]

Chapter content:

Sisulu's wedding anniversary; Mbeki secretary-general of the African Students Association (ASA), passes his A-levels; 11 May 1961: Verwoerd government declared South Africa a republic, Umkhonto we Sizwe approved; 16 December 1961: explosions in Johannesburg and PE; 4 January 1962: Mbeki published his first political piece in New Age; Mbeki recruited into the SACP in 1961/2 by Duma Nokwe, given classes in Marxism by Bram Fischer; the ANC becomes more reliant on the SACP, the SACP drafts The Road to South African Freedom; attempt to reconcile its class-based analysis with African nationalism.

D3.1: Cited documents

D3.1.1: New Age, 21 December 1961. Bomb attacks open new phase in SA: Secret organisations declares its aim

[21 December 1961]

D3.1.2: New Age, 4 January 1962. African students have a mission

[4 January 1962]

D3.2: Research documents

D3.2.1: New Age, 21 December 1961. African Students Form New Organisation, 23 November 1961 African Students to Unite at December Conference, 1 March 1961 Sponsors of the Maritzburg conference, 30 March 1961 All-in conference calls for action: Mass demonstrations on eve of republic, 6 April 1961 New call for action against SA, 13 July 1961 Mandela family fights apartheid, 7 September 1961 PasOp Verwoerd, The Women Are On The March Again, 28 September 1961 We don't want a Lumumba



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tragedy here! Bring Ganyile to court to tell his own story, 9 November 1961 Women flogged by Bantu Authorities: This is the future under Verwoerd's new deal, 30 November 1961 Govt. Plan to deport 1 million foreign natives, 25 January 1962 The Ganyile saga, 5 July 1962 Nokwe will not quit I remain to fight he tells court in bail application; New Age, 25 January 1962 Bombs case: bail refused

[21 December 1961]

D3.2.2: Drum, August 1961 Behind the Accra Conference

[August 1961]

D3.2.3: Post, 19 February 1961 Fakes cash in on refugees: Stranded exile writes home about unfriendly country, 26 March 1961 Are they arresting daddy?

[19 February 1961]

D4: Chapter 11: Impatient for the sacrifice

[February 1962]

Chapter content:

Irish patriot Robert Emmet's speech from the dock; Mbeki's relationship with Mick Harmel (SACP's chief ideologue, editor of African Communist), the Harmels bohemian household in the northern suburbs, Barbara Harmel and Mbeki; February 1962: Mbeki becomes Sached's first ever student accepted by a London University; Govan Mbeki placed in solitary confinement for involvement in botched explosions; Government introduced the Sabotage Act; Govan Mbeki at Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia where he developed a strategy for guerrilla war: Operation Mayibuye; Mandela's arrest, 5 August 1962; arrangement for Mbeki to go to Sussex University, Mbeki reluctant, called in by Govan Mbeki and Duma Nokwe; new phase of ANC's history: the exile movement, ANC once again a elite preserve of 2 groups: guerrillas prosecuting armed struggle and international lobbyists and propagandists; 1962: emigration escalated, OR Tambo first of ANC to leave, to set up ANC in exile; Mbeki's confrontations with his father, Nokwe and Tambo on whether to fight or to study; circulation of literature like Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth (1962 year of Algerian liberation), argues that armed struggle mobilises people and Che Guevara's Guerrilla Warfare; MK attacks across the country before the high command is arrested in 1963; Mandela the Black Pimpernel, met group of 19 exiles before their departure.

D4.1: Cited documents

D4.1.1: The Speech from the Dock: Robert Emmet's speech on the eve of his execution; source: <http://www.robertemmet.org/speech.htm>

D4.1.2: New Age, 17 May 1962. This is the police state

[17 May 1962]

D4.1.3: Deutschman, D. The Essence of Guerrilla Struggle (from the first chapter of Guevara's book La Guerra de guerrillas (Guerrilla warfare)), pp 76-81

D4.2: Research documents

D4.2.1: Post, 12 August 1962. Mandela disguised as chauffeur when police trapped him on main road,

[12 August 1962]

D4.2.2: Drum, September 1962 ... my man by Winnie Mandela as told by Nathaniel Nakasa, The black Pimpernel, 18 October 1961 Bombs, protests as Mandela trial opens

[18 October 1961]

D5: Chapter 12: Into exile

[September 1962]

Chapter content:

Mbeki left Johannesburg in September 1962 with group of exiles, the group was detained in Rustenburg, released and returned to Johannesburg, Joe Modise planned their exit a week later, again arrested by Rhodesian police, imprisoned for 6 weeks, sectarian fights amongst the group, given asylum in Francistown, ANC arranged for a plane to take them to Dar-es-Salaam; during this time: Mandela was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, Govan Mbeki slipped the country to chair the ANC



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conference in Lobatse, Bechuanaland, back in SA he went into hiding, was arrested 7 months later at Lilliesleaf; Mbeki left for London in November 1962, his contemporaries resentment (Mbeki alone was sent to the West); about going into exile, the notion of home romantic, idealised and static

D5.1: Cited documents

- D5.1.1: Said, E. 1990. Reflections on Exile in Ferguson, R, Gever, M, Minh-ha, T, West, C. (eds.) *Out there: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures* The New Museum of Contemporary Art, NY and MIT, Massachusetts, pp 357-364
[1990]
- D5.1.2: Star, 9 November 1962. Police escort 27 students to Bechuanaland
[9 November 1962]
- D5.1.3: Star, 15 November 1962. Moves to cut Bechuanaland underground, Concern as students move out
[15 November 1962]
- D5.1.4: Star, 10 November 1962. Bechuanaland tribe refuse asylum to 27 refugees
[10 November 1962]
- D5.1.5: Mahali, V. P. Contradiction, conflict and convergence of class and nation in black South African politics, 1925-1985, pp 66-79, 116-117, 139-144, 248-266, 288-299, 308-313, 326-331
[1925-1985]

D5.2: Research documents

- D5.2.1: List of source documents
- D5.2.2: New York Times, 15 October 1999. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania Dies; Preached African Socialism to the World by Michael Kaufman
[15 October 1999]
- D5.2.3: Tanzania history and government
- D5.2.4: Drum, June 1962. My flight to love
[June 1962]
- D5.2.5: Email communication with the Ndebele family, 15 October 2001
[15 October 2001]
- D5.2.6: Bundled pack of Justice Files material relating to Govan Mbeki in 1962. Includes Vorster's decision to put GM under house arrest and justification thereof, and details of De Klerk serving this on GM in April 1963
[April 1963]
- D5.2.7: Our Common victory is assured: Address by Mwalimu Julius K Nyerere, Chairman, Chama Cha Mapinduzi at the opening of the ANC conference, Arusha, 1 December 1987
[1 December 1987]
- D5.2.8: Nyerere, J. On the boycott of South Africa [Letter by Julius Nyerere to the editor of Africa South, October-December 1959]
[October-December 1959]
- D5.2.9: Post, 16 December 1962 Refugee city: Dar-es-Salaam Haven of Peace, 17 November 1962 SA rush to seal borders
[16 December 1962]
- D5.2.10: New Age, 25 October 1962. House arrest for Sisulu, Kathrada, 1 November 1962 ANC holds secret conference in Lobatsi, 15 November 1962 Vorster attacks New Age
[25 October 1962]
- D5.2.11: Third World Quarterly, Vol. 9 No 1, 1987 The Afghan politics of exile by Anthony Hyman, The politics of Palestinian exile by Yezid Sayigh



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[1987]

D5.2.12: Ideology and its applications in A Yodfat and Y Aiznon-Ohanna. 1981 PLO: Strategy and tactics St. Martin Press, New York

[1981]

D5.2.13: Toward Palestinian self-determination in Said, E. 1980 The question of Palestine Times Books, New York

[1980]

D5.2.14: The positions and forces within the PLO in Alain Gresh. 1985 The PLO: The struggle within, Zed Books, London

[1985]

D5.2.15: The Palestinians and Lebanon in Rex Brynen. 1990 Sanctuary and survival Westview Press, Boulder and Pinter Pub, London

[1990]

D5.2.16: Nixon, R Refugees and homecomings: Bessie Head and the end of exile in Robertson, Mash, Tickner, Bird, Curtis, Putman (eds.) Travellers Tales: Narratives of home and displacement Routledge London and New York

D5.2.17: Extract from Brutus, D. A simple lust Heinemann African Writers Series

D5.2.18: Said, E. Reflections on Exile in Ferguson, Gever, Minh-ha, West (eds.) Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures

D5.3: Chapter notes

E: PART FOUR: EUROPE, 1962-1971

[1962-1971]

E1: Part four notes

E1.1: Thabo: Sussex and the 1960s notes

[1960s]

E1.2: 1960s timeline

[1960s]

E1.3: UK reading list

E1.4: Mbeki contacts list

E1.5: Interview with Adelaide Tambo, 13 April 1999

[13 April 1999]

E2: Chapter 13: Sussex man

[15 June 1964]

Chapter content:

The Sussex set (Goodings, Lawrences, Gunbys) at Mbeki's inauguration, 1999; the Rivonia trial march from Brighton to 10 Downing street, 15 June 1964; Mbeki a revolutionary not a rebel; racism at Brighton guest houses; Sussex University: new and experimental, its curriculum a conscious rejection of old establishment; Mbeki's friendships; Mbeki and the anti-apartheid movement; Sussex university coursework, influential lecturer in economics: Tibor Barna; Govan Mbeki arrested.

E2.1: Cited documents

E2.1.1: The University of Sussex, BA Final examination papers, 1965 Economic planning, 'Economic Theory', 'The Economics of developed countries', 'The Economics of under-developed countries'

[1965]

E2.1.2: University of Sussex, BA Prelim examination, 1963 'The Economic and Social framework'

[1963]

E2.1.3: The University of Sussex, BA Final Examination, 1965 Economic Geography of Africa



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[1965]

E2.1.4: The University Curriculum, pp 18-38

E2.1.5: Tribune Archive, 16 May 1965 To Whom It May Concern by Adrian Mitchell; source: www.tribune.atfreeweb.com/archive

[16 May 1965]

E2.2: Research documents

E2.2.2: RSGs Spies for peace: a defence FALLEX-26 [anti-nuclear booklet signed by Thabo Mbeki]

E2.2.3: The Times, 15 April 1963 Marchers given 14,000 copies of spies pamphlets [The Sussex Left]
[15 April 1963]

E2.2.4: The Times, 13 April 1963 Anti-nuclear booklet discloses secrets, demonstrators invited to visit War HQ, authorities perturbed about aim of spies for peace from our defence correspondent
[13 April 1963]

E2.2.5: The Times, 15 April 1963 Honours even in battle of the Secret Headquarters [The Sussex Left]
[15 April 1963]

E2.2.6: Times, 16 April 1963 Coaches as Whitehall barricades: Marchers fight police: 72 arrested p 10 [The Sussex Left]
[16 April 1963]

E2.2.7: Times, 19 April 1963. Spies document extracts in peace news: Police warning defied: Violence on march condemned p 19 [The Sussex Left]
[19 April 1963]

E2.2.8: Times, 24 April 1963. Spies for what? [The Sussex Left]
[24 April 1963]

E2.2.9: The Times, 26 April 1963. More details of secret H.Q. [The Sussex Left]
[26 April 1963]

E2.2.10: The Times, 19 April 1963. Students want gaol studies [The Sussex Left]
[19 April 1963]

E2.2.11: Wine Press, 20 May 1963. What happened at Marham [Marham anti-nuclear demonstration, demonstrators arrested] [The Sussex Left]
[20 May 1963]

E2.2.12: Daily Worker, 15 June 1964. Free Rivonia Eight rally: Russell appeals to world's unions to act [The Sussex Left]
[15 June 1964]

E2.2.13: Sunday Times, 3 April 1966. Where the bright girls go by Colin Chapman [Sussex University]
[3 April 1966]

E2.2.14: Time, 15 April 1966. Great Britain: You could walk across it [Sussex University]
[15 April 1966]

E2.2.15: The Sunday Times, 10 October 1965. Sussex shows the newest universities the way to success: 4-year-old is Oxbridge's closest rival by Colin Chapman p 5 [Sussex University]
[10 October 1965]

E2.2.16: Wine Press Vol 4 No 10, 24 January 1966 O'Brien exposed: Fleet Street not responsible for Students morals [Sussex University]
[24 January 1966]

E2.2.17: Wine Press, 7 February 1966 [Student newspaper] Versus the Press by Elizabeth Coles [Sussex University]
[7 February 1966]



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- E2.2.18: Wine Press, Vol 4, No 3 (196) Showdown: The new universities by Roger aw, pp 4- 5 [Sussex University]
- E2.2.19: Wine Press, 23 October 1964. Showdown: The Freshers pp 4 - 5 [Sussex University]
[23 October 1964]
- E2.2.20: Wine Press, 15 June 1966 The Sussex way by Peter Foges and Bob Wagner [Sussex University]
[15 June 1966]
- E2.2.21: Wine Press 13 March 1967. No racial problem at Sussex [Discrimination against coloured residents]
[Sussex University]
[13 March 1967]
- E2.2.22: Wentworth news sheet, 14 May (year unknown) [Mbeki was in residence with Gunby, Yates and Gooding at Wentworth House] [Sussex University]
[14 May]
- E2.2.23: Bias, Autumn 63, Vol 1 No 2 University of Sussex: Retrospect and prospect by Asa Briggs [university vice-chancellor], pp 18 - 21[Sussex University]
- E2.2.24: Wine Press, 23 October 1964, Vol 3 No 2 Rag Bags, 64 [Rag Queen, Ada Uzouma] [Sussex University]
[23 October 1964]
- E2.2.25: Bulletin, 19/10/62, 7/11/62, 14/3/63, 14/10/63, Extracts from Diary of events
[19/10/62]
- E2.2.26: Tibor Barna [economics lecturer at Sussex during Mbeki's time there], letter to Mark Gevisser, 24 February 1999 [on Sussex course material and Mbeki's MA dissertation]
[24 February 1999]
- E2.2.27: The University of Sussex, BA Preliminary Examination, 1963. Critical Reading: English poetry, drama and fiction
[1963]
- E2.2.28: Preliminary examination, March 1963, pass list
[March 1963]
- E2.2.29: Examination venues
- E2.2.30: MA in Development Economics Seminars Summer Term by T. Barna, 22/4/66
[22/4/66]
- E2.2.31: Bulletin, 2/12/63. The School of African and Asian Studies
[2/12/63]
- E2.2.32: The University of Sussex, Lecture time table, 1962-1963
[1962-1963]
- E2.2.33: Wine Press, 9 December 1963. Manifesto by Christopher Knight [complaint of two-essay-a-week system]
[9 December 1963]
- E2.2.34: Excerpts from dissertation. The Location of Industry in Ghana and Nigeria pp 2-4, 82-92; Submission for the Degree of Master of Arts, Sussex University, 1966 by Thabo Mbeki
[1966]
- E2.2.35: Bulletin, 27/11/62. The World University Service
[27/11/62]
- E2.2.36: Marx, K. 1926. The eighteenth Brumaire Unwin Brothers Ltd. London and Woking [Literary sources]
[1926]
- E2.2.37: Adrian Mitchell CV at PFD; source: www.pfd.co.uk/scripts/get.py/filmandtv



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- E2.2.38: Mitchell, A. 1977. Ride the Nightmare Jonathan Cape, London[Literary sources]
[1977]
- E2.2.39: Said, E. Resistance and Opposition in 1993. Culture and Imperialism
[1993]
- E2.2.40: Brecht, B. Questions from a worker who reads (Bertold Brecht); source:
www.usabilitymustdie.com/questions_from_a_worker [Literary sources]
- E2.2.41: Yeats, W.B. Easter 1916; source: www.theatlantic.com/unbound/poetry/soundings/easter [Literary
sources]
[1916]
- E2.2.42: Sechaba, Vol. 5 No 1 January 1971. My Beautiful Land by Antjie Krog [Literary sources]
[1 January 1971]
- E2.2.43: Wordsworth Book Tenth, Book Eleventh pp 396-397 [Literary sources]
- E2.2.44: Focus [Journal of the Helen Suzman Foundation] editorials, issues 10, 14-22, 29, 31-32, 34
- E2.2.45: Gevisser, M E-mail to Robert Skinner, 14 January 1999 re: Sussex interviews
[14 January 1999]
- E2.2.46: The British Library, Application for photographs from original newspapers [Sussex Publications]
- E2.2.47: Rhiannon + Mel Letter to Mark Gevisser, 16 February
[16 February]
- E2.2.48: Briggs, Letter to Skinner, 5 February 1999
[5 February 1999]
- E2.2.49: Barna, T Letter to Skinner, 8 February 1999
[8 February 1999]
- E2.2.50: Rob Skinner Letter to Mark Gevisser
- E2.2.51: List and description of University of Sussex Publications
- E2.2.52: Sussex Publications Wine Press, November 25 1963 'Why I think Alan Wood is unlikely to be a
Bolshevik' by Jeremy Palmer; Wine Press 4 March 1963 'A new deal with Wilson?' by
Malcolm Warner; Wine Press, June 11 1965 'Brighton briefing'; Wine Press, Vol. 4 No 4 June
11 1965 'Festival '65'; Sussex Outlook, No 11 May 24 1966 'Reviews'; Wine Press, 2
May 1966 'Jazz'; Wine Press, February 21 1966 'What wears the trousers'; Wine Press
February 7 1966 'Resort to arms justified: horrific means for just ends', 'Fascists at Africa
forum'; Wine Press February 21 1966 'Twentieth Century monster'; Wine Press Mayday
1967 'The Trots speak out'; Sussex outlook, November 1 1965 'Tribal Colleges: the result of
segregation'; Spark No 2 Autumn 1964 'Wage restraint?' by Thabo Mbeki; Sussex
International No 1 June 1966 'Nkrumah-a minority of one?' by Thabo Mbeki; Sussex radical Vol.
1 No 3 January 1965 'How good are we?'; Wentworth W.P. 'Inquiry into the workings of our
committees; Kingsthorpe Press 'Downes and out'; The original Burlington
[November 25 1963]
- E2.2.53: United Nations special committee against apartheid selected statements and other press releases,
1963-1983
[1963-1983]
- E2.2.54: The federation of Brighton socialist youth Students and workers unite!!!
- E2.2.55: Source unknown: The wild gets of goul
- E2.3: Chapter notes
- E2.3.1: Notes on Tibor Barna
- E3: Chapter 14: Double-touched by history



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[3 Nov 1964]

Chapter content:

Mbeki appears before the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid to plead for the life of his father; Mbeki and the Sussex Anti-Racialist Movement, 3 Nov 1964: the first major anti-apartheid demonstration (to SA House, Trafalgar Square); the Rivonia trial night march; June 1964 election, continuum between apartheid rule in SA and Tory rule in the UK; Mbeki secretly flew to Moscow to lead the ANC delegation to a youth festival (summer 64); November 64 Mbeki travels to Algiers as the movement's student representative at the 10th anniversary celebrations of the Algerian revolution; on the Harlem Renaissance poem Mbeki sent to the Goodings whilst at the Lenin Institute, on poetry and his interest in art not for its own sake but what it could achieve politically; Robert Emmet's (Irish revolutionary) speech from the dock, admired by Mbeki

E3.1: Cited documents

- E3.1.1: Our past was a blast [Sussex University 30 years reunion]
- E3.1.2: The Sunday Times, 14 June 1964, p 5 Marchers turned out of airport [Rivonia]
[14 June 1964]
- E3.1.3: Evening Argus, 13 June 1964 Wet and weary but trekkers plod on: South African family join protest march [Rivonia]
[13 June 1964]
- E3.1.4: Evening Argus, Thursday, 11 June 1964 Thabo will lead night march on London [Rivonia]
[11 June 1964]
- E3.1.5: Daily Worker, 15 June 1964 Free Rivonia Eight rally [Rivonia]
[15 June 1964]
- E3.1.6: Mbeki, T Statement to UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, 16 April 1963
[16 April 1963]
- E3.1.8: Wine Press, 17 June 1963. We help the oppressors by Mike Yates [calls for end to Britain's arms supply to SA] [Sussex left]
[17 June 1963]

E3.2: Research documents

- E3.2.1: Bulletin 14 March 1963, p 8 Union News, Committee of 1963/64 includes Thabo Mbeki [Sussex left]
[14 March 1963]
- E3.2.2: Wine Press, 6 May 1963 The Union by D.S. Gunby, The President replies by Thomas Kemnitz and Adrian H. Mugridge [Sussex left]
[6 May 1963]
- E3.2.3: Wine Press, 25 November 1963 Sussex: a deceptive image? by Paul Buckley, Epistle to the Union by Paul Littlewood, The Falmer House dance [Sussex left]
[25 November 1963]
- E3.2.4: Wine Press, 7 February 1964 The Russian visit [Sussex left]
[7 February 1964]
- E3.2.5: Wine Press, 25 November 1963 Anti-apartheid [reports on anti-apartheid march] [Sussex left]
[25 November 1963]
- E3.2.6: Wine Press, Vol 4 No 3 (1965) Brighton briefing: society meetings edited by Anna Sandliford, Rich Ollin and Hamilton Sparks; Anti-racialist movement: Evening. Debating Chamber. A seminar on The Sociology of Racialism Full details have yet to be arranged but several faculty members are being invited [Sussex left]
[1965]
- E3.2.7: Bulletin, 30 May 1963 Union News [on decision to boycott SA goods] [Sussex left]
[30 May 1963]



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- E3.2.9: Wine Press, 20 May 1963 Union and Politics by Lorne Duncan, The Official Angle by student treasurer (no union funds may be spent on South African goods without the prior consent of a union general meeting), Consistency by Barbara Tildesley, Reaction by Beth Biddle [Sussex left]
[20 May 1963]
- E3.2.10: Paul Lawrence The University and Colour Discrimination in Brighton in Bias, Spring 1965, pp 19 - 22 [Sussex left]
[1965]
- E3.2.11: The Sunday Telegraph, 14 June 1964 Mandela: A power behind bars p 15 [Rivonia]101.
[14 June 1964]
- E3.2.12: Wine Press, 18 June 1964 March through Brighton [Rivonia]
[18 June 1964]
- E3.2.13: Source unknown Govan Mbeki People's Journalist of South Africa by Michael Harmel [Rivonia]
- E3.2.14: Notes made by Govan Mbeki on his detention and trial [Rivonia]
- E3.2.15: Justice Files on Govan Mbeki [Rivonia]
- E3.2.16: Evening Argus, 16 October Labour by a nose! 13 years of Tory rule ends in 16 minutes: Hobden wins [Dennis Hobden first socialist MP in Sussex] [1964 election]
[16 October]
- E3.2.17: Brighton and Hove Herald, 9 May 1964 One Victory, but it sent labour supporters wild: Noisy Scenes at Dome Declaration [1964 election]
[9 May 1964]
- E3.2.18: Argus, 1/1/65 Tories may appeal over student voters [1964 election]
[1/1/65]
- E3.2.19: Times, 1 January 1965 Student names on electoral list [1964 election]
[1 January 1965]
- E3.2.20: Times, 2 January 1965 Student stays on voter's list [1964 election]
[2 January 1965]
- E3.2.21: Observer, 24 October 1965 Mr Wilson's Job [1964 election]
[24 October 1965]
- E3.2.22: Mbeki, T Letter to JJ Hadebe, 8 November 1964, Re: Attendance at the 10th Anniversary of the Algerian Revolution; Source: Mbeki, T; SASA; 1964-5, ANC Archives, Fort Hare [1964 election]
[8 November 1964]
- E3.3: Chapter notes
- E3.3.1: 1960s notes ANC Activism, 1960s [1964 election]
[1960]
- E3.3.2: Notes on Govan Mbeki at the Rivonia trial and on Robben Island
- E3.3.3: Notes on Govan Mbeki's Justice Files
- E4: Chapter 15: Favourite Son
[October 1965]
Chapter content:
Mbeki and the Tambo's; Adelaide Tambo his other mother; during the 1960s: Mbeki the favourite son of both the nationalists and the communists; race as a social determinant, Mbeki read and admired philosophies of negritude (Césaire, Senghor, WEB du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Malcom X, Frantz Fanon) yet he was also a defender non-racialism, Mbeki argued for the admission of any student into the YSS (in 1966), the YSS became the first non-racial arm of the ANC; Mbeki groomed by Slovo for communist leadership; Mbeki's father-son relationship with OR Tambo; Mbeki's return to Sussex in October 1965 to do his



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Masters in Economics and Development; Essop Pahad arrives at Sussex; 1964. Mbeki establishes the non-racial, non-sectarian South African Students Association (SASA), resistance from the ANC, Mbeki sets up an underground ANC caucus, urged the ANC to find allies in already existing youth and student groups, in early 1966 the ANC YSS is formed; Mbeki the perfectionist; Mbeki's major antagonist Joe Nhlanhla the Moscow Chair of the ASA; ASA students rebelled against strictures of Soviet society and the movement, Mbeki felt brunt of their resentment; Mbeki speech refer to a decline in the quality of our cadres; Mbeki's personal ambitions / destiny

E4.1: Cited docs

- E4.1.1: Mbeki, T Letter to The Reps, Dar Es Salaam, undated; Source: Mbeki, T; SASA; 1964-5, ANC Archives, Fort Hare
[1964]
- E4.1.2: Mbeki, T Letter to JJ Hadebe, 19 October 1964; Source: Mbeki, T; SASA; 1964-5, ANC Archives, Fort Hare
[19 October 1964]
- E4.1.3: Hadebe, JJ Letter to Mbeki, T, 30 November 1964; Source: Mbeki, T; SASA; 1964-5, ANC Archives, Fort Hare
[30 November 1964]
- E4.1.4: Mbeki, T Letter to Mazwi, 11 May 1966; Source: Mbeki, T; SASA; 1964-5, ANC Archives, Fort Hare
[11 May 1966]
- E4.1.5: Mbeki, T ANC Youth and Student Section (London Office) Short Memorandum on Structure, Aims and Tactics, 18 November, 1965; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, ANC London Mission Collection
[18 November, 1965]
- E4.1.6: Mbeki, T Letter to A Kgogong, 12 July 1966; Source: ANC Morogoro office, Mbeki Thabo, SASA, 1964-5, ANC Archives, Fort Hare
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- E4.1.7: Mbeki, T. Report on April Visit to the USSR 1968; Source: ANC Collection, Mayibuye Archives, MCH12/15 [incomplete]
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- E4.1.8: Mbeki, T Keynote Address to the National General Council, Port Elizabeth, 12 July 2000
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- E4.1.9: Mbeki, T Address at the Opening of the 51st National Conference of the ANC, Stellenbosch, 16 December 2002
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- E4.2.2: Mbeki, T Letter to Joe Slovo, 11 May 1966
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[January 4th, 1975]

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[September 1969]
- E4.2.6: Working document of ANC Youth and Students for the mobilisation of ANC youth and students abroad, September 1969 [YSS]
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- E4.2.7: Hadebe, JJ Letter to Mbeki, 6 August 1964 re: The South African Students Association in the UK
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- E4.2.9: Mbeki, T Letter to The Representatives, ANC, Dar es Salaam, 10/9/64 [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.10: Hadebe, JJ Letter to Mbeki, 14 October 1964 re: the African Students Association (ASA) [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.12: Mbeki, T Letter to Hadebe, J, 22 July 1965 [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.13: Hadebe, JJ Letter to Mbeki, T, 9 August 1965 [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.14: Minutes of the first annual general meeting of the South African Students Association, meeting at Africa Unity House, 21 September, 1965 [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.15: Author unclear, Letter to Mbeki, T, 21 January 1966 [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.16: Mbeki, T Letter to Aubrey, 7 January 1966 [re Rhodesia] [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.17: Mbeki, T Letter to Thembsie, 11 May (year unknown) [re scholarships] [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.20: Mbeki, T (YSS) Letter to Johnny, 25 April 1966 [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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[20 April 1966]
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- E4.2.24: Sender unknown Letter to The Secretary, National Union of South African Students, 14 November 1966 [Re: scholarship sub-committee] [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.26: Khabele, E Letter to Mbeki, T, 20 October 1965 (Re SAASA, US) [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.27: Memorandum [include point: In West recognise the broad movements (SASA) but with ASA working inside] with note: Thabo attend to this, send a solidarity letter
- E4.2.28: Sender unknown Letter to ANC, Zambia re: scholarship of Mrs Thami Bonga [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.29: Dollimore, J (Chairman of the LHM Overseas Scholarship Committee) Addressee unknown, 25 January 1968 [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
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- E4.2.30: Mbeki, T (representing YSS) Letters to Hintsu Tshume, Glenn Scott and Sigqibo, 26 January 1968 [Re: scholarships, example of ANC caucus within SASA] [SASA / YSS correspondence 1964 - 1968]
[26 January 1968]
- E4.2.31: Paper on Southern Africa prepared by the African National Congress Youth and Students Section, date unknown [incomplete]
- E4.2.32: External Mission: ANC Youth and Students Section, year unknown
- E4.2.33: Mbeki, T Letter to 'Jimmy', 8 November 1964 'Re: Attendance at the 10th Anniversary of the Algerian Revolution'
[8 November 1964]
- E4.3: Chapter notes
- E4.3.1: Message from Moscow notes
- E5: Chapter 16: Old left, new left: Thabo and Moeletsi
[18 May 1966]
Chapter content:
Moeletsi known for his attacks on SA's Zimbabwe policy, the African Renaissance and BEE; Moeletsi new left, Mbeki old left; Moeletsi part of new left rebellions of the 1960s, a political rebel, declared himself a Maoist, later an internationalist, a Third World Revolutionary, an embarrassment to the Sussex set; the Trotskyist Alan Woods arrive at Sussex; 18 May 1966 24 hour vigil held against Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia; comparison of Mbeki's political style to that of Essop Pahad; Mbeki's bifurcated experience of the 1960s, unlike their peers Mbeki and comrades were part of an armed struggle, an anti-colonial movement; Mbeki benefactor of 1960s and the new left
- E5.1: Cited docs
- E5.1.1: Attenborough, R Speech in the official publication: Honorary Degree Ceremony for Thabo Mbeki at the University of Sussex, 6 October 1995



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[6 October 1995]

E5.1.2: *Sussex Outlook*, Number one, April 27, 1964 Extremists take control: Socialist club elects Trotskyist chairman

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E5.1.3: *The Sunday Times*, 6 April 2003. Black empowerment's lone heretic: Businessman Moeletsi Mbeki thinks the government's formula is a recipe for elitism and economic stagnation, writes Sthembiso Msomi

[6 April 2003]

E5.1.4: *City Press*, 07/06/2003. Mbeki's rich bro roasted by Maphamola Lebelo

[07/06/2003]

E5.1.5: *Evening Argus*, May 19 1966, picture of Zalkes Mokae and Athol Fugard [performing *The Blood Knot* at the Theatre Royal joined students for the last 90 minutes of their 24-hour Rhodesia vigil]

[May 19 1966]

E5.1.6: Interview with Moeletsi Mbeki, 8 November 2001

[8 November 2001]

E5.2: Research documents

E5.2.1: Discussion with Moeletsi Mbeki, 1 April 2003

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E5.2.2: Jabu Moleketi and Josiah Jele Two Strategies of the National Liberation Movement in the struggle for the victory of the National Democratic Revolution

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[1976]

E5.2.4: Leslie Cagan *Being Left, It Should Be Possible, It Has To Be Possible*

E5.2.5: Mbeki, T Letter to Jane, 7 February , 1966 [The setting up a national student Rhodesia Action Group]

[7 February]

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E5.2.7: *Sussex Outlook*, April 27, 1965 Students and Politics: Unresolved questions by Norman Mackenzie

[April 27, 1965]

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E5.2.9: *Daily Express*, undated (assumed to be 1999) Charmer ready to take Mandela role [quoting fellow Sussex students]

[1999]

E5.2.10: *The Argus*, Tuesday, January 26, 1999, p 12 Sussex student tipped to succeed Nelson Mandela [anecdotes from fellow Sussex students]

[January 26, 1999]

E5.2.11: Marwick, A *The Sixties* pp 454-473 (National and other identities), pp 536-547, 560-563 (Freedom, turbulence and death), pp 606-613, 632-643 (1968 (and 1969), pp 690-691 (Women's turn)

[1968]

E5.2.12: *New Left, Old Left* from *The Year of the Barricades* pp 33-47, 354-357

E5.2.13: *Sussex Outlook*, 2 November 1965. Politics and Hypocrisy [Rhodesia]

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- E5.2.16: Wine Press, 24 January 1966. Rhodesia: If sanctions fail, what next in South Africa? [Rhodesia]
[24 January 1966]
- E5.2.17: Research report on Moeletsi Mbeki's critique of BEE [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
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[18 September 2004]
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[8 April 2005]
- E5.2.26: Moeletsi Mbeki, an expanded version of a public lecture given on 26 April 2006 at Wits What is transformation? The white roots of BEE [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
[26 April 2006]
- E5.2.27: Saturday Star, 5 July 2003 We need to develop real entrepreneurs by Moeletsi Mbeki [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
[5 July 2003]
- E5.2.29: This day, 6 August 2004. The iron law of African underdevelopment by Moeletsi Mbeki [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
[6 August 2004]
- E5.2.30: This day, 4 August 2004, p 1 Moeletsi Mbeki lashes African elite by Marlene Burger [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
[4 August 2004]
- E5.2.31: Zimbabwe Herald, 21 November 1985, p 18 Working-class leadership in SA struggle: debate reopened by Moeletsi Mbeki [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
[21 November]
- E5.2.32: Zimbabwe Herald, 28 November 1985, p 12 Inaccuracies in article on SA [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
[28 November 1985]
- E5.2.33: Sampie Terreblanche. Some remarks on A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002 6



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February 2003 [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]

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- E5.2.35: South African Press Association (Johannesburg) June 8, 2003 Black Business Angry After Mbeki's Brother Slams Empowerment [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
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- E5.2.36: Business Day, June 6, 2003. Treat empowerment as a complex social transformation issue [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
[June 6, 2003]
- E5.2.37: Aziz Pahad, open letter to an old friend, Professor Sampie Terreblanche [A defence of ANC economic policy after Terreblanche attacked the ANC for its neo-liberal policies] [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
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[6 October 2002]
- E5.2.39: News24 (SA), 9 December (year unknown) SAIIA: Pull the economic plug [Moeletsi Mbeki, BEE]
[9 December]
- E5.2.40: The Financial Gazette, 26 November 2000 South Africa faces opaque times ahead by Howard Barrell [Moeletsi Mbeki, Background to arms deal]
[26 November 2000]
- E5.2.41: Terry Crawford-Browne. The betrayal of the struggle against apartheid: a summary of South Africa's R48 billion weapons acquisition programme, related offsets and allegations of corruption and written questions by Patricia De Lille, MP tabled in Parliament to: Minister of Defence, Minister of Trade and Industry, Minister of Public Enterprises, Minister of Finance 28 September, 2000 [Moeletsi Mbeki, Arms deal]
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- E5.2.42: Business Day (15 November 2001) Erwin set to publish details on IDC loans
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[15 November 2001]
- E5.2.44: Mail and Guardian, July 27 to August 2 2001 President's brother buys into arms deal by Paul Kirk [Moeletsi Mbeki, Arms deal]
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- E5.2.45: Financial Mail (SA), 20 July 2001 ANC brains slug it out over Zanu and the MDC [Moeletsi Mbeki, Zimbabwe]
[20 July 2001]
- E5.2.46: Focus, July 2002, pp 3-11 Q & A: Moeletsi Mbeki speaks on HIV/AIDS, Zimbabwe, Angola and Foreign Aid [Moeletsi Mbeki, Zimbabwe]
[July 2002]
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- E5.2.48: South African Press Association (Johannesburg), 9 December 2001. SAIIA Warns of War in Zimbabwe [Moeletsi Mbeki, Zimbabwe]
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[20 March 2002]
- E5.2.53: Dispatch online, 26 February 2001. Zim burden to SA says institute head [Moeletsi Mbeki, Zimbabwe]
[26 February 2001]
- E5.2.54: Address by Moeletsi Mbeki. The African Renaissance: Myth or Reality? presented at The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), Tuesday 21 October 1997, Jan Smuts House [Moeletsi Mbeki, The African Renaissance]
[21 October 1997]
- E5.2.55: Sunday Times, 7 October 2001. Brothers share a dream but live in different world: Moeletsi and Thabo Mbeki were on business trips to Japan at the same time and did not meet once, writes Ranjeni Munusamy [Moeletsi and Thabo Mbeki]
[7 October 2001]
- E5.2.56: Interview with Moeletsi Mbeki interviewer: Wolfie Kodesh, 13 March 1993, Mayibuye Centre for history and culture in South Africa, Oral History of Exiles Project [Life in exile, family life]
[13 March 1993]
- E5.2.57: John Lee Anderson (ed.) 1997. Individualism Must Disappear from Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life
[1997]
- E5.3: Chapter notes
- E5.3.1: Notes on interviews with Moeletsi Mbeki
- E6: Chapter 17: Swinging London
[Oct 1966]
- Chapter content:*
Mbeki moves to London to work full time for the ANC's propaganda section (from Oct 1966 until Feb 1969); the ANC exile community and the South African jazz scene, artists aiding the liberation movement; Mbeki dates Zanele Dlamini; a brief biography of Zanele Dlamini (includes her older sister Edith's marriage to British Grenville-Grey) ; Mbeki the missionary, recruiting friends to the Party; student uprisings across Western Europe, tumultuous 1968; Mbeki's ambivalence towards Western Europe's student movements (which were anti-Soviet), Mbeki a tankie (supported the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia); the YSS's involvement in international solidarity work as means to expand AAM's reach; the emergence of Chris Hani, Mbeki's rival, who went into exile for military training resenting the sons of leaders, groomed in European universities for leadership positions; Mbeki leaves for Moscow.
- E6.1: Cited documents
- E6.1.1: See chapter 13: Time, 15 April 1966. Great Britain: You could walk across it
[15 April 1966]
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[14-24 August 1968]



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- E6.1.3: Statement by the ANC (SA) on the situation in Czechoslovakia 19.09.1968; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, Lusaka Mission Collection, Box 92
[1968]
- E6.1.4: Mbeki, T. Letter to T Barna, undated; Source: ANC Morogoro office, Mbeki, Thabo, SASA, 1964-65, ANC Archives, Fort Hare
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- E6.1.5: The history of The World Festivals of Youth and Students, in brief The World Federation of Democratic Youth
- E6.1.6: Bebop and beyond the blues: South African jazz history by Iain Harris and Struan Douglas
- E6.1.7: Daily Mail Reference Library (date unknown) Mr Wilfred takes a Zulu bride accessed 30 May 2001
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- E6.1.9: Transcript of Daily Mail Reference Library articles
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[September 1972]
- E6.1.11: Sechaba, Volume 4 No 6 (date unknown). Women's Liberation Disa Digital Imaging Project of South Africa, accessed 02/26/2005
[02/26/2005]
- E6.2: Research notes
- E6.2.1: Modern American Poetry. A Vietnam War Timeline; Source: www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/vietnam/timeline
- E6.2.2: Tipsforallsorts.com. The Sixties; Source: www.tipsforallsorts.com/60s
- E6.2.3: Infoplease. Civil Rights Timeline; Source: www.infoplease.com/spot/civilrightstimeline
- E6.2.4: National Student Conference: Revolution in Southern Africa Oxford, 9th March 1969. Prospects for armed struggle in South Africa by Joe Slovo
[9th March 1969]
- E6.2.5: National Student Conference: Revolution in Southern Africa, Oxford March 9, 1968 The liberation of South Africa
[March 9, 1968]
- E6.2.6: List of addresses [International solidarity, AAM]
- E6.2.7: Radio Prague, 21 August 2001. 33 years since the Soviet-led occupation of Czechoslovakia by Olga Szantova
[21 August 2001]
- E6.3: Chapter notes
- E6.3.1: Sixties London notes
- E6.3.2: Chapter draft
- E7: Chapter 18: Moscow man
[Feb 1969]
Chapter content:
Feb 1969 Mbeki arrives in Moscow to attend the Lenin Institute; background to the Lenin Institute: the building, resources and pedagogical style; Mbeki chosen to be secretary of SACP delegation to International Conference of Communist and Workers Party in Moscow, June 1969; Hani's ascendancy over Mbeki within the SACP; Mbeki's difficult relationship with Joe Slovo; Mbeki's course in advanced guerrilla warfare, December 1969; Mbeki's reading of Shakespeare's Coriolanus, existential



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anti-heroism vs. hero-worship

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[5 May 1968]
- E7.1.2: Mbeki, T. State of the Nation address at the opening of Parliament, 4 February 2000
[4 February 2000]
- E7.1.3: Guardian Unlimited, 24 October 2002. The Great Dictator by Joe Holden [on Al Pacino in Brecht's Arturo Ui on Broadway]
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- E7.1.4: Epstein, H. The Mystery of AIDS in South Africa, New York Review of Books, Vol 47, No 12, 20 July 2000
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- E7.1.5: Mbeki, T Lenin Institute documents
- E7.1.6: Sechaba, Vol 1 No 3 March 1967. A Great Step Forward: Message from the Deputy-President of the ANC of South Africa, Oliver Tambo, to His Excellency Mwalimu President Julius Nyerere, on the occasion of his announcement of the nationalization of all banks in Tanzania.
[3 March 1967]
- E7.1.7: Sechaba, March 1967. Youth in the Struggle: Tasks and perspectives of South African Youth and Students
[March 1967]
- E7.1.8: Nhlanhla, Joe Letter to Thabo Mbeki, date unknown
- E7.1.9: Nhlanhla, Joe Letter to Thabo Mbeki, date unknown
- E7.1.10: Paper on Southern Africa prepared by the African National Congress Youth and Students Section
- E7.1.11: Nobel e-Museum. Andrei Sakharov. Autobiography [Nobel peace laureate] accessed 7/14/03
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- E7.1.12: The New York Review, 23 April 1970, pp 44-47
[23 April 1970]
- E7.1.13: Mbeki, T Letter to R Gooding, May 1970, October 1969, 22 August 1969
[May 1970]
- E7.1.14: Notes on Letters to Rhianni

E7.2: Research documents

- E7.2.1: Extract from Vladimir Tikhomirov's States in Transition: Russia and South Africa; Section II Russia and South Africa: Old enemies, new allies
- E7.2.2: The Human Rights Movement, 1969-1979 www.aip.org/history/sakarov [Sakharov and Elena Bonner]
[1969-1979]
- E7.2.3: The Underground Palaces of Moscow's Metro, www.moscow-guide.ru/culture/metro
- E7.2.4: Metro plan, www.metropla.net/eu/mos/moskva
- E7.2.5: The Institute for African Studies, RAS Policy of M. Gorbachev - E. Shevardnadze on South Africa (1987-1991): Position of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee' The author's correspondence with E.A. Shevardnadze, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU by Vasili Solodovnikov
[1987-1991]
- E7.2.6: Leadership Guest Column. From Red Square by Andre Brink
- E7.2.7: IAS Newsletter (Published by the Institute for African Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences), No 4, October 1998 The Cold War in Southern Africa: 1976-81



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- [October 1998]
- E7.2.8: The Star, 24 November 1980. We won't fight in SA: Russia envoy: the ANC decides for itself what course it takes
[24 November 1980]
- E7.2.9: Sunday Times Magazine, 13 April 1980. Blackmail backfires
[13 April 1980]
- E7.2.10: Social Scientists Seminar, Moscow, 17-22 March 1987. List of Soviet participants: Vasily Solodovnikov, Apollon Davidson, Valentin Gorodnov, Victor Goncharov, Gleb Smirnov, Igor Blishchenko, Youri Udin, Vladimir Shubin, Ida Kouklina, Irina Filatova, Lev Rytov, Kirill Lisenkov. List of ANC participants: Pallo Jordan, Francis Meli, Max Sisulu, Tessa Marcus, Jeffrey Marishane, Norman Levy, Pascal Ludidi, Ivy Motsepe, Zola Skweyiya, Dan Cindi
[17-22 March 1987]
- E7.2.11: Democracy in action: The official news bulletin of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, December 1988 Leverkusen exposes the myths: IDASA group meet Soviet Africanists and ANC by Elsabe Wessels
[December 1988]
- E7.2.12: The Daily News, 28/10/1988. Russian and South African academics swop ideas at think-tank
[28/10/1988]
- E7.2.13: City Press, 29/05/1988. Sharp differences at ANC talks
[29/05/1988]
- E7.2.14: The Citizen, 25/20/1988. New SA group sits down with ANC
[25/20/1988]
- E7.2.15: The Cape Times, 28/10/1988. Slovo charms as ANC stereotype falls
[28/10/1988]
- E7.2.16: Statement of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Moscow, 28/03/1989
[28/03/1989]
- E7.2.17: Beeld, 27/7/89. Voorste SA ekonome en ANC praat [Talks between SA state, ANC , Russian and East European economists]
[27/7/89]
- E7.2.18: Beeld, 11 June 1991. Sowjet-man jak Mbeki af by Andre Brink [SU's change in attitude towards the ANC]
[11 June 1991]
- E7.2.19: Sunday Times, 29 November 1998. Playing with the Russian bear
[29 November 1998]
- E7.2.20: JB Letter to Nkobi, 12 July 1969
[12 July 1969]
- E7.2.21: Chris Hani biography; source: www.sacp.org.za/biographies/hani
- E7.2.22: Czechoslovakia 1968. Lenin wake up, Brezhnev has gone mad; source: www.marxist.com/1968/czech
[1968]
- E7.2.23: Photocopied image of Thabo Mbeki with Derek Gumbo and Mike Yates
- E7.2.24: African Communist, 1965 1st Quarter. The Economics of Apartheid by J.J. Jabulani [Mbeki]
[1965]
- E7.2.25: African Communist, 1967 3rd Quarter. Money screams in Katanga by J.J. Jabulani [Mbeki]
[1967]
- E7.2.26: African Communist, 1968 3th Quarter Africa: Notes and comments by J.J. Jabulani [Mbeki]



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- [1968]
E7.2.27: African Communist, 1968 4th Quarter Africa: Notes and comments by J.J. Jabulani [Mbeki]
[1968]
E7.2.28: African Communist, 1969 1st Quarter Africa: Notes and comments by J.J. Jabulani [Mbeki]
[1969]
E7.2.29: African Communist, 1971 4th Quarter Why I joined the Communist Party by Arnold Adams
[1971]
E7.2.30: African Communist, 1971 2nd Quarter. Why I joined the Communist Party by A. Ramsamy
[1971]
E7.3: Mark Gevisser, Russia visit [interview transcripts and reports]
E7.3.1: Winter postcard from Rodronova Shura, 1999
[1999]
E7.3.2: Interview with Andrei Chuzakin, former official of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Monday 25 October [incomplete transcript]
[25 October]
E7.3.3: Report on the interview with Andrei Chuzakin, 28 May 1999
[28 Mar]
E7.3.4: Interview with Dr Vladimir Lebedev, head of the International Department of Fatherland. All Russia Political Movement; former first secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982-1991) and political counsellor, Russian Embassy, Pretoria (1991-1996), 26/11/1999
[1982-1991]
E7.3.5: Interview with Dr Andrei Urnov, director in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and former official of the International Department of the CC of the CPSU, 27/11/1999
[27/11/1999]
E7.3.6: Interview with Dr Slava Tetyokin, international affairs head for the Peoples Power Fraction, State Duma, former official of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, 26/11/1999
[26/11/1999]
E7.3.7: Interview with Apollon Davidson, 21/10/1999
[21/10/1999]
E7.3.8: Report on the interview with Prof Apollon Davidson, 31 May 1999?
[31 May 1999]
E7.3.9: Interview with Vassily Solodovnikov, 22/10/1999
[22/10/1999]
E7.3.10: Report on the interview with Prof Vassily Solodovnikov, 24 May 1999
[24 May 1999]
E7.3.11: Interview with Alexandra Rodionova (Comrade Shura), former interpreter, instructor, chair of Social Psychology at the Lenin School, 25 October
[25 October]
E7.3.12: Report on interview with Alexandra Rodionova and description of the Lenin International School
E7.3.13: Notes from discussion with Vladimir Shubin, off the record, 24 October 1999
[24 October 1999]
E7.3.14: Notes from discussion with Vladimir Shubin [different to above, date unknown]
E7.3.15: Report on the interview with Dr Vladimir Shubin, Deputy Director of the Institute for African Studies , Russian Academy of Sciences, 18 May 1999
[18 May 1999]



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- E7.3.16: Emailed interviews with Dr Vladimir Shubin May 27, April 18, 20, 22, 23, 27 1999
[April 18, 20]
- E7.3.17: Report on interview with Dr Vyacheslav Tetyokin, 13 May 1999
[13 May 1999]
- E7.3.18: Report on interview with Prof Vladimir Trofimov, the former Vice-rector of the Institute of Social Sciences, 14 May 1999
[14 May 1999]
- E7.3.19: Russian trip itinerary (21-27 October 1999), journal and interviews repeated
[21-27 October 1999]
- E7.4: Chapter notes
- E7.4.1: Russia
- E7.4.2: 1969
[1969]
- F: PART FIVE: BACK TO AFRICA, 1971-1978
[1971-1978]
- F1: Part five notes
- F1.1: Notes on Thabo Mbeki's writings from the 70s
- F1.2: 1970s timeline
[1970s]
- F1.3: OR Tambo New year message to the ANC external mission, January 1, 1971
[January 1, 1971]
- F1.4: OR Tambo. Mobilise our black power: Statement to the people of South Africa on the tenth anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe, December 16, 1971
[December 16, 1971]
- F1.5: Minutes of 4 August 1972 meeting [Mayibuye archives]
[4 August 1972]
- F1.6: A short brief on the Government and Nationalist Party up to end of November, 1972 [ANC document]
[November, 1972]
- F1.7: OR Tambo. Mobilise world support for African liberation struggle: Statement on behalf of liberation movements at the international conference of experts for the support of victims of colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, Oslo, April 9, 1973
[April 9, 1973]
- F1.8: OR Tambo. 'Increase assistance to liberation movements: Statement at the international conference of experts for the support of victims of colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, Oslo, April 11, 1973'
[April 11, 1973]
- F1.9: Dadoo, Y. M. Letters to Comrades, July 1973, 27 November 1974, 20 November 1975, 20 September 1976, 27 September 1976
[July 1973]
- F1.10: OR Tambo. Message to the people of South Africa, June 26, 1974
[June 26, 1974]
- F1.11: The Role of the church. Radio 5/8/74
[5/8/74]
- F1.12: Presidential address submitted to the extended meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC (SA) held in Morogoro, March 1975 OR Tambo
[March 1975]



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- F1.13: First page of The General situation in South Africa in Challenge to the churches of a consultation on the church and the liberation of Southern Africa, held at Mindolo, Kitwe, Zambia, Nov 25-30, 1976
[Nov 25]
- F1.14: OR Tambo. Presidential address to the extended meeting of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, April 1975
[April 1975]
- F1.15: Speech delivered by Mzimkulu Ambrose Makiwane on the occasion of the unveiling of the tombstone of the late Robert Resha, London, 19/7/75
[19/7/75]
- F1.16: Statement by African National Congress (SA) on the expulsion of a conspiratorial clique, Dec 11 1975
[Dec 11 1975]
- F1.17: The Renegade Joseph Matthews and the National Democratic Revolution in South Africa, 28 May 1976
[28 May 1976]
- F1.18: Africa Confidential, 22/7/77. South Africa: The Guerrillas Are Coming
[22/7/77]
- F1.19: Africa Confidential, February 28 1979. South Africa: The black exiles
[February 28 1979]
- F1.20: Sechaba articles: Vol. 8 No 3 March 1974. Apartheid a crime: declaration of the 28th session of the UN General Assembly; Vol. 8 No 5 Pretoria-Pentagon talks: Report on Mulder's visit to the USA; Vol. 8 No 7 July 1974 City of London profit man: Poem by ANC Kumalo; First Quarter 1976 Book reviews: Kotane's biography reviewed by P. Jordan; Third Quarter 1976 The Struggle Goes On, The ANC Lives, Youth need ANC leadership; Vol. 11 First Quarter 1977 The Will of an entire People forged under fire
[3 March 1974]
- F2: Chapter 19: Not quite home: Lusaka
[April 1971]
Chapter content:
Mbeki arrives in Lusaka with OR Tambo, April 1971; he works in the Revolutionary Council set up to bridge the gap between the movement in exile and people back home; the ANC's state-within-a-state in Lusaka, Kenneth Kuanda's ambivalence towards freedom fighters; Mbeki's distance from MK, his questioning of the military solution approach; Mbeki represents the ANC's National Executive at the Beichlingen summer school, photographs of a cultural encounter activity.
- F2.1: Cited documents
- F2.1.1: Mbeki, T. Comments by the participants at the GDR, ANC Youth and Students seminar on the speech given on behalf of the NEC, August, 1971; Speech delivered by the NEC representatives at the ANC Youth and Students seminar, held in the GDR, August 1-14, 1971: Problems of the development of the armed struggle in SA
[August, 1971]
- F2.1.2: Sechaba Vol 5, No 10, October 1971. ANC Youth and Students Summer School
[October 1971]
- F2.1.3: Mbeki, T. Short Report on the ANC Youth and Students Summer School held in the GDR 8/9/71
[8/9/71]
- F2.1.4: See chapter 35 for Leadership SA, 31 May 1990. The Outsiders by Mark Gevisser
[31 May 1990]
- F2.1.5: Barrell, H First interview with Ronnie Kasrils, Lusaka, August 19 1989
[August 19 1989]
- F2.2: Research documents



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- F2.2.1: Report on April Visit to the GDR
- F2.2.2: Mbeki, T Letter to Maindy Msimang, ANC HQ, Morogoro, Tanzania, 14 October 1971 [notes that there are parts of the GDR speech should be omitted if the paper is reproduced and circulated]
[14 October 1971]
- F2.2.3: Tambo, OR. Mobilise our black power: Statement to the people of South Africa on the tenth anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 16 December, 1971
[16 December, 1971]
- F2.2.4: Dawn: Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe Souvenir Issue: 25th Anniversary of MK
- F2.2.5: Swedish Archival Documents Notes from a meeting with Thabo Mbeki, information secretary at the ANC executive, Stockholm, 2 December 1974, Notes from a conversation with Thabo Mbeki, 14 October 1976 translated by Tor Sellstrom from the original in Swedish
[2 December 1974]
- F2.2.6: Questions for President Mbeki [Re: the early 1970s: Lusaka/RC]
[1970s]
- F2.2.7: ANC Youth and Students Section report, date unknown [Re: Morogoro conference, seminar and international relations]
- F2.2.8: ANC Youth and Students Section General assessment of the Summer school, August 1st to 14th 1971 [practical problems facing our movement includes discussion of winning organisations like SASO over]
[1971]
- F2.2.9: Maindy Msimang (Executive Administrator of the ANC) Letter to Thabo Mbeki commending his report on the GDR Summer School] 21 September 1971
[21 September 1971]
- F2.2.10: Mbeki, T Speech at the Opening of the NAC Archives: University of Fort Hare, 17 March 1996 [reference to Brechts Thebes of the Seven Gates]
[17 March 1996]
- F2.2.11: Mbeki T Address at the Launch of Johannesburg (Inner City) Urban Renewal Strategy, Johannesburg City Hall, 17 July 1997 [reference to Brechts Thebes of the Seven Gates]
[17 July 1997]
- F2.2.12: Mbeki, T Speech at the IUSY Festival, Sweden, 28 July 2000 [reference to Brecht's Thebes of the Seven Gates]
[28 July 2000]
- F2.2.13: Map of Lusaka [Mark Gevisser visit to Lusaka]
- F2.2.14: Curriculum Vitae of Vernon Mwaanga
- F2.2.15: Curriculum Vitae of Rupiah Banda
- F2.2.16: Gevisser, M Letter to Robby [Mark Gevisser visit to Lusaka]
- F2.2.17: The Defence Services Command and Staff College brochure
- F2.3: Chapter notes
 - F2.3.1: Notes 1969
[1969]
 - F2.3.2: Notes on ANCYSS Summer School
- F3: Chapter 20: Marriage
[23 November 1974]
Chapter content:
23 November 1974 Mbeki and Zanele Dlamini's wedding at the aristocratic Farnham Castle, Surrey, residence of Zanele's older sister Edith (married to Grenville-Grey), characterised by hybrid traditional African and Anglican rites; on the movement's



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regulations on marriage, Zanele a suitable bride; the Mbeki's in Lusaka; some background to Zanele's career and the role she fulfilled as first lady; Mbeki / Dlamini union compared to that of Govan Mbeki and Epainette Moerane and with that of Lenin and Krupskaya: a commitment to ideas is primary

F3.1: Cited docs

- F3.1.1: Kornegay, DE Letter to M Gevisser, 23 October 2001
[23 October 2001]
- F3.1.2: Report of Subcommittee on Marriages set up by NWC Decision taken at meeting of 01/11/88; Source: ANC Collection, Mayibuye Archives
[01/11/88]
- F3.1.3: NEC Recommendations on Marriage Councelling
- F3.1.4: See chapter 5 for Thompson, B Interview with Govan Mbeki; Source: Mayibuye Archives, RIM-084

F3.2: Research docs

- F3.2.1: Times News, 20 December 1997. Personal portrait of a public man: There's more to Mbeki than meets the media, says Magnus Linklater
[20 December 1997]
- F3.2.2: About Farnham Castle Source; www.farnhamcastle.com/about
- F3.2.3: Apartheid's Repressive Social Policies by Zanele Dlamini
- F3.2.4: Sechaba Vol. 9 No 8/9 Aug/Sept 1975. This is South Africa by Zanele Mbeki
[9 Aug]
- F3.2.5: Zanele Dlamini's application for admission to The Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Brandeis University, November 1970
[November 1970]
- F3.2.6: Short biography of David Gil and notes on interview with Gil
- F3.2.7: Gil, D Cover letter to Mark Gevisser, 10.2.01 re: documents sent to Mark Gevisser
- F3.2.8: Gil, D Cover letter to Mark Gevisser, 10.3.01
- F3.2.9: Book synopsis. Confronting Injustice and Oppression by David Gil; Source: www.columbia.edu/cu/cup/catalog/data
- F3.2.10: Zanele Dlamini Dissertation Proposal, approved by David Gil, February 1974
[February 1974]
- F3.2.11: Prof David Gil Memorandum to Jehuda Rinharz, March 20, 1995 Re: inviting Zanele Mbeki to the Brandeis Ethics Conference
[March 20, 1995]
- F3.2.12: Reinhartz, J Inviting Zanele Mbeki to Ethics and Social Justice Conference, March 29, 1995
[March 29, 1995]
- F3.2.13: Mbeki, Z Conference paper Migration, refugees and displaced persons rights and responsibilities faxed to Brandeis University, 8 June 1995
[8 June 1995]
- F3.2.14: Mbeki, Z Request for reinstatement into dissertation process, 12 June 1995
[12 June 1995]
- F3.2.15: Mbeki, Z PhD dissertation. A Critical view of Positivism November 21, 1973
[November 21, 1973]
- F3.2.16: Extract from Brandeis University Journal, Alumni Milestones. Report of David Gil and his wife Eva invited to Mbekis inauguration
- F3.2.17: Mbeki, Z. Women and Apartheid in the 1980s: South Africa and Namibia
[1980s]



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- F3.2.18: Mbeki, Z Curriculum Vitae, date unknown, about 1995
[1995]
- F3.2.19: Sharon Cort (Mark Gevisser's research assistant) E-mails to Tor Sellstrom, Lisa Long, Paul Rosenstein, Karen Fields, Beth Finkelstein [Re: information on Zanele Mbeki]
- F3.2.20: Gevisser, M Fax message to Zanele Mbeki, 19 October 2000, 23 July 2001 [Re: meeting Mrs Mbeki]
[19 October 2000]
- F3.2.21: Waschefort, Carol (PA to Mrs Z Mbeki) Fax to Stuart Hess, 25 May 1999; Documents attached: Excerpts from UN Kigsaw by Wilfrid Grey [Zanele Mbeki's brother in law]
[25 May 1999]
- F3.2.22: List of questions for Zanele Mbeki
- F3.2.23: Notes on interview with Karin Norberg, 3/11/99
[3/11/99]
- F3.2.24: Notes on interview with Gunilla von Bahr-Tidbeck, 3 November 1999
[3 November 1999]
- F3.2.25: Notes on interview with Adelaide Tambo, date unknown
- F3.2.26: The Independent, 7 July 2000. Mrs Mbeki's friend [Phyllis Naidoo] in need at amnesty hearing
[7 July 2000]
- F3.2.27: The Star, 2 July 2001. Modest Zanele Mbeki eludes Kenyan media by Robert Otani
[2 July 2001]
- F3.2.28: The Star, 15 December 1999. Women do housework of a different kind by Edwin Naidu
[15 December 1999]
- F3.2.29: Insight, 30 May 1999. The 60s anti-hero: Part three of The Thabo Mbeki Story by Mark Gevisser
[30 May 1999]
- F3.2.30: The Star, 6 August 2001. Zanele Mbeki proposes special fund for women
[6 August 2001]
- F3.2.31: Extract from Thabo Mbeki Biography. Hugh Macmillan contact with Thabo Mbeki
- F3.3: Chapter notes
- F3.3.1: Memories of Zanele (on the 1960s, London, the wedding, Swaziland, Lusaka and family): Ruth and Stan Cohen at Wits, Adelaide Tambo, Meg Pahad, Veronica Linklater, Hugh Macmillan, Tor Sellstrom, Barbara Masekela, Cathy Mbeki, Ann Page, The Goodings
[1960s]
- F3.3.2: Chapter draft
- F4: Chapter 21: I am an African
[Jan 1975]
Chapter content:
Meets Lindiwe Sisulu (BC adherent) and in Swaziland, Jan 1975, meets SA students from Swazi university as a route back home and to assess the depth of BC among ordinary students; 1973 an upsurge of mass militancy, political prisoner such as Harry Gwala and Jacob Zuma released Mozambique's independence under Samora Machel in sight, mass exodus from SA; ANC sets up Eastern front under contingent of South Africans in Swaziland, Mbeki tasked with military recruitment in Swaziland and elected into NEC in 1975 along with Chris Hani, wooing BC adherents into ANC, cross fertilization of ideology; BC a popular anti-apartheid movement since 1964, racially exclusive; Mbeki: we must adopt the progressive aspects of Black Power; Biko of opinion that psychological liberation precedes taking up arms, whereas the ANC asserts that national identity is not an end in itself, that it is through physical confrontation (armed struggle) that people acquire psychological emancipation, Biko believed SASO could broker a union between the ANC and the PAC; Mbeki's contact with South Africans forced him to reconsider textbook Marxism-Leninism; on Mbeki's August 1998 launch of the African Renaissance, his second anthology of



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speeches titled Africa Define Yourself, contains citations from BC canon, black nationalism part of the foundation of the ANC in the early 20th century, Africanism reinvented by Biko in the 1960s, I am an African speech not racially exclusive, Mbeki appropriates and assimilates identity of oppressor and uses it to define himself

F4.1: Cited documents

- F4.1.1: Frederickse, J Interview with N Zuma, Julie Frederickse Collection, South African Historical Archives, Wits University
- F4.1.2: OR Tambo. Speech at meeting to commemorate South Africa Freedom Day and to condemn the 600-year alliance between Britain and Portugal, London, June 20, 1973
[June 20, 1973]
- F4.1.3: Statement of Deputy President TM Mbeki, on behalf of the African National congress, on the occasion of the adoption by the constitutional assembly of the republic of South Africa constitution bill 1996, Cape Town, 8 May 1996
[8 May 1996]

F4.2: Research documents [F4.2.2-F4.2.15 speak about Black Consciousness and Biko's SASO (South African Student's Organization), articles on SASO started to appear in the ANC's journal Sechaba only after Mbeki discussed implications of its exclusion with the editorial team]

- F4.2.1: United Nations Security Council, the Lusaka Manifesto, Letter dated 28 July 1969 from the permanent representative of Zambia addressed to the president of the security council
[28 July 1969]
- F4.2.2: Mbeki, T. Statement at the re-burial of Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, 27 October 2002
[Lembede-Nationalist ANC Youth League leader, 1950s]
[27 October 2002]
- F4.2.3: Sechaba Volume 4 No 8, 1970. South African students in bold protests
[1970]
- F4.2.4: Sechaba Volume 6 No 2. Black opposition inside South Africa: Skirmishes inside South Africa
[reference to SASO]
- F4.2.5: Sechaba, Volume 6 No 5, May 1972. Black Consciousness
[May 1972]
- F4.2.6: Sechaba, Volume 6 No 7, July 1972. Inside South Africa: Spotlight on Apartheid [reference to SASO]
[July 1972]
- F4.2.7: Sechaba, Volume 6, No 8, August 1972. Inside South Africa: National Strike by Students, Indian Congress in Conference, Black Transport Workers Strike, Buthelezi Hits Out, Getting Away With Murder
[August 1972]
- F4.2.8: Sechaba, Volume 6, No 9. On Black Consciousness
- F4.2.9: Sechaba, Volume 6, No 9, September 1972. Inside South Africa: Spotlight on Apartheid [reference to SASO]
[September 1972]
- F4.2.10: Sechaba, Volume 6 No 10, October 1972 Inside South Africa: SASO sets tongues wagging
[October 1972]
- F4.2.11: Sechaba, Volume 6 No 11/12, 1972. Inside South Africa: Youth challenge [covers BC, rising militancy amongst youth, Bantustans]
[1972]
- F4.2.12: Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu fax to Tor Sellstrom, 7 May 1997 Re: Inquiry about Steve Biko for Nordic research project [Confirms Biko's plans to meet ANC in Botswana; Biko arrested and killed before



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meeting took place]

[7 May 1997]

F4.2.13: NEC briefing for the proposed all-black conference, 16 October 1974

[16 October 1974]

F4.2.14: Report on the annual general meeting, 11 October 1972 [includes a report on SASO, how to deal with the organisation]

[11 October 1972]

F4.2.15: Reading on the Black Consciousness Movement and SASO, title unknown

F4.3: Chapter notes

F4.3.1: Notes 1970-74

[1970]

F4.3.2: Thabo Mbeki and Black Consciousness

F5: Chapter 22: uGatsha Ngawethu: Mbeki and Buthelezi

[June 1975]

Chapter content:

Relationship between the IFP and ANC; the 1972 meeting between Buthelezi (the newly elected leader of the Zulu Territorial Authority), OR Tambo, Mbeki and others; Gevisser profiling Buthelezi in 1997; in the early 1970s Buthelezi the most powerful black leader in SA, used the Bantustan system to denounce apartheid; OR Tambo advocated alliance with Buthelezi, he had old and deep bond with the Zulu chief; the ANC wanted Buthelezi to set up a political party to oppose King Zwelethini (Zulu king), Buthelezi agreed to form cover of a cultural organization, the IFP is set up as a crypto-ANC organisation; Buthelezi didn't support the armed struggle; Mbeki sold IFP and Buthelezi to ANC's Swedish funders till 1980 when the ANC publicly repudiated Buthelezi; ANC policy on homelands; Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement launched in June 1975; disagreement about Buthelezi on Robben Island and in the exile movement (Govan anti-collaborationist, Mandela not); ANC handed control of IFP over to Buthelezi a fatal mistake; the second meeting between the ANC and IFP in London, 30 + 31 October 1979, ANC wanted to pull him into line or break away from him, Buthelezi exposed their secret meeting, was imperative to ANC that relationship remain secret, 8 months later the ANC publicly repudiated Buthelezi.

F5.1: Cited documents

F5.1.1: Sunday Independent, 1999. Buthelezi Profile by Mark Gevisser

[1999]

F5.1.2: Wilkens, A. Conversation with Chief Buthelezi, Pro-memoria, 14 August 1976

[14 August 1976]

F5.1.3: Buthelezi, M Letter to Mark Gevisser, 16 September 2003

[16 September 2003]

F5.1.4: Sunday Times, 11/11/79. Gatsha's secret mission: London summit talk with banned ANC by Suzanne Vosloo [includes newspaper articles on ANC / IFP contact]

[11/11/79]

F5.1.5: Buthelezi, MB. The Question of the Recognition of the Role of Inkatha in the Struggle for Liberation, 1979?

[1979]

F5.1.6: Email quoting Sechaba, September 1980. The People's Programme by Nzo, A

[September 1980]

F5.1.7: Holden, P Report on interview with Oscar Dhlomo, 31/01/2004

[31/01/2004]

F5.1.8: Mbeki, G Letter to Tom Karis, 4 September 1995 Re Discord [on RI] Document that appears in Volume 5 If FPTC [From Protest to Challenge]



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[4 September 1995]

- F5.1.9: November 1979 newspaper articles re: IFP and ANC meeting in London, includes Business Day, 24 May 2004 The Thick end of the Wedge by Peter Bruce; Suzanne Vos (IFP MP) Email to Peter Bruce (Business Day editor), May 25 2004, June 14 200 [re leaking of IFP and ANC meeting]
[May 25 2004]
- F5.1.10: Documents of the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress Zambia, 16-23 June, 1985; Source: Karis-Gerhart Collection, Historical Papers, Wits University
[16-23 June, 1985]
- F5.2: Chapter research
- F5.2.1: Sechaba, Vol 5 No 2, February 1971. Bantustan imposed upon Zululand by PV Tulisizwe Mbatha
[February 1971]
- F5.2.2: Sechaba, Vol 6 No 8, August 1972. Buthelezi hits out
[August 1972]
- F5.2.3: ANC report on meeting of ANC and Inkatha, September 1977?
[September 1977]
- F5.2.4: Buthelezi, MG. Emerging political reality in South Africa October 1979
[October 1979]
- F5.2.5: Buthelezi, MG. The People's Struggle October 1979
[October 1979]
- F5.2.6: ANC document. Comments and observations on letter to GB, early 1980s
[1980s]
- F5.2.7: Mayibuye, No 6, 23 July 1980 OR Tambo refutes assassination plot: Statement issued by President Oliver Tambo at a press conference held by the African National Congress on July 23 in Lusaka, Zambia
[23 July 1980]
- F5.2.8: One page extract from ANC article [ANC repudiation of Buthelezi] date and source unknown
- F5.2.9: Extracts from IFP submission to the TRC. A call for a unifying perspective, The Buthelezi/Naude initiative, The good offices of Frelimo, The ANC's response to the call for unity by Buthelezi and Naude dated 1998
[1998]
- F5.2.10: Email, 1 February 2005 referencing the TRC's report (Vol 2, Chapter 5, pp 456-457, Paragraphs 207-210) on the ANC/IFP relationship; the 1979 London meeting
[1 February 2005]
- F5.2.11: Transcript of interview with Chief Buthelezi, date and source unknown
- F5.2.12: Buthelezi biography and history of the IFP
- F5.2.13: ANC Today: Online voice of the African National Congress, Volume 4, No 13, 2-8 April Our people must freely express their will
[2-8 April]
- F5.2.14: ANC Today: Online voice of the African National Congress, Volume 4, No 12, 26 March - 1 April 2004 Voters will decide the fate of rightwing coalition
[1 April 2004]
- F5.2.15: Holden, P. Media report: Buthelezi and Mbeki conflict 25 January 2005 [discusses relationship between Buthelezi and Mbeki from 1999 till 2004]
[25 January 2005]
- F5.2.16: Saturday Star? 17/07/94. ANC's era of discontent: Leaders at each other's throats on island



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[17/07/94]

F5.2.17: Africa Confidential Vol. 17, No 7 April 2, 1976 [Covers: Buthelezi address to mass rally in Soweto]
[April 2, 1976]

F5.2.18: Africa Confidential November 5, 1976. The Transkei and the Liberation Movements [Roles of liberation movements in homelands]
[November 5, 1976]

F5.2.19: Buthelezi, M Answered questionnaire faxed to Mark Gevisser, 16 September 2003
[16 September 2003]

F5.3: Chapter notes

F5.3.1: Notes on Buthelezi

F5.3.2: Chapter draft: 21 A "I am an African"

F5.3.3: Chapter draft: 21 B "Working with the enemy - Buthelezi and bantustans"

F6: Chapter 23: Front line: Swaziland

[March 1976]

Chapter content:

March 1976 Mbeki arrested in Swaziland, imprisoned with Zuma and Albert Dhlomo, as a result of 6 police agents set to Zuma as recruits, Swazi king deported prisoners, they are escorted into Mozambique a month after their arrest; Zuma history, recruited into MK in 1962; Mbeki / Zuma relationship; Mbeki's role as diplomat and teaching recruits about arms; Mbeki's high profile in Swaziland strategic after Soweto 1976 young people knew where to find the ANC; Mbeki frustrated by ANC's inability to respond to Soweto uprising; Mac Maharaj (authority on the efficacy of the ANC's armed struggle) suggested that Mbeki's Swaziland mission was a failure, was it? Maharaj argues that the armed struggle failed ultimately because it emphasized military insurgency at the expense of mass mobilisation; people who surged into exile after June 1976 more than the Swazi operation could handle, Mbeki's strength: mobilisation; Linda Jiba's arrest, money sent by Mbeki for recruitment ended up in her account

F6.1: Cited documents

F6.1.1: Rand Daily Mail, 24 April 1976. SAP smash guerrilla network
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F6.1.2: Barrell, H Interview with M Maharaj, 20 November 1990
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F6.1.4: Macmillan, Hugh Unpublished memoir, pp 23-33, 140-145

F6.2: Research documents

F6.2.1: Police statement by Tokyo Sexwale, 31 December 1976, pp 7-18, 47-57, 62-64, 69-72, 76-81
[31 December 1976]

F6.2.2: Albert Dhlomo, revised interview with Mark Gevisser, date unknown

F6.2.3: Jacob Zuma, interview with Mark Gevisser, date unknown

F6.2.4: Notes from interview with Tiksie Mabizela, Pretoria, 15/04/04
[15/04/04]

F6.2.5: Compiled list of Swedish archival documents on Thabo arrest

F6.2.6: Howards examination of CM Ndlovu; Source: Natal Archives Depot, RSC, 1/1/1998, Vol 22, Criminal cases 1976, Case no 198, pp 3220-3292
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- F6.2.8: Brooks, Alan & Brickhill, Jeremy. 1980. Youth Ferment from Whirlwind Before the Storm International Defence and Aid Fund, London, pp 67-166
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- F6.2.9: Sechaba, Third Quarter 1976. Death of a Militant: A Vow for Joseph Mdluli
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- F6.2.10: Africa Confidential 24/9/76. South Africa: Focus on ANC
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- F6.2.11: Interview with Hugh Macmillan [Importance of ANC work in Swaziland, socialising with Thabo, talks with Buthelezi, Thabo's profile, Thabo's qualities, Thabo and Zanele, aloof but accessible, meetings with Anglo
- F6.2.12: ANC report on June 1976
[June 1976]
- F6.3: Chapter notes
- F6.3.1: Soweto 1976 notes
[1976]
- F6.3.2: Swaziland notes
- F6.3.3: Chapter drafts
- F7: Chapter 24: Islands
[1982]
- Chapter content:*
Family correspondence, relationships; Mbeki family disintegrated; Epainette Mbeki's independence, her few visits perplexed and hurt Govan, Govan's inability to communicate; Govan met his grandson (Moeletsi's son) Karl in 1982, who became a frequent visitor; Govan's role as pedagogue in prison, a political educator; on Govan's hunger for familial bonds after his release, no contact with Thabo until his release
- F7.1: Cited documents
- F7.1.1: Mbeki, K. Granddad in Naidoo, B (ed.) Free As I Know
- F7.1.2: Weekly Mail, August 14-20 1987. My Years on the Island
[August 14]
- F7.1.3: Mbeki, J Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 28 April 1966; Source ANC Morogoro office, Mbeki, SASA, 1964-5, ANC Archives, Fort Hare
[28 April 1966]
- F7.1.4: Mbeki, E Letter to Govan Mbeki, 13 October 1975; Source: Govan Mbeki Collection, Mayibuye Archives, MCH48-1
[13 October 1975]
- F7.1.5: Jiba, L Letter to Govan Mbeki, 24 October 1975; Jiba, L Letter to Govan Mbeki, 10 November 1975; Source: Mayibuye Archives, MCH48-1. Translated from isiXhosa by Simpiwe Yako
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- F7.1.6: Mbeki, E Letter to Govan Mbeki, 14 July 1975; Source: Mayibuye Archives, MCH48-1
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- F7.1.7: Mbeki, E Letter to Govan Mbeki, 10 November 1975, 10 November 1982; Source: Govan Mbeki Collection, Mayibuye Archives, MCH48-1
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- F7.2.1: How they Came to Be, preface to Govan Mbeki's Prison writing not used by his publisher; Source: Mayibuye GM Collection
- F7.2.2: Lesotho- History and Politics; Source: www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/Lesotho/Politics
- F7.2.3: The Lesotho Civil War and Intervention (1998); Source: www.historyguy.com/lesotho conflict
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- F7.2.4: Interview with Mofelehetsi Moerane, Maseru, 26 February 2000, second section talks about Jama Mbeki
[26 February 2000]
- F7.2.5: Interview with Makalo Ntaloe, Maseru, 26 February 1999
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- F7.2.6: Stuart Hess E-mail to Mark Gevisser, 1 June 1999, Subject: Jama Mbeki
[1 June 1999]
- F7.2.7: Thabo Mbeki investigation into Jama Mbeki's disappearance Jama Mbeki: The Comrade who disappeared without trace
- F7.2.8: Extract from interview with Govan Mbeki
- F7.2.9: Epainette Mbeki. Piny Letters to Govan Mbeki, 06.09.1982, 7.9.82, 25.09.1975, 05.08.1975, 29.03.1982, 12.10.1982
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- F7.2.10: Record of grants to Epainette Mbeki [for stock, study fees, schooling of the Children of Raymond Mhlaba in her care]from the International Defence and Aid Fund
- F7.2.11: Mbeki, E Letter to the International Defence and Aid Fund, 25 March 1991
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- F7.2.12: Mbeki, E Letter to Martha 15.1.71
- F7.2.13: Epainette Mbeki. Piny Letters to Sonia 23.3.69, 16.4.69, 19.10.70
- F7.2.14: Moeletsi Mbeki Letter to Rita, date unknown
- F7.2.15: Anti-Apartheid Movement Letter to Phyllis Altman of the Defence and Aid Fund, 12 November 1974 [re donation towards Mhlaba childrens education]
[12 November 1974]
- F7.2.16: Sender unknown Letter to Dorothy Mbeki, 25 June 1970 [re donation to Epainette Mbeki]
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- F7.2.17: Mbeki, Jama Letter to Govan Mbeki, 1.2.75, 9.9.82, 2.2.75, 4.5.75, 11.11.75
- F7.2.18: Mbeki, Moeletsi Letter to Govan Mbeki, 20.1.82, 14.6.82
- F7.2.19: Jiba, Linda Letter to Govan Mbeki, 13.12.82, 22.4.82, 13.5.82, 3.10.75, 1.2.82
- F7.2.20: Nkosazana Letter to Govan Mbeki, 4.4.82
- F7.2.21: Mbeki, Kwanda Letter to Govan Mbeki 17.1.75
- F7.2.22: Fezeka [grandson] Letter to Govan Mbeki, 15.9.75, 21.3.82, 23.12.82
- F7.2.23: Mbeki, Dorothy & Karl Letter to Govan Mbeki, 30.3.82, 4.10.82, 22.11.82, 21.12.82
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- F7.2.25: Khomo, R Letter to Govan Mbeki, 26.10.1982
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- F7.2.26: Sinthee Letter to Uncle Gov, 28.10.74



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- F7.2.27: Mbeki, Govan Letter to Zizi Mbeki [Govan's nephew], 8.2.75, 30.8.99
- F7.2.28: Mbeki, Siphon Letter to Govan Mbeki, 17.5.82, 12.10.82, 21.8.75, 5.3.75, 13.8.75
- F7.2.29: List of prison letters, includes transcripts of selected letters
- F7.2.30: Chrissie Letter to Don, 14 December 1970
[14 December 1970]
- F7.2.31: Hani, C Letter to Ray, 2 June 1972
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- F7.2.32: Mbeki, E Letter to Majola Mngoadi, 26.7.76
- F7.2.33: Sis May Letter to My dear Broer, 8.8.75
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- F7.2.48: Kwanda Monwabisi Mbeki investigation
- F7.2.49: Copy of Kwanda Mbeki ID
- F7.2.50: The Herald, 25 October 2006. Mbeki's love-child riddle: Mother's plea for answers from former security heads: Son went missing in 1981 trying to join father in exile
[25 October 2006]
- F7.3: Chapter notes



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- F7.3.1: Robben Island notes
- F7.3.2: Notes on Govan Mbeki: Robben Island in the 70s
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- F7.3.6: Notes on interview with Jacob Zuma
- F7.3.7: Chapter draft
- F8: Chapter 25: The real Africa: Nigeria
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 - F8.1: Cited documents:
 - F8.1.1: Tambo, O. On People's Art, September 1979; Source: Karis-Gerhart Collection, Wits University, Folder 32
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 - F8.2: Research documents:
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 - F8.2.2: September, R Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 7 July 1977
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 - F8.2.4: Roberts, B Email to Mark Gevisser, 2 March 2002 Re: Progress Report
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 - F8.2.11: Mark Gevisser interview with Thabo Mbeki
 - F8.2.12: Questions for Mbeki Re: Nigeria 1976-8
[1976]
 - F8.2.13: Phone interview with Malebo Lotu-Rammopo
 - F8.2.14: Interview with Barney Mokgatle and Tshepiso Norman Manyelo
 - F8.2.15: Interview with Khetani Nkabinde, 7 March 2004



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- [7 March 2004]
- F8.2.16: Interview with Kingibe
- F8.2.17: Interview with Lungi Daweti; source: Robben Island Mayibuye archives
- F8.2.18: Obituary: Khotso Seatlholo (Organiser of the 1976 student uprising in Soweto)
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- F8.2.19: Excerpts from Lynda Shuster. Forthcoming 2004. A burning hunger: one family's struggle against apartheid Random House, NY and SA
[2004]
- F8.2.20: Sunday Independent, 3 November 1996. For years I cheered on the anti-apartheid struggle. But now the victors disappoint me [criticism of SA's stance toward Nigerian dictatorship]
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- F8.2.21: Extracts from unknown source [76 students leaving for Swaziland]
- F8.2.22: Extract from Idowu Akinyemi Nigeria's strategy towards South Africa University of Pittsburgh PhD 1985
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- F8.2.24: Extract from Omotoso, K 1988. Just before dawn
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- F8.2.25: Transcript of letter from Swedish ambassador in Nigeria to minister of foreign affairs in Stockholm, 22 June 1977
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- F8.2.26: Nigeria: The Obasanjo regime, 1976-1979
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- F8.2.27: Programme Nigeria-South Africa Dialogue Rosebank Hyatt, Johannesburg, SA, 26-27 August 1999
[26-27 August 1999]
- F8.2.28: Address by the minister for cooperation and integration in Africa, Professor Jerry Gana at the gala dinner on the occasion of the Nigeria-South Africa dialogue
- F8.2.29: Tell, September 29, 1997 issue. The secret pact
[September 29, 1997]
- F8.2.30: Welcome address by the Nigeria-African National Congress (ANC) friendship and cultural association (NAFCA) to comrade Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa on the occasion of his visit to Nigeria to receive an honorary award to comrade Nelson Mandela by the Bayero University Kano, on Sunday, February 14th, 1988
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- F8.2.31: Mean Magazine, Oct/Nov 1999. Fela: King of the invisible art by Jay Babcock
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- F8.2.32: Popmatters.com, 26 February 2003. Still a riot going on: Fela Kuti, celebrity Gramscians, and the AIDS crises by Mark Anthony Neal
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- F8.2.33: The revolutionary essence of Fela Kuti's music by Oke Ogunde (originally written for the first anniversary of Fela Kuti's death, 2 August 1998)
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- F8.2.34: Notes on Fela Kuti, source unknown
- F8.2.35: Phone interview with Willie Kgositsile, 12 March 2004



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[12 March 2004]

F8.2.36: Interview with Jonas Gwangwa, 12 March 2004

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F8.2.37: Nigeria social profile; source: www.e-nigeria.info/social

F8.2.38: This Day, 24 November 2003. Artists take the real Nigeria to South Africa

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F8.2.39: This Day FESTAC ... An Excursion into Origin and Culture

F8.2.40: Vanguard, 28 February 2002. Revisiting FESTAC 77 after Africa's cultural renaissance

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F8.2.41: Guardian, 28 February 2002. Twenty-five years of FESTAC calls for celebration by Duro Oni

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F8.2.44: The Lagos declaration for action against apartheid, 26 August 1977 [Lagos UN conference]

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F8.2.45: Contact list for Thabo Mbeki in Nigeria 1976-1978

[1976-1978]

F8.3: Chapter notes

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F8.3.2: Nigeria notes

F8.3.3: Nigeria timeline

F8.3.4: Notes on interview with Malebo Lotu-Rammopo

F8.3.5: Notes on interview with Barney Mokgatle, 17 April 2004

[17 April 2004]

F8.3.6: Notes on interview with Baba Omojola

F8.3.7: Notes on phone interview with Prof Adedeji

F8.3.8: Extracts from interviews with Dhlomo, Lindiwe Mabuza, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Mac Maharaj

F8.3.9: Notes on Nigerian student boycotts 1976-1977

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F8.3.10: Notes on Nigeria / Kingibe

F8.3.11: Notes on South Africa Nigeria Delaogue Series Gala Dinner

F8.3.12: Notes on Fela Kuti

F8.3.13: Check quotes

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G1.4: Notes on Thabo Mbeki writings/statements/interviews [Includes Radio Freedom statements, The Historical Injustice, Fatton Thesis, interview with Tor Sellstrom]



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- G1.5: Conflict and change in Southern Africa: Scandinavian and Canadian perspectives and policy options, Carleton University, Ottawa, February 19-22, 1978 [Mbeki writings]
[February 19]
- G1.6: Social Change and Development Issue 3, October 1982. The struggle against apartheid: The Anglo-Boer alliance [Mbeki writings]
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- G1.7: Sechaba, July 1981. Sechaba interviews comrade Thabo Mbeki on the significance of the Paris Conference [Mbeki writings]
[July 1981]
- G1.8: Africa News, July 16 1984 Excerpts from Julie Frederikse's interview with Thabo Mbeki [Mbeki statements]
[July 16 1984]
- G1.9: Radio Freedom, Addis Ababa Thabo Mbeki Interviewed August 1986 [Mbeki statements]
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- G1.10: Thabo Mbeki, Jennifer Davis, & William Pascoe of Heritage Foundation, The Jonathan Kwitny Report, Channel 31, February 11, 1987 [Mbeki statements]
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- G1.11: Article index Mbeki Pre-1990
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- G1.12: Notes on Buthelezi
- G1.13: 01980s Inside South Africa [South African Institute of race relations surveys 1973-1980]
[1973-1980]
- G1.14: Thabo Mbeki interview extracts [Leadership styles: Tambo/Slovo, example of not leading from front, clashes with Slovo, anti-militarist reformer, battle for South Africa, DIP function, leaving the Party, disputes with Slovo over insurrectionism]
- G1.15: Mark Gevisser Zambia trip [contacts, journal]
- G1.16: Interview transcripts [Vernon Mwaanga, Mark Chona, Garth Strachan (28/8/2003), George Johannes (16/11/99), Sipho Makana (12/8/2003), Hugh Macmillan
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- G1.17: ANC 1969-1990 chronology [Timeline]
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- G1.22: ANC and whites/business 1980s chronology [Timeline]
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- G1.24: Negotiations, prisoner releases, secret talks and talks about talks, up till 1987 [Timeline]
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- G1.25: Negotiations, prisoner releases, secret talks and talks about talks, 1988 [Timeline]



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- [1988]
- G1.26: Timeline: South Africa, the US, the UK and Sanctions [Timeline]
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- G1.28: Harvey, R. 2001. The Fall of Apartheid: The inside story from Smuts to Mbeki Pelgrave, Hampshire [1980s readings]
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- G1.29: De Villiers, L 1995. In sight of surrender: The US Sanctions Campaign against South Africa, 1946-1993 Praeger, Westport [1980s readings]
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- G1.30: Suttner, R. It is your mother who is the enemy now! An account of the imprint of African National Congress underground activity in the lull after Rivonia, 31 August 2003 [1980s readings]
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- G1.31: Extracts from The Historical Setting, pp 38-51, 62-67, 98, 99, 112-114, 118-119, 196-199, 262-265, 308-311, 318-327, 432-433, 440-443, 494-499 [1980s readings]
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- G1.33: Suttner, R. Masculinities and femininities within the ANC-led liberation movement, 25 August 2004 [1980s readings]
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- G1.35: From Soweto to Kabwe from McKinley, D The ANC and the liberation struggle, pp 41-72 [1980s readings]
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- G1.36: Meeting of the ANC Secretariat held on the 8/4/1978 [ANC document, Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.37: Tambo, OR Letter to Mark Shope, 3 April 1978 [ANC document, Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.38: Nhlanhla, J Letter to Dear Comrades, 18 December Re: meeting relatives [ANC document]
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- G1.39: African National Congress foreign missions and representatives [ANC document]
- G1.40: Leadership Code of Conduct [ANC document]
- G1.41: Draft appeal [ANC document, commemorating the ANC's 75th anniversary]
- G1.42: Strength returns for March-May [List of ANC's Lusaka personnel]
[March-May]
- G1.43: Statement by the president of the African National Congress (South Africa), OR Tambo at the world consultation of the World Council of Churches, Holland, 16-21 June 1980
[16-21 June 1980]
- G1.44: The third council meeting Department of Education and Culture African National Congress (SA) held at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College Mazimbu, 14th to 18th 1980
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- G1.45: Second council meeting of the ANC education department Mazimbu 14-18 April Year of the Spear
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- G1.46: Fighting talk (regional youth bulletin) July/August 1986 [ANC document]
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- G1.47: Thandeni, L Letter to Cde. Leader, 22/1/81 [ANC document: request to meet a family member]
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- G1.48: List of members of the national executive committee of the African National Congress, June 1981
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- G1.49: Women's Secretariat meeting 1/2/82, 4/2/1982, 2/4/1983 [ANC documents]
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- G1.50: Draft memorandum of the African National Congress to the CC., CPSU. April 26, 1982. Our Political Situation
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- G1.51: Minutes of the meeting of the women with the youth secretariat held on 23rd September 1982 [ANC document]
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- G1.52: Interdepartmental circular at H.Q. [ANC document, women's section]
- G1.53: Directive of the NEC concerning the organisational structure of the ANC [ANC NEC report]
- G1.54: Minutes of the joint Women's Secretariat/RPC meeting held on 15th, 1982 at 10.20 hours [ANC document]
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- G1.55: VOW editorial board meeting held on 5th April, 1982 [ANC document]
[5th April, 1982]
- G1.56: Meeting of the W/S with representative of the directorate of Mazimbu held on the 8th November 1982 at the offices of the W/S [ANC document]
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- G1.57: Minutes of the Women's Secretariat meeting held on the 9/4/82 at 11:30 am [ANC document]
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- G1.59: Minutes of a special meeting convened by the offices of the Secretary-General and Treasurer-General, held Lusaka, 13th March 1983 [ANC document]
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- G1.60: Directive of the NEC concerning the organisational structure of the ANC [ANC NEC report]
- G1.61: Structure March 1983 [ANC document]
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- G1.62: The constitutional proposals and the UDF, 26/10/83 Lusaka [ANC document]
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- G1.63: Press conference with African National Congress president Oliver Tambo held under the auspices of the Greater London Council in County Hall, March 21st 1984 [ANC document]
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- G1.64: Statement of the African National Congress March 16 1984
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- G1.65: Kuanda, K Letter to Oliver Tambo, 16 April 1985
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- G1.66: Meeting of the committee of five from 08/07/85-12/07/85 Leadership SA, 31 May 1990 The Outsiders by Mark Gevisser



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- G1.67: Radio Freedom, 22 July 1985. President OR Tambo Address to the nation
[22 July 1985]
- G1.68: ANC Press Statement presented by President Oliver Tambo Lusaka, Zambia, 16th August, 1985
[16th August, 1985]
- G1.69: House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee Session 1984-1985 The Situation in South Africa: Minutes of Evidence, Tuesday 29 October 1985 Her Majesty Stationery Office, London
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- G1.70: Kotane, K Letter to Cde. President, 31 October 1985 [Complaint of victimisation]
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- G1.71: Report of PC meeting with BN [ANC document]
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- G1.73: Minutes of meeting between ANC and RCC delegations 15 & 16th April 1986 [ANC document]
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- G1.74: Update: Situation under the state of emergency [ANC document]
- G1.75: Political situation, November 1986, Review of political forces and strategies [ANC document]
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- G1.76: Victory or death: Statement of the NEC of the ANC delivered by Comrade Commander in Chief OR Tambo on Heroes Day, December 16, 1986 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of MK
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- G1.77: 1987 Programme of action [ANC document]
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- G1.78: Makumba, BK Letter to Comrade 16 June 1988 [cadre selling goods on black market in Zambia]
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- G1.79: Notes on meeting between PBC and UDF/Cosatu delegation, 6th May, 1989 [ANC document]
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- G1.80: Extract from President Tambo's Statement to the Ordinary Congress of the Socialist International Stockholm 20th June, 1989 [ANC document]
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- G1.81: ANC Department of Religious Affairs & Multi-faith Chaplaincy. 9-10 September 1989 departmental consultation, London, UK
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- G1.82: Report to members on recent NEC meeting held in Lusaka 25-28 February, 1978 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.83: Minutes of NWC special meeting, 26 April 1986, Lusaka [Minutes of NEC meetings]
[26 April 1986]
- G1.84: Handwritten minutes on negotiations 16 August 1989 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
[16 August 1989]
- G1.85: Minutes of NEC meeting, 15-17 August 1985 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.86: Meeting of the committee of five from 08/07/85 - 12/07/85 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.87: National Executive Committee meeting 15/8/85 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
[15/8/85]
- G1.88: Minutes of NWC Meeting 17th November 1986 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.89: Meeting of the NEC/ANC: 05/10/1987 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.90: Minutes of NWC Meeting 25/03/87 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.91: Decisions of NWC meetings [Minutes of NEC meetings]
- G1.92: Meeting, February 1988/1989 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.93: NWC Meeting 22 and 23/06/88 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.94: Report of the ANC seminar on social welfare held in Lusaka from 27 to 30 July 1988 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.95: Meeting of the NWC 08/09 1988 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.96: Meeting of NWC held 4th October 1988, 09:00 hours [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.97: Minutes of meeting of NWC held on 20th October 1988 at 09:00 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
[20th October 1988]
- G1.98: Memorandum to the NWC on membership questions that need our attention [Minutes of NEC meetings]
- G1.99: Minutes of meeting of NWC held on Wednesday 11/01/89 at 09:00 hours [Minutes of NEC meetings]
[11/01/89]
- G1.100: Minutes of meeting of NWC held on 14th February, 1989 [Minutes of NEC meetings]
[14th February, 1989]
- G1.101: (Resumed) meeting of NWC held on 07/08/89 at 15:00 hours [Minutes of NEC meetings]
[07/08/89]
- G1.102: Special meeting of the NWC held on 08/08/89 at 08:00 hours [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.103: Special meeting of the NWC held on 15/10/89 at 10:00 hours [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.104: Special meeting of the NWC held on Wednesday 16/10/89 at 08:00 hours [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.105: Briefing to ANC members on last NWC meeting March 16.18th [Minutes of NEC meetings]
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- G1.106: List of documents from Mayibuye Archives, late 80s [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.107: Sharpen your vigilance!! 19.04.88 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.108: Counter-strategy in relation to manoeuvres relating to negotiations 9 October 1987 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.109: Notes on meeting of 31-10-87 to 1-11-87 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.110: Report of a meeting held in England on 1st and 2nd November 1987 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]



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- G1.111: A submission on the question of negotiations [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.112: Stuart, J Letter to Dr Jacob Kwanza, 13 October 1987 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.113: Tryon, T Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 27 September 1990 Re: Transfer request [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.114: Mbeki, T Letter to Thomas Nkobi, 12 January 1990 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.115: Tambo, OR Letter to The Chairman, OAU, undated [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.116: Tambo, OR Letter to African Heads of States undated [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.117: Makgothi, HG Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 6 July 1989 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.118: Tambo, OR Letter to Comrade dos Santos, undated [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.119: Address of the ANC on the occasion of the week of solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa, Bamako, November, 1988 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.120: Tambo, OR An appeal for the broadest participation of the world's anti-apartheid forces in the ANC International Conference to be held in Arusha, Tanzania from 1-4 December, 1987 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.121: Strategic objectives for national manpower development in South Africa: a challenge for change [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.122: Second list of ANC documents from the Mayibuye archives [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.123: Organisational report, May 1985 [ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.124: Sactu memorandum April 1979 [Sactu, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.125: South African Labour Education Project, Press statement, 30 July 1980 [Sactu, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.128: South African Labour Education Project Profiteering from cheap labour [Sactu, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.129: Re: Rob Peterson, Paula Ensor, Peter Collins, David Hemson, Martin Legassick [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.130: South African Labour Education Project, request for support, March 1980 [Sactu, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
[March 1980]
- G1.131: Paula Ensor, David Hemson, Martin Leggasick, Robert Petersen Letter to Comrade Y Zungu Re: Our suspension from all ANC activities and units [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.133: Gang of four Memorandum [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.134: Alf [Alfred Nzo] Incomplete letter, addressee unknown [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.135: John Gaetsewe Letter to Colleagues, 14 July 1980 [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.136: Some personal details of the co-ordinators [Hanson, Legassick, Peake] attached to Paper on the Robbites [Enxor, Hemson, Legassick Petersen] [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.137: South African Congress of Trade Unions Statement by the National Executive Committee, 21.11.79 [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.138: Support the South African Labour Education Project [SALEP]
- G1.139: Joint report by Daphne Nqose & Ilva Mackay on the printing course done in Denmark, 2 March 1980 [Sactu, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.140: Handwritten assessment of the SACP
- G1.141: Handwritten remarks of Sactu members [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.142: Economist Foreign Report 10.10.79. Rift between South Africa's union militants [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.143: Statement to the press, London 18/1/80. From: Paula Ensor, David Hemson, Martin Legassick and Robert Petersen [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.144: Child, C Letter to David Hemson, 5 August 1980 [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.145: Handwritten notes re conflict SALEP, DACTU, ANC [Sactu dissidents, ANC documents from Mayibuye archives]
- G1.146: Cekisane, B Letter to G. Hsope [ANC Women's Section]
- G1.147: Address by comrade President OR Tambo at the opening to youth week to Mark June 16th, South Africa Youth Day, Lusaka, 9th June, 1986 [ANC document, Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.148: Programme for the solidarity week, to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising 1986 [ANC document, Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.149: Suttner, R Letter to Alfred Nzo, 09.01.90 1986 [ANC document, Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.151: Address on the occasion of June 26 1978, South African Freedom Day, delivered by Comrade F. Mophosho, Executive Committee member 1986 [ANC document, Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.154: Minutes of preliminary meeting with Comrade Choabi director of LMF, 19 April 1978
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- G1.155: Mbeki, T Letter to Mandla Langa/Willie Kgositsile, 21.05.87 [ANC document, Mayibuye archives]
- G1.156: Speech by Thabo Mbeki: Wits 30 May 1990 [ANC document, Mayibuye archives]
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- G1.160: Sender unknown Letter to Thabo Mbeki [Mbeki private correspondence]
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- G1.162: Letters to and from Thabo Mbeki, The Secretary, DIP HQ 3 November 1980 [Mbeki correspondence]
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- G1.163: Mbeki, T Letter to the Medical-Officer-in-Charge 7 August 1984 [Mbeki correspondence]
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- G1.164: Dlomo, V Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 10 September 1986 [Mbeki correspondence]
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- G1.165: Mbeki, T Letter to Peter Tatchell, 24 November 1987 [Mbeki correspondence, protection of gay rights]
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- G1.166: La Guma, B Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 2.5.88 [Mbeki correspondence]
- G1.167: Terry, M [from liaison group of national anti-apartheid movements] Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 28 April 1989
[Mbeki correspondence]
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- G1.168: Mbeki, T Letter to Dr Hoerschelmann, 7 October 1980 [Mbeki correspondence - ANC, London]
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- G1.169: Mbeki, T Letter to Canon Oestreicher [The British Council of Churches], 7 October 1980 [Mbeki correspondence - ANC, London]
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- G1.170: Funde, E Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 29 June 1990 [Mbeki correspondence - ANC, London]
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- G1.171: Scholten, H. N. Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 10 December 1990 [Mbeki correspondence - ANC, London]
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- G1.172: Msimang Fax to Thabo Mbeki, 14 January 1991 [re: damaging publicity material] [Mbeki correspondence - ANC, London]
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- G1.178: Mbeki, T Letter to comrades, 13 April 1993 [Hani funeral] [Mbeki correspondence - ANC, London]
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- G1.179: Msimang, M Fax to Thabo Mbeki, 20 April 1993 [Hani commemoration] [Mbeki correspondence - ANC, London]
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- G1.180: Bham, A Fax to Adelaide Tambo, 26 April 1993 [Mbeki correspondence - ANC, London]
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- G1.181: Mbeki, T Letter to ANC representatives, 12 April 1993 [Mbeki correspondence - ANC, London]
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G2: Chapter 26: The battle for the ANC

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- G2.1.2: Mayibuye, Vol. 1 No 1, 1 June 1978 Editorial
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- G2.1.3: Mayibuye, Vol. 1 No 7, 10 October 1978. Editorial note
[10 October 1978]
- G2.1.4: Classification of Offences and Penalties, undated; Source: ANC Collection, Mayibuye Archives
- G2.1.5: President's Draft Report, May 1979; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, Lusaka Mission Collection, Box 92
[May 1979]
- G2.1.6: Taped response by Thabo Mbeki to questions posed by Luli Callinicos, Pretoria, 20 January 2002
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- G2.1.7: Un-authored letter to Comrade Mbeki, undated; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, O Tambo Collection, Box 92
- G2.1.8: Tambo, O Transcribed wire bound writing pad used during Vietnam visit, undated; Source: ANC



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- G2.1.9: Tambo, O Copied pages (17-20) from writing pad used during Vietnam visit
- G2.1.10: The Green Book: Report of the Politico-Military Strategy Commission to the ANC National Executive Committee, August 1979
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- G2.1.12: Sechaba, March 1979 The Historical Injustice by Mbeki, T, pp 11-22
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- G2.1.13: TWQ 9 (1) January 1987 State of exile: the African National congress of South Africa, 1976-86 by Tom Lodge, pp 1-27
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- G2.2: Research documents
 - G2.2.1: Timeline of Vietnam history by Quan-Tuan Luong; Source: www.terrageria.com/vietnam/info
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 - G2.2.4: Extract from Military Combat Work [drafted in the late eighties by Ronnie Kasrils and others in ANC Military Intelligence from cadres notes of their training]
 - G2.2.5: Report of the joint EC/RC meeting held in Luanda from 27 December to 1 January 1979
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 - G2.2.6: Report and recommendations of the Politico-Military and Strategic Committee of the NEC of the ANC
 - G2.2.7: Comments on the Green Book
 - G2.2.8: Draft Statement of the NEC to all members: The enemy intends to liquidate our movement 27/3/79
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 - G2.2.9: Joint meeting of the political machineries and the senior organ 15/10/82
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 - G2.2.10: Strategy and tactics of the ANC 1983
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 - G2.2.12: Debates on strategy and tactics
 - G2.2.13: Strategy and tactics of a People's War 1983
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 - G2.2.14: Document on armed struggle
 - G2.2.15: PMC organisational report
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 - G2.2.17: Political Commission discussion document: Ungovernability and People's Power 12/8/86
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 - G2.2.18: Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress delivered by Comrade President OR Tambo on Heroes Day, December 16, 1986 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army [MK]
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- G2.2.20: Umkhonto we Sizwe military code [MK mutiny]
- G2.2.21: Work in progress, No. 82, June 1992 What happened in the ANC camps [MK mutiny]
[June 1992]
- G2.2.22: Situation in our camps [MK mutiny]
- G2.2.23: Report: Commission of inquiry into recent developments in the people's republic of Angola, March 14 1984 Lusaka [MK mutiny]
[March 14 1984]
- G2.2.24: Reports of the commission of enquiry into certain allegations of cruelty and human rights abuse against ANC prisoners and detainees by ANC members, 20 August 1993
[20 August 1993]
- G2.2.25: APN Fact sheet No 3 ANC hell camps [MK mutiny]
- G2.2.26: Searchlight South Africa, Vol. 2 No 1 July 1990. A miscarriage of democracy: The ANC security department in the 1984 mutiny in Umkhonto we Sizwe [MK mutiny]
[1 July 1990]
- G2.2.27: Interview with Deft Phiri [Mbeki staying here]
- G2.3: Chapter notes
- G2.3.1: The Crichton conversations 7 September 2003
[7 September 2003]
- G2.3.2: Mark Gevisser and Judy Crichton, E-mail communication 26, 31 August 2003, 7, 12 September 2003, 21 May 2004, 6 June 2004
[31 August 2003]
- G2.3.3: Notes on The Battle for South Africa directed by Judy Crichton
- G2.3.4: Transcript and notes on letter from Jonny Makatini to Thabo Mbeki
- G3: Chapter 27: The National Interferer
[1982]
- Content:*
- The ANC headquarters in Lusaka; the 1982 military budget 56 million, up 60 fold over a decade; by the early 1980s ANC had 9000, who depended on movement for their existence, on its books; the ANC relatively small in comparison to other Southern African liberation movements; Thabo the ANC's political-secretary, Nzo secretary-general, Nkobi treasurer-general, Nzo and Nkobi Defiance Campaign veterans of the 1950s; Mbeki began to run his own high-level intelligence networks parallel to military HQ and the RC, info did not trickle back into these structures; Mbeki's drafting skills, ANC meticulousness, Thabo and Tambo's workaholicism and perfectionism; the Makeni farm - base of the DIP, recruits young South African intellectuals of Soweto generation, such as Netshitenzhe (ran policy development and government communication during Mbeki presidency), DIP the intellectual heart of the movement; January 8 statement a branding exercise; with Radio Freedom catch phrases of exile made it into vernacular of SA's internal resistance; Mayibuye journal's re-emergence Mbeki's personal passion; Alan Brooks memo, problems found within the movement, the state of affairs in Lusaka; 1985 Pallo Jordan elected onto NEC, Mbeki's deputy at DIP, antagonistic relationship; 1984 commission of inquiry on how funds are spent, scathing report of the DIP; Mbeki's management style at the DIP, his leadership models: Epainette and Tambo, anecdote of the 1979 Battle of Isandhlwana centenary celebration*
- G3.1: Cited documents
- G3.1.1: See chapter 26 for President's Draft Report, May 1979; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, Lusaka Mission Collection, Box 92
[May 1979]
- G3.1.2: See chapter 26 for Taped response by Thabo Mbeki to questions posed by Luli Callinicos, Pretoria, 20 January 2002



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- [20 January 2002]
- G3.1.3: Memorandum submitted by the African National Congress of South Africa to SIDA in support of a request for assistance for the year 1977-1978, 14 April 1977, Nordic Africa Institute
[1977-1978]
- G3.1.4: Nkobi, T Letter to Alfred Nzo Re: 1985/86 Requisition to the USSR, 27 May 1985; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, Lusaka Mission Collection, Box 49
[27 May 1985]
- G3.1.5: Tambo, OR January 8 statement 1979, January 8 statement 1982 Act in Unity, January 8 statement 1983 We must organise ourselves into a conquering force, January 8 statement 1984 President's Message for 1984
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- G3.1.6: Mayibuye, No 1 1983. Some Things a Freedom Fighter Should Know: How to make a Molotov Cocktail p 5
[1983]
- G3.1.7: Brooks, A Report on the situation in the DOP, 7 March 1980; Source: Jack Simons/Ray Alexander Papers, University of Cape Town
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- G3.1.8: Report of the Commission of the National Executive Committee Appointed to Investigate the Allocation and Utilisation of the Financial Resources of the Organisation in Regions of the Front Line States and Forward Areas March 1984-July 1984, 31 July 1984, pp 46, 47, 64, 65; Source: Karis-Gerhart Collection, Wits University, Folder 56
[March 1984-July 1984]
- G3.1.9: Mbeki, T Letter to Andrew, 19 January 1979; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, Oliver Tambo Collection, C3.15.1
[19 January 1979]
- G3.1.10: Mbeki, T Letter to Comrade TG [Thomas Nkobi], 15 November 1985; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, OR Tambo Collection B7.1.2
[15 November 1985]
- G3.1.11: An ANC Press Centre, 6 May 1985; Source: Karis-Gerhart Collection, Wits University
[6 May 1985]
- G3.1.12: Mbeki, T Letter to Sis Flo [Florence Moposho], 4 March 1982; Source: Shireen Hassim Personal Collection
[4 March 1982]
- G3.1.13: Mayibuye, No 4 April 1979 Year of the Spear: Victory at Isandhlwana
[4 April 1979]
- G3.1.14: Mayibuye, No 8 July 1979 Year of the Spear: Isandhlwana remembered
[8 July 1979]
- G3.2: Research documents
- G3.2.1: Mayibuye, No 7 July 1979 Year of the Spear
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- G3.2.2: Isandhlwana artistic talent competition: Urgent circular to all units and members of the ANC
- G3.2.3: Isandhlwana centenary celebrations speech, 1979
[1979]
- G3.2.4: NEC directive on the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Isandhlwana
- G3.2.5: Extract from interview with Thabo Mbeki recounting Isandhlwana debate



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- G3.2.6: Sechaba, date unknown. The significance of January 8th March issue 1981 New Year's Message by OR Tambo,
[1981]
- G3.2.7: Tambo, OR, January 8 statement 1980. Let us rise to the occasion, January 8 statement 1981. Extend and defend our revolutionary gains! January 8 statement 1985, January 8 statement 1986. Attack, advance Give the enemy no quarter! January 8 statement 1987, January 8 statement 1988, January 8 statement 1989, January 8 statement 1990 . Freedom, democracy and peace, January 8 statement
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- G3.2.8: Holden, P Report on Mayibuye, 15 June 2004
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- G3.2.9: Mayibuye, No 8 August 1979, No 1 1980, No 5 1980, No 10 1980, No 12 1980, No 8 1981, No 1 1982, No 2 1982, No 6 1982, No 10 1982, No 11 1982, No 12 1982, No 4/5 1983, No 11 1983, No 3 Jan 1985, February 1987, December 1990, June 1992, May 1992, November 1992, May/June 1994
[8 August 1979]
- G3.2.10: Mayibuye, No 1 1981. Listen to Radio Freedom: Voice of the ANC and MK, the people's army p 6
[1981]
- G3.2.11: Holden, P Radio Freedom report
- G3.2.12: Dawn [ANC publication], November 1981. Perspectives of our struggle: Part 1 [Excerpts from Radio Freedom interview with Thabo Mbeki]
[November 1981]
- G3.2.13: SWB text of Radio Freedom broadcast, 10 October 1984 [ANC Leadership on the recent elections in SA]; Source: BBC Written Archives
[10 October 1984]
- G3.2.14: SWB text of Radio Freedom Broadcast, 11 October 1984 [ANC Leadership call to make SA ungovernable]; source: BBC Written Archives
[11 October 1984]
- G3.2.15: List of Radio Freedom broadcasts featuring Thabo Mbeki
- G3.2.16: Transcripts of Radio Freedom interviews with Thabo Mbeki, 10 November 1977 [note incorrect date, indicate 1983 as correct date] conducted by Patrick Makhaya, undated interview conducted by Senzeni Mdluli and address by Mzwandile Piliso, undated interview on racism and reparations, November 1983 interview on the role of the democratic movement in the national liberation struggle, 1985 one year after the Nkomatic Accord, 1983? Interview on constitutional reforms and white mobilisation, 26 September 1983 interview on the UDF conducted by Richmond Ramotse, 1987 interview conducted by Golden Neswiswi, June 1981 interview conducted by Victor Matlou on armed struggle, undated panel discussion with Thabo Mbeki and Don Ngubeni by Richmond Ramatse, 1986 interview on recent developments in Lesotho, 1983 panel discussion hosted by Richmond and Don, undated panel discussion featuring Mbeki, Freddy Dlamini and Peter Mayibuye facilitated by Tom Sebina
[10 November 1977]
- G3.2.17: Script of radio message to the people of South Africa on the outcome of the Pietermaritzburg trial by T Nkobi, 16 November 1979
[16 November 1979]
- G3.2.18: BBC Monitoring Report 16 September 1986. Chris Hani Interviewed [Radio Freedom, Addis Ababa]
[16 September 1986]
- G3.2.19: Interview with Thabo Mbeki, member to the NEC of the ANC and director of the ANC's department of international affairs, on negotiations in South Africa, conducted by correspondent Patrick Mmusi during



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the visit of Walter Sisulu and colleagues to Tanzania, January 1990

[January 1990]

G3.2.20: ANC and Information Policy, undated

G3.2.21: Information and Publicity departmental structure, undated

G3.2.22: Functions of Propaganda 1980?

[1980]

G3.2.23: London Propaganda Unit Letter to The Secretary, Propaganda Unit, 9 April 1978

[9 April 1978]

G3.2.24: Mbeki, T Letter to OR Tambo, 18 June 1983

[18 June 1983]

G3.2.25: Our counter to enemy propaganda exposing this tricks in combat concoction [SA misinformation campaign]

G3.2.26: Draft guidelines for ANC propaganda and information media for 1982

[1982]

G3.2.27: A draft proposal for 1983

[1983]

G3.2.28: Opening speech by Comrade President OR Tambo at the first conference of the ANC department of information and publicity, undated

G3.2.29: Sizakele Sigxashe [out-going DIP Secretary] Circular to all DIP Units, 7 April 1983 [announces Mbeki's appointment as head of the ANC DIP

[7 April 1983]

G3.2.30: Questions for commander by Stephen Davis and Carole Douglis from Harpes Magazine

G3.2.31: Mbeki, T [Director of DIP] Letter to DIP personnel at HQ, 4 April 1984

[4 April 1984]

G3.2.32: Political guidelines for the DEP 1986, the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe

[1986]

G3.2.33: Draft declaration of the conference of the ANC Department of Information and Publicity 1983

[1983]

G3.2.34: Discussion paper on the publicity, information and research work of the London office of the ANC [with note: for discussion at meeting at Joe Slovo's on Tuesday 14 March at 8 pm], undated

[14 March]

G3.2.35: Recommendations on internal propaganda, undated

G3.2.36: Marcus, Gill Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 10 March 1987 [re problems within the DIP]

[10 March 1987]

G3.2.37: Ebenezer, E [from BBC] Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 21 March 1988 [note expressing thanks for Mbeki's participation in Breakfast Time

[21 March 1988]

G3.2.38: Foreign Affairs Committee Biographical date Thabo Mbeki, 1986

[1986]

G3.2.39: Memorandum on conference coverage from the DIP, undated

G3.2.40: Minutes form consultative talks in Lusaka, 8-11 December, 1987, between the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and Sida concerning humanitarian assistance

[8-11 December, 1987]

G3.2.41: Mbeki, T Letter to OR Tambo, 18 June 1983 [DIP conference]

[18 June 1983]



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- G3.2.42: Mayibuye, No. 7 p 3, July, June 16 & 26, 1979
[June 16]
- G3.2.43: Mayibuye, October 1979. Stand by our brothers [Maritzburg 12]
[October 1979]
- G3.2.44: Jordan, P Memo to Thabo Mbeki, 11 April 1980 Re: Situation in the Research Unit, London
[11 April 1980]
- G3.2.45: Mbeki, T Letter to Comrade SG, 6 May 1983 [DIP department]
[6 May 1983]
- G3.2.46: Mbeki, T Letter to Comrade Lerole, July 1st [changes to movie script for the grass is singing, proposed film on mass rebellion in SA]
- G3.2.47: Mbeki, T Letter to Comrade Adelaide, 26 February 1985 [Publication of OR Tambo speeches]
[26 February 1985]
- G3.2.48: Mbeki, T Letter to comrade SG
- G3.2.49: Weekly Mail, April 29 to May 4, 1988. How does one find the secret headquarter of the ANC? Just ask, Beyond 1955: New guidelines for a post-apartheid state
[May 4, 1988]
- G3.2.50: Report on the general security situation in Lusaka 11 September 1987
[11 September 1987]
- G3.2.51: Masukwa [Secretary, Ministry of Defence] Letter to the General Secretary, ANC, 13 July 1987 [Re Activities by ANC cadres]
[13 July 1987]
- G3.2.52: Leadership code of conduct, 1985
[1985]
- G3.2.53: Report on investigations of cars and mandrax dealings, 15 September 1987
[15 September 1987]
- G3.2.54: Problems of social behaviour in our movement 5 February 1979 with cover letter by Alfred Nzo to all ANC units
[5 February 1979]
- G3.3: Chapter notes
- G3.3.1: Notes on interview with Joan Brickhill, Johannesburg International Airport, April 2004
[April 2004]
- G4: Chapter 28: Kith and kin: Mbeki and Zimbabwe
[28 March 1980]
- Content:*
Mugabe elected in Zimbabwe's first democratic elections, 28 March 1980; Zanu aligned to China and PAC, ANC's ally was ZAPU (who also had HQ in Lusaka); Mbeki's handling of Mugabe, favouring quiet diplomacy over international sanctions; Mbeki only man in ANC who expected Mugabe's victory, based on demographics, Mugabe supported by majority Shona; 11 August 1980 Tambo and Mbeki held two-a-side meeting with Mugabe and Mnanagagu for MK to move cadres and weapons through Zim, get assistance from military, handed operation over to Chris Hani, ensuing breakdown in ANC-Zanu relations, operation took years to approve, complication: Aim economically dependent on SA; ANC rep Joe Gqabi killed by SA security forces in July 1981; rumours of Ndebele insurgency, Mugabe's four-year genocide in Matabeleland, distrust between Zanu and MK, relationship collapsed; antipathy between Mbeki and MPLA.
- G4.1: Cited documents
- G4.1.1: Contact with NAC, 1979-1981 Lusaka, Zambia and Salisbury, Zimbabwe by Ola Jamtin [Swedish official] translation from Swedish by Tor Sellström



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[1979-1981]

G4.2: Research documents

- G4.2.1: Holden, P Zimbabwe Report, 31 May 2004
[31 May 2004]
- G4.2.2: Zimbabwe Report: Resolution of war and the election of Mugabe
- G4.2.3: Emmerson Mnangagwa profile
- G4.2.4: Dumisa Dabengwa profile
- G4.2.5: Research reading list Zimbabwe Ndebele and Shona, 3 November 2004
[3 November 2004]
- G4.2.6: The nineteenth century in Southern Rhodesia from 1986 Ranger, T (ed.) Aspects of Central African history Heineman, London
[1986]
- G4.2.7: University reading pack, contains article: Journal of African History Vol. XV No 4, 1974 Ndebele raiders and Shona power
[1974]
- G4.2.8: Journal of African History Vol. XV No 1, 1974. The role of foreign trade in the Rozvi Empire: a reappraisal by S.I. Mudenge, pp. 373-391
[1974]
- G4.2.9: Saul, P. The dialectic of class and tribe excerpt from Part III: Eastern Africa
- G4.2.10: Journal of Southern African Studies, date unknown The Political Economy of Tribal Animosity: A Case Study of the 1929 Bulawayo Location Faction Fight by Phimister, I and Van Onselen, C
[1929]
- G4.2.11: Journal of African History Vol. XV No 4, 1974 The evolution of Ndebele Amabutho by Julian Cobbing, pp 607-631
[1974]
- G4.2.12: D.N. Beach The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples from Birmingham D. and Martin, P.M. 1983 History of Central Africa Longman, London
[1983]

G5: Chapter 29: Sugar-thief: The disappearance of Jama Mbeki

[1982]

Content:

Attorney Jama, Mphu his wife and 3 daughters lived in Botswana, arrested for fraud and accessory to murder in 1982, disappeared the day before court appearance; Jama brought up in Lesotho by Moeranes from age 10, the Moeranes stalwarts of the Africanist Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), an offshoot of the ANC but closer to the PAC; Jama a BCP student leader, joined community of BCP exiles in Botswana when he was 23; Thabo arranged a scholarship for him to Leeds BCP went underground in 1974, established the insurgent Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA); ANC allied with the Basutoland National Party (BNP), LLA accepted support from SA regime, yet Thabo and Jama developed close bond; Jama settled with family in Botswana, 1985; family hired attorney in early 1990s to investigate Jama's disappearance, found that he was trapped and executed, Mbeki men did not want to take case to police.

G5.1: Cited documents

- G5.1.1: Weekend Argus, 12/06/94. Cracks in unity as FW, Mbeki clash by Michael Morris
[12/06/94]
- G5.1.2: Botswana Daily News, 10 April 1989, No 65. Attorney Mbeki is dead
[10 April 1989]
- G5.1.3: Cathy Mbeki (Jama's wife) speaking to Mzilikazi Wa Afrika on October 13, 2000 at the small town of



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Gobabis in Namibia

[October 13, 2000]

G5.1.4: Lieutenant General Mosakeng Retires; source: www.lesotho.gov.ls/articles/2004/Mosakeng
[2004]

G5.2: Chapter notes

G5.2.1: What we still need to know [research questions to follow up]

G5.2.2: Chapter 29 notes

G6: Chapter 30: Party man

[1986-1991]

Content:

Slovo and Mbeki's competitive relationship, mutual antipathy, Slovo's attempt to prevent Mbeki from assuming presidency, mutual respect; Joe Slovo: one of struggle's largest personalities and thinkers, fashioned himself into embodiment of reconciliation, demonised by white South Africans, could be combative and doctrinaire; both Slovo and Mbeki sat on Politburo of SACP; serious ideological dispute after visit to Vietnam in 1978 on whether the organisation should declare itself a socialist organisation Slovo for, Mbeki against, Tambo supported Slovo, in the end Slovo retreated; SACP's Blade Nzimande and Mbeki; Mbeki prevented ANC from becoming communist party from as early as 1979; in 1985 only 5 non-Party members on the ANC's NEC; the Party's growing influence in the years of exile, SACP the higher authority in relationship with ANC; Mbeki questioned Slovo's candidacy for SACP leadership; Mbeki dropped from the Politburo, re-elected 2 years later; Slovo secretary-general of SACP 1986-1991; 1990; Mbeki and several other Party leaders left Party, Slovo thought members should come out in open, Mbeki thought some should stay underground; on being an African first and only then a communist; Mbeki carrying a racial chip on his shoulder?; the Fatton debate, white leftists/journalists etc presumed to talk for the African.

G6.1: Cited documents

G6.1.1: See chapter 23 for Barrell, H Interview with M Maharaj, 20 November 1990

[20 November 1990]

G6.1.2: See chapter 26 for Tambo, O Transcribed wire bound writing pad used during Vietnam visit, undated; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, O Tambo Collection, A11.3.4

G6.1.3: See chapter 26 for The Green Book: Report of the Politico-Military Strategy Commission to the ANC National Executive Committee, August 1979

[August 1979]

G6.1.4: Special Resolution: Party work in the fraternal organisations, undated; Source: University of Cape Town, Jack Simons/Ray Alexander papers

G6.1.5: Lusaka region committee, Report for the period January to October 1984, 7 November 1984; Source: University of Cape Town, Jack Simons/Ray Alexander papers

[October 1984]

G6.1.6: Handwritten minutes of SACP RPC meetings, 15 November 1981

[15 November 1981]

G6.1.7: Africa Confidential, Vol. 24 No 14 6 July 1983 South Africa: The ANC debate, Vol. 26 No 25 11 December 1985 ANC's Who's Who, Vol. 29 No 5 4 March 1988 South Africa: What next for the ANC?, Vol. 30 No 17 25 August 1989 South Africa: Squeezing the ANC

[6 July 1983]

G6.1.8: Fatton, R. The African National Congress of South Africa: The Limitations of a Revolutionary Strategy source unknown

G6.1.9: Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 18 No 3 1984. The Fatton Thesis: A Rejoinder by Thabo Mbeki

[1984]



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- G6.1.10: Harding, P Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 11 August 1981
[11 August 1981]
- G6.1.11: Mbeki, T Letter to Phil Harding, 10 September 1981 [non-racialism]
[10 September 1981]
- G6.1.12: African Communist, 1997 3rd Quarter. Class Struggle & African Unity, 10 years of the OAU by Molefe Mini [Thabo Mbeki]
[1997]
- G6.2: Research documents
- G6.2.1: Handwritten minutes of SACP RPC meetings, 26 March 1983
[26 March 1983]
- G6.2.2: Africa Confidential, 1 October 1980. South Africa: Squaring up, Vol. 22 No 3 28 January 1981. South Africa: ANC vibrations, Vol. 27 No 25 December 1986, South Africa: The ANC, 26 August 1988 South Africa: Inside the Communist Party, Vol. 30 No 13 23 June 1989 South Africa: The ANC's diplomatic offensive, 22 September 1989 South Africa II: ANC, UDF, MDM, Vol. 31 No 1 12 January 1990 South Africa: The Party faithful, 27 July 1990 South Africa: The Party breaks cover, Vol. 31 No 17 24 August 1990 South Africa: The ones that got away
[1 October 1980]
- G6.2.3: Statement of the political Bureau of the SACP for the enlarged central committee meeting
- G6.2.4: Message of the President to the seventh Party Congress April 1989
[April 1989]
- G6.2.5: The road to South African Freedom first published in The African Communist, No 12 First Quarter
- G6.2.6: Umsebenzi, Vol. 2 No 1 1986. Does insurrection need people's war?
[1986]
- G6.2.7: Umsebenzi, Vol. 2 No 1 1986. The reformist role of workerism
[1986]
- G6.2.8: Holden, P Email to Mark Gevisser re BBC Panorama broadcast details
- G6.2.9: Taylor, P Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 27 April 1982
[27 April 1982]
- G6.2.10: Mbeki, T Letter to SG's office, 28 April 1981 [Re: British TV programme Panorama]
[28 April 1981]
- G6.2.11: Africa Confidential, 30 January 1980. South Africa: New ANC tactics
[30 January 1980]
- G6.2.12: Ideological debates in the UDF period why they still matter by Jeremy Cronin
- G6.2.13: ASSA. The United Democratic Front and township revolt in South Africa by Mark Swilling
- G6.2.14: African Communist 1987 3rd Quarter pp 80-93
[1987]
- G6.2.15: African Communist 1987 2nd Quarter pp 72-83
[1987]
- G6.2.16: African Communist 1987 1st Quarter pp 55-63
[1987]
- G6.2.17: African Communist 1996 2nd Quarter Island of freedom by Essop Pahad
[1996]
- G6.2.18: African Communist 1978 3rd Quarter The horn of Africa defeat for imperialism by A. Azad
[1978]
- G6.2.19: African Communist 1977 3rd Quarter What Proletarian Internationalism means to Africa by A. Azad



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- [1977]
- G6.2.20: African Communist 1983 3rd Quarter Ethiopia trailblazer for the African Revolution by A. Azad
[1983]
- G6.2.21: African Communist 1985 3rd Quarter The fight for world peace aids our fight for freedom by Ahmed Azad
[1985]
- G6.2.22: African Communist 1975 1st Quarter Lessons of the Chilean Revolution by Ahmed Azad
[1975]
- G6.2.23: African Communist 1988 2nd Quarter 'Burkina Faso: The death of a revolution?' by Ahmed Asad
[1988]
- G6.2.24: African Communist 1976 3rd Quarter No room for anti-Sovietism in Africa by Ahmed Azad
[1976]
- G6.2.25: Extracts from Davidson, B, and Slovo, J, Wilkonson, A.R. 1976 Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution Penguin Books, pp 106-207 [SACP readings]
[1976]
- G6.2.26: Roux, E & W. 1970 Rebel Pity, Rex Collings, London, pp 126-127, 132-135 [SACP readings]
[1970]
- G6.2.27: Maloka, E. 2002 The South African Communist Party in exile: 1963-1990pp 1-59 [SACP readings]
[1963-1990]
- G6.2.28: African Communist 1985 2nd Quarter SACP holds its sixth congress, pp5-58 [SACP readings]
[1985]
- G6.2.29: African Communist 1973 2nd Quarter Uganda's Asian Problem created by Imperialists pp 70-83
[1973]
- G6.2.30: African Communist, 1979 1st Quarter An epic of African resistance, pp 19-31
[1979]
- G6.2.31: African Communist 1971 4th Quarter Moorosi chief of the Baphuthi, pp 64-69
[1971]
- G6.2.32: African Communist 1974 2nd Quarter Bantustans; Black Consciousness; White Opposition, pp 25-33
[1974]
- G6.2.33: African Communist 1974 1st Quarter South Africa a time of challenge, pp 19-48
[1974]
- G6.2.34: African Communist 1985 2nd Quarter Second thoughts on the Nkomati accord, pp 96-101
[1985]
- G6.2.35: African Communist 1978 3rd Quarter One-man one-vote in Namibia what it means, pp 84-93
[1978]
- G6.2.36: African Communist 1981 1st Quarter Moses Mabhida Our new general secretary, pp21-31
[1981]
- G6.2.37: African Communist 1981 3rd Quarter Mutual trust and comradeship in battle, pp 16-25
[1981]
- G6.2.38: African Communist 1972 4th Quarter Students fight for freedom pp 73-87
[1972]
- G6.2.39: African Communist 1977. The Role of Black Consciousness in the South African Revolution, pp 34-47
[1977]
- G6.2.40: African Communist 1980 3rd Quarter Is there a place for black consciousness?, pp 59-64
[1980]



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- G6.2.41: African Communist 1970 2nd Quarter. The Black Panther Party, pp 57-67
[1970]
- G6.2.42: African Communist 1986 4th Quarter ANC will never forego its alliance with the SACP, pp 29-36
[1986]
- G6.2.43: Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle speech at meeting to observe the 60th anniversary of the South African Communist Party, London, July 30, 1981
[July 30, 1981]
- G6.2.44: Communists and the struggle for national liberation in South Africa by Dr YM Dadoo, Chairman of the SACP [SACP readings]
- G6.2.45: Draft notes on political statement 1982-1983
[1982-1983]
- G6.2.46: Contribution of Dr Y M Dadoo, Chairman of the SACP, to Section Three Experiences and Problems of the Struggle for National and Social Liberation to the International Scientific Conference held in Berlin, Capital of the GDR, from 20-24 October, 1980 [SACP readings]
[20-24 October, 1980]
- G6.2.47: SACP discussion document. A political assessment of the current conjuncture: Challenges facing the working class in the national democratic revolution [SACP readings]
- G6.2.48: Source unknown The lessons of Soweto by Z. Nkosi [SACP readings]
- G6.2.49: Slovo, J. The South African working class and the national democratic revolution [SACP readings]
- G6.2.50: Inner Party Bulletin, December 1984 [SACP readings]
[December 1984]
- G6.3: Chapter notes
- G6.3.1: Notes on The African Communist and Thabo Mbeki as JJ Jabulani
- G7: Chapter 31: The quick weasel
[November 1986]
- Content:*
- Mbeki's Swedish friends (from SIDA) in Lusaka: the Bjurner-Norbergs, Tor Sellström, nature of relationship; The Historical Justice address on self-definition, can the oppressed people count on Swedes as allies?; problem with Soviet application of Marxism, Mbeki started visiting the US regularly around the early 1980s, had to marry notions of materialist understanding of history, liberal notion of individual agency, self-determination in post-liberation Africa; cold war politics, Sino-Soviet dispute, Moscow supported Vietnam invasion of Khmer, 1979, Chinese invaded North Vietnam; ANC condemned China's criminal act of aggression; November 1986 Mbeki and Tambo to Moscow to meet Gorbachev, also meeting with Reagan, cold war thaw; non-alignment became a necessity; ANC's relationship with Russia and US, US the ANC's antagonist in war in Angola; African-American anti-apartheid lobby; Mbeki and Tambo to US in June 1981, began Mbeki's decade long courtship with the American liberal establishment; the Lusaka Accord, the Nkomati Accord non-aggression pact signed by SA and Mozambique; ANC banished from forward area, SA to cease assisting RENAMO, region a playing field for super powers, ANC's response an emphasis on self-reliance; early 1980 the beginning of the ANC's thinking about a negotiated settlement, thinking after UN passed Resolution 435 on Namibia, ANC didn't want outside forces to aid a South African settlement, concede that there must be negotiations and a peaceful transition the importance of self-determination as a basis for negotiations; in 1983 Mbeki statement about Pretoria they are desperate, they're cracking, Pretoria's preconditions for talks remained untenable.*
- G7.1: Cited documents
- G7.1.1: See chapter 26 for Sechaba, March 1979. The Historical Injustice by Mbeki, T, pp 11-22
[March 1979]
- G7.1.2: See chapter 26 for Taped response by Thabo Mbeki to questions posed by Luli Callinicos, Pretoria, 20 January 2002



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- [20 January 2002]
- G7.1.3: Report of a meeting between the ANC and Robert Cabelly, Special Assistant to Chester Crocker, US Information Office, Lusaka, 7 September 1983; Source: Karis-Gerhart Collection, Wits University, Folder 51
- [7 September 1983]
- G7.1.4: Some Questions Pertaining to the Frontline States/Liberation of Movements Discussion on the Strategy for the Liberation of South Africa, 15 August 1984; Source: Karis-Gerhart Collection, Wits University, Folder 56
- [15 August 1984]
- G7.1.5: Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa on China, 22 February 1979; Source: ANC Collection, Mayibuye Archives, MCH01
- [22 February 1979]
- G7.1.6: Tambo, O Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 16 January 1979; Source: ANC Archives, Fort Hare, Oliver Tambo Collection, TB7.1.2 [re discussions with Chinese]
- [16 January 1979]
- G7.1.7: The New York Times, 18 July 1983 Reforming Apartheid Doesn't End Slavery by Thabo Mbeki
- [18 July 1983]
- G7.1.8: The New York Times, 13 August 1985. Peaceful Struggle Is Futile by Thabo Mbeki
- [13 August 1985]
- G7.1.9: Foreign Affairs, Volume 62 Number 2, Winter 1983/84 Revolution in the Making: by Karis, T
- [1983]
- G7.1.10: Gerhart, Karis and Mark Gevisser Email correspondence; Karis, T Oliver Tambo, June 12 1981, UN Plaza Hotel
- [June 12 1981]
- G7.1.11: Decisions and suggestions from NEC/PMC meeting of 25th January 1984 [Nkomati]
- [25th January 1984]
- G7.1.12: The Washington Post, 16 April 1984. Loss of Bases in Mozambique Is Severe Test for S. African Rebels
- [16 April 1984]
- G7.2: Research documents
- G7.2.1: Comrade President Oliver Tambo's statement on the 67th anniversary of the African National Congress of South Africa
- G7.2.2: Memorandum by Thabo Mbeki, 31 May 1986 [re Cabelly and relationship with the US]
- [31 May 1986]
- G7.2.3: Statement at the National Conference: Building forces against United States support for South Africa Washington, DC, June 8, 1981
- [June 8, 1981]
- G7.2.4: Act with a sense of urgency: Statement at the meeting of the United Nations special committee against apartheid, New York, June 11, 1981
- [June 11, 1981]
- G7.2.5: Olof Palme and the liberation of Southern Africa article, 1988
- [1988]
- G7.2.6: Naming names: Africa!, 1989, pp 1, 3, 5
- [1989]
- G7.2.7: Report: RE African-American Institute Conference, 24 January 1972 [Lusaka conference organised by



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the AAI]

[24 January 1972]

- G7.2.8: Los Angeles Times, 13 May 2004 The politics of petroleum: Gusher to a Few, Trickle to the Rest, courted by oil firms and the US, the elite of impoverished Angola have extracted wealth from the boom, documents say by Ken Silverstein
[13 May 2004]
- G7.2.9: Insight on the news, date unknown Profit Motive Spins Revolving-door Policymaking at State by W. Martin James
- G7.2.10: Sunday Times, 24 September 2004 Chester Crocker gives SA economy a rave review, New US trade deal: What's in it for us? by Lukanyo Mnyanda
[24 September 2004]
- G7.2.11: AllAfrica.com, 26 June 2001 Interview with Chester A. Crocker (Part 2): Southern Africa Two Decades Later by Charles Cobb Jr.
[26 June 2001]
- G7.2.12: Meeting with William Roberts, 21 September 1988 [ANC document]
[21 September 1988]
- G7.2.13: Lefgren, W [Secretary, American Embassy, Lusaka] Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 30 April 1982 [note: was met by Nkakheli and Thabo, 02/09/82
[30 April 1982]
- G7.2.14: Programme for the visit to Sweden by Mark Gevisser, 29 October 6 November 1999
[6 November 1999]
- G7.2.15: Sellström, T Letter to Mark Gevisser, 16 February 2000
[16 February 2000]
- G7.2.16: UN Centre against Apartheid No neutrality towards the struggle in Southern Africa: Call for material and political support to the liberation movements by Olof Palme, April 1977
[April 1977]
- G7.2.17: Lysén, Annika. Assisting a democratic process, a report on the Swedish humanitarian assistance to South Africa 1962-1994, May 1995
[1962-1994]
- G7.2.18: SIDA's audited annual accounts Disbursements through SIDA to the Southern African liberation movements and PAIGC (1969 - 1995) from SIDA's audited annual accounts
[1969]
- G7.2.19: Development support, 1 November 1999. Stockholm gold for the masses by Howard Barrell
[1 November 1999]
- G7.2.20: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Letter to Mark Gevisser, 29 October 1999
[29 October 1999]
- G7.2.21: Fraternal message from the African National Congress to the Frelimo party, 31 January 1984
[31 January 1984]
- G7.2.22: Holden, P Email to Mark Gevisser, Subject: ANC Statement on Nkomati and extracts from Press Conference
- G7.2.23: On Developments in Southern Africa, 16 March 1984 [ANC statement]
[16 March 1984]
- G7.2.24: Guardian, 5 June 1984. Mozambique keeps reluctant rebels at bay by David Rabkin
[5 June 1984]
- G7.2.25: Guardian Editorial, 4 June 1984 Mr Botha's cause for satisfaction



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- [4 June 1984]
- G7.2.26: Guardian, 14 June 1984. 20 years after Mandela's gaoling ANC again drops spear by Patrick Laurence
[14 June 1984]
- G7.2.27: Guardian, 26 June 1984. Machel tries to coax ANC into talks with South Africa by David Rabkin
[26 June 1984]
- G7.2.28: ANC Press release statement, 24 May 1983 [23 May 1983 cross border raid into Mozambique]
[24 May 1983]
- G7.2.29: ANC press statement issued by ANC chief representative in Dar es Salaam, 23 May 1983 [MK bombing, Pretoria, 20 May 1983]
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- G7.2.30: New York Times, 6 February 1984. US Bid Causes Strains in Black Africa [Note: Effects of Cabelly]
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- G7.2.31: Mabhida, M.M Letter to Comrade Jack, 11 February 1984 [situation deteriorating in this area [Mozambique]]
[11 February 1984]
- G7.2.32: Statement of the African National Congress, 16 March 1984 [attempts to undermine unity of frontline states]
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- G7.2.33: Transcript of the statement of the president of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, to the conference of the socialist international, Arusha, September 4-5, 1984
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- G7.2.34: Holden, P Research report on Mozambique at time of Nkomati
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- G7.2.48: Extracts from Minter, W 1994. Apartheid's Contras Wits University Press, Johannesburg
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- G7.2.50: Tor Sellström. ANC of South Africa: No easy walk
- G7.2.51: Tor Sellström. Looking for Alternatives: Pan Africanist Congress
- G7.2.52: Tor Sellström. Sweden and national liberation in Southern Africa Vol II: 1970-1994
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- G7.3: Chapter notes
- G7.3.1: 1980s Mbeki US, UK [Mbeki's New York Times articles, The Cabelly affair, a chronology]
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- G7.3.2: Notes on telephone interview with Tor Sellström, 13 September 2004
[13 September 2004]
- G7.3.3: Notes on Robert Cabelly
- G7.3.4: Notes on interviews Mark Gevisser conducted in Sweden with Anders Bjurner, Jan Cedergren, Ingrid Lofstrom-Berg, Pierre Schori, Carl Tham, Gunilla von Bahr-Tidbeck, Per Wastberg, Karen Norberg, Tor Sellström
- G7.3.5: Chapter draft
- G8: Chapter 32: The seducer
[June 1984]
- Content:*
- June 1984: Frederik van Zyl Slabbert meets Mbeki, Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (IDASA); ANC sat down to re-examine its strategy at the Kabwe Conference, June 1985, the year of SA security force's cross border raid into Botswana killing 12, movement supported expansion of armed struggle; planning talks with Van der Merwe, October 84 and Piet Muller, December 84, April 85 Beeld editor Hugh Murray prepared delegation of business men led by Gavin Relly to meet; late 80s early 90s transformation of the ANC into an advocate of liberal democracy; 1985 PW Botha launched state of emergency, rand plummeted, sanctions era began in earnest; May 1986 the Ford Foundation Conference about education; Mbeki meeting De Lange (chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond); 8 July 1984 ANC met 61 compatriots, IDASA delegates in Senegal, 2 months before MK car bomb explosion in Johannesburg, Mbeki: no need to put guns down before negotiations start; Slabbert and Mbeki field trips to Burkina Faso, Ghana, criticised by radical black nationalists; Mbeki's attempts to unify SA's segregated rugby unions, met with L Luyt, Feb 1988, deracialisation only happened in 1991; Mbeki described as womaniser by Max du Preez; November 1989 IDASA meeting hosted by Mitterand's wife; Slabbert and Mbeki relationship.*
- G8.1: Cited documents
- G8.1.1: ANC press statement by Alfred Nzo, 7 February 1986 [Frederick van Zyl Slabbert's resignation from parliament]
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- G8.1.2: Sunday Times, 15 September 1985 Face to face with the ANC
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- G8.1.3: Commission on strategy and tactics, 1985
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- G8.1.4: Notes of a meeting at Mfuwe Game Lodge, 13 September 1985 [held between SA business delegates and the ANC, chaired by Kenneth Kuanda]
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- G8.1.6: Record of discussion at the meeting at Dakar between an ANC delegation and a group organised by IDASA 09/07/87 to 12/07/87
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- G8.1.8: Enclosed are three individual assessments of the Dakar Meeting by participants it is intended to use these as a bases for a single assessment 25 August 1987 by Tony Trew
[25 August 1987]
- G8.1.9: Business Day, 17 July 1987. Dakar: a meeting of minds or emotional mugging? by Mike Robertson
[17 July 1987]
- G8.1.10: Financial Mail, 10 July 1987. The Dakar visit: Hindrance or a help?
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- G8.1.11: The Dakar Reports, Responses from 16 delegates to the Dakar Conference (July 1987) [Tom Bedford, Andre Brink, Brahm du Plessis, Andre du Pisani, Trudie de Ridder, Jaap du Randt, Gerhard Erasmus, Revel Fox, Grethe Fox, Albert Koopman, Ian Liebenberg, Wayne Mitchell, Andrew Savage, Lawrence Schlemmer, Manie van Rensburg, Willem van Vuuren]
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[2 March 1986]
- G8.1.14: Beeld, 13 December. n Jaar van hoe jammer tog... by Piet Muller
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- G8.1.15: The Nation, 3 May 1986. The ANC is taking charge by Stephen Talbot
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- G8.1.17: Talbot, S. South Africa under siege, 26 March 1986
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- G8.2.17: Van der Merwe. Foreword, pp 1-3, extract, pp 141-143 [motivation for writing autobiography and his role in setting up contact with the ANC]
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- G8.2.50: There is a better way [attached note: This was placed in all major papers in SA both English and Afrikaans organised by me and Raymond Ackermann. Subsequently, an endorsement ad appeared in the NY Times, Boston Globe, Chicago and SF papers]
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- G8.2.60: Holiday to Trew/Pahad et al, Topic: Effects of the Dakar Conference, 5 December 1987
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- G8.2.90: Report on the Paris meeting held from the 27th of November to the 1st of December 1989
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- G8.2.91: Report of visit to Botswana: 7-10 July 1986 by Thabo Mbeki, 14 July 1986 [Botswana raids]
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- G8.2.94: Holden, P Report on Gatting Rebel Tour
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- G8.2.116: Telephone interview with Andre La Grange Re: Simon Brand and Thabo Mbeki
- G8.2.117: Extracts from Max du Preez's 'Pale Native'
- G8.3: Chapter notes
- G8.3.1: Notes on Tony Bloom
- G8.3.2: Notes on interview with Hugh Murray, 30 March 2005
[30 March 2005]
- G8.3.3: Notes on Breaking the Fetters [Dakar conference transcript]
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- Content:*
- Since 1985 the movement accepted negotiations, but continued advocating seizure of power; 1989 Mbeki to Bermuda, Cuba (for the 7th Congress of the SACP The Path to Power), a month later De Klerk announced readiness to have unconditional talks about talks; shift in Soviet foreign policy, by 1990 Russians had turned their backs almost entirely on the ANC, 1989 Soviets airlifted MK troops from Angola to Uganda, 12 September 1989 Mbeki secretly met NIS began to plan ANC's return for negotiations, Modise, Slovo, Kasrils pro-seizure of power, ANC never as volatile, Mbeki and Slovo fallout, Mbeki to draft new strategy and tactics policy and Tambo's political report; the gravest shortcoming of Kabwe no generally agreed formulation of*



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strategy; at Kabwe ANC appointed committee to investigate negotiations with Mbeki as chair, the Eminent Persons Group (EPG), 1986 EPG proposal, Botha changed conditions and raided 3 neighbouring countries, SA streets volatile; Mbeki continued to meet South Africans and engaged with reassessment of ANC's approach to economic policy; Jordan proposed Bill of Rights and setting up constitutional think tank, 13 September 1985 meeting with business men, listening to men who understood working of SA economy, ending monopoly capitalism; Willie Esterhuysen (Afrikaner intellectual) Mbeki's primary bridge to Afrikaner community, few in ANC knew about Mells Park meetings, started after Dakar ended in June 1990, Hani outraged when he found out; evidence of divide and rule agenda, Switzerland talks first ever formal meeting between exiled ANC and SA government 12 September 1989; took time to sell strategy to people, soldiers felt betrayed; Harare declaration welcomed by Afrikaners, approved by ANC, Tambo suffers stroke, charges against Mbeki from within the ANC; 2 Feb 1990 FW de Klerk announced release of Mandela and the unbanning of liberation movements.

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- G9.1.10: Memo to Accompany Document on Negotiations, 9 December 1985 by Pallo Jordan; Source: ANC Collection, Mayibuye Archives, MCH01, Box 51
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G9.3.1: Negotiations, late eighties

G9.3.2: Negotiations

H: PART SEVEN: COMING HOME, 1990-1994

[1990-1994]

H1: Part seven notes: ANC documents [Statements, NEC, NWC minutes of meetings, reports]

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H1.2: Programme of action, consultative conference 1990

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H1.3: Undated Draft resolution [Thanks to Kenneth Kaunda, the Government and people of Zambia]

H1.4: Statement of Thabo Mbeki of the ANC at the Annual Convention of the South African Chamber of Business:



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- H1.7: Resolution on violence 16/12/90
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- H1.8: Undated Resolution on International Isolation: Commission 5
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H2: Chapter 34: Reunion

[26 March 1990]

Chapter content:

2 weeks before FW de Klerk unbanned the ANC Govan and Epainette Mbeki, Walter and Albertina Sisulu flew to Lusaka to meet those in exile. Govan released two years earlier, Epainette found out via radio news, the collapse of their marriage; reunion coincided with 3 day NEC meeting, De Klerk announced unbanning and release of Mandela when Mbeki's away in Stockholm visiting Tambo, Mbeki to Switzerland, met again with NIS men, the Nightline broadcast with Mbeki, Pik Botha and Buthelezi; Mells Park meeting; back to Switzerland to meet NIS, spy chief Niel Barnard present, biggest problem: Joe Slovo; De Klerk never fully grasped the inevitable consequences of his actions; Mandela's return, elected deputy president of ANC, Mbeki to continue talks, his unmandated status over; Zuma and others smuggled back into South Africa to prepare for exiles return, biggest stumbling block: violence, especially in Kwazulu-Natal, Mandela to address rally in Natal; the Sebokeng massacre, 26 March 1990, Goldstone Commission formed to investigate; Mandela / Mbeki relationship, Govan and Mandela could not replace OR Tambo.

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- H2.1.6: Meeting of the NWC, held on Tuesday 03/04/90 [Post-Sebokeng, should Mandela still meet De Klerk, disagreement]
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H2.3.1: Sisulu/Mbeki visit to Lusaka

H2.3.2: Notes on Maritz Spaarwater

H2.3.3: Notes on Niel Barnard interview

H3: Chapter 35: Coming home

[May 1990]

Content:

Mbeki returning after 27 years in exile, reconcile different aspects of himself, his African Renaissance project, popular with the media; Cape Flats rally, expectations from upcoming talks, Mbeki the bag-carrier, Yeoville heart of exile community, being a stranger in one's country of birth; May 1990 Mbeki set up meeting between ANC and industry (Carlton Conference) discuss approach to post-apartheid economy, Mbeki kept his distance from rank and file, labelled a capitalist crony, the favoured son of the business community; volunteered to fundraise for the ANC, Mbeki's discomfort with patronage; lack of interest in material things; Mbeki's new friends Kögl, Kerzner, Douw Steyn, Bill Venter; bad publicity with birthday party held the day after Boipatong massacre; new social network of black professionals and business people, the Black Management Forum (BMF), tiny black middle class apolitical or Africanist; Nafcoc conference in Durban; 1988 leaning on Malaysian bumiputra programme, first time fundamentals of BEE were spelt out; ANC policy remained sceptical about BEE, ANCs lack of initiative, failure of BEE, Moeletsi BEE critic; black participation in mainstream economy, meeting with black business people at Ngala game reserve, The Renaissance Project; ANC DEP absent from the Renaissance Project; the Phinda and Mopane conferences; Mbeki, Högl set up a non-profit company to fund black economic empowerment African Renaissance Holdings; the Consultative Council, black leaders in business, politics, professions who would meet at the presidential home, to create greater understanding between them and the ANC, called the black broeders by the media, the fusion of roots-pride and personal aspiration.

H3.1: Cited documents

H3.1.1: Managing the period of transition, draft discussion document on sanctions: November 19, 1990

[November 19, 1990]

H3.1.2: The Natal Mercury, 27 October 1990 Blacks told to forget the past

[27 October 1990]

H3.1.3: Weekly Mail, 4 May 1990 How foolish we all were ... not to do this ages ago

[4 May]

H3.1.4: The Argus, 30 April 1990 20 000 brave cold to greet ANC leadership



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- [30 April 1990]
- H3.1.5: The Sunday Star, 29 April 1990 The man whites most love to hate: Joe Slovo is home with some bitter memories, but now it's time to look to the future, he says
- [29 April 1990]
- H3.1.6: The Natal Witness, 20 February 1990 Remarkable [Mbeki's appearance on SATV]
- [20 February 1990]
- H3.1.7: The Star, 20 May 1994 Why the exile was elevated above the activist
- [20 May 1994]
- H3.1.8: Leadership SA, 31 May 1990 The Outsiders by Mark Gevisser
- [31 May 1990]
- H3.1.9: Sunday Times, 21 June 1992 Lavish surprise party as Mbeki turns 50
- [21 June 1992]
- H3.1.10: Special meeting of the NWC 07/04/90 (09 hours)
- [07/04/90]
- H3.1.11: Consultative office meeting (Held at residence of Deputy President, Soweto, October 11 1990 at 09h00)
- [October 11 1990]
- H3.1.12: Sunday Times, 6 October 1996 The black broeders
- [6 October 1996]
- H3.1.13: Citizen, 21 March 1994 Black business lacks cohesive plan: Mbeki
- [21 March 1994]
- H3.1.14: Sowetan, 23 October 1990 Nafcoc opens its doors to all races
- [23 October 1990]
- H3.1.15: The Daily News, 30 January 1991 In the shadow of Verwoerd the granite cracks, At the photo session face of De Klerk and Mandela told the story
- [30 January 1991]
- H3.2: Research documents
- H3.2.1: Brief history of Vergelegen
- H3.2.2: The Statement of the President of the African National Congress Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo at a public rally in Johannesburg 16 December, 1990
- [16 December, 1990]
- H3.2.3: Business day, 12 October 1990. Black business to take a look at its stand on sanctions [Nafcoc]
- [12 October 1990]
- H3.2.4: Sunday Times, 21 October 1990 Blacks debate sanctions call [Nafcoc]
- [21 October 1990]
- H3.2.5: The Natal Mercury, 2 August 1990 Talks with Govt to continue says Mbeki [Nafcoc]
- [2 August 1990]
- H3.2.6: Sunday Times, 5 August 1990. Black business: in search of a third way [Nafcoc]
- [5 August 1990]
- H3.2.7: Weekly Mail, 5 August 1990. Businessmen divided on nationalisation
- [5 August 1990]
- H3.2.8: New Nation, 9 August 1990. Nafcoc and ANC hold talks
- [9 August 1990]
- H3.2.9: Weekly Mail, 5 August 1990 Nafcoc establishes joint economic commission with ANC
- [5 August 1990]



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- H3.2.10: Daily News, 27 October 1990 Redistribution of assets not faced by white business [Black Management Forum]
[27 October 1990]
- H3.2.11: The Star, 29 October 1990. Stop complaining, start building, blacks are told [Black Management Forum]
[29 October 1990]
- H3.2.12: Weekly Mail, 5 August 1990. All Azanians must have land. Not just indigenous people [Azapo spelled out its policy on land, a major issue that separates it from the African National Congress, at this week's National African Chambers of Commerce conference in Durban]
[5 August 1990]
- H3.2.13: Steamroller to the top from Greenblo, A. 1997 Kerzner Unauthorised Johannesburg
[1997]
- H3.2.14: Financial Mail, 13 November 1992 Vivien Imerman: Giving the Royal treatment
[13 November 1992]
- H3.2.15: The Citizen, 28 April 1990 I've job to do Slovo
[28 April 1990]
- H3.2.16: The Cape Times, 30 April 1990 SACP link to stay Mandela
[30 April 1990]
- H3.2.17: The Citizen, 27 April 1990 ANC exiles arrive today for talks
[27 April 1990]
- H3.2.18: The Citizen, 30 April 1990. We'll win untied homeland: Slovo [ANC rally at Mitchell's Plain]
[30 April 1990]
- H3.2.19: The Argus, 27 April 1990 ANC exiles head for city
[27 April 1990]
- H3.2.20: Introduction remarks to the press conference my Murray Hofmeyr, joint chairman of the CBM, following the conference [Carlton Conference, May 1990]
[May 1990]
- H3.2.21: Business and the ANC: Options for building and Economic Future, Carlton Conference, May 1990, Post Conference Document
[May 1990]
- H3.2.22: Record of ANC-Nafcoc meeting 24th - 25th May 1986
[25th May 1986]
- H3.2.23: Extracts from NC NEC minutes 15/16 November 1990
[16 November 1990]
- H3.2.24: A Malaysian Model? [Mbeki and Malaysian development programme]
- H3.2.25: Handwritten Discussion doc on Economic Policy, undated
- H3.2.26: Handwritten Meeting with Department of Economic Policy 11/10/90
[11/10/90]
- H3.2.27: Nationalisation of the monopolies and the restructuring of the economy, undated [Part 1: The rise of monopoly capitalism in South Africa, Part 2: South Africa after apartheid: quo vadis?]
- H3.2.28: The mixed economy and industrial policy by Ben Fine, Member ANC/EROSA, undated
- H3.2.29: ANC Department of International Affairs [Function, tasks, organisation of the department, signed by Thabo Mbeki]
- H3.2.30: Mbeki, T Letter to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jamaica, 20 May 1990 [the admission of the United Cricket Board of South Africa into the ICC]

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[20 May 1990]

H3.2.31: MBSA, Numsa, negotiations Sunday Times, 30 September 1990 'Merc work hope'; Daily Dispatch, 3 September 1990 'MBSA unsure about future'; Daily Dispatch, 19 September 1990 'Köpke warms if strikes persist MBSA will close'

[30 September 1990]

H3.2.32: Democracy in Action, April/May 1991 'Breaking the deadlock: SA's only hope a social contract between opposing groups'[Negotiations, economy]

[May 1991]

H3.2.33: Democracy in Action, May 1990 Economy: justice AND growth [Negotiations, economy]

[May 1990]

H3.2.34: The Watershed Years: A Leadership Publication, 1991 Starter's orders [interview with Thabo Mbeki, negotiations, new constitution, violence, economy]

[1991]

H3.2.35: The Argus, 27 March 1991 Poverty seen as threat to SA accord; Pretoria News, 17 August 1991 Give poor SADF land Mbeki; Sunday Times, 10 February 1991 ANC-style economics are served up for R500-a-plate diners; [Negotiations, economy]

[27 March 1991]

H3.2.36: The Star, 25, July 1992 Dismay at mass action, but also understanding[Negotiations]

[July 1992]

H3.2.37: CBM(Consultative Business Movement) Development in the Transition, Summary Report on the National Development Workshop compiled by Colin Coleman June 21-23 1991 Indaba Hotel Johannesburg [Business, negotiations]

[June 21]

H4: Chapter 36: Sidelining

[1992-1993]

Content:

Negotiations to a halt in wake of Boipatong massacre; mistrust of Mbeki, mid 1991 to mid 1993 difficult years for Mbeki (replaced as chief negotiator, forced to withdraw candidacy of deputy president of the ANC); had no demonstrable constituency, contempt for populism; political violence exploded, Mbeki opposed to mass action, argued against suspension of negotiations after Boipatong; Mbeki's detractors fellow-exilers especially from leadership of SACP; very little movement in negotiations since unbanning of the ANC; De Klerk buying time, political destabilisation; Mbeki not combative enough, ANC wanting to disown Operation Vula operatives; Mbeki proposed lifting of sanctions at Dec 1990 conference, strategy debate early 1991 ran parallel to ANC's nomination of candidates to run for leadership; the ANC's National Conference, July 1991, Mbeki's presentation on lifting of specific sanctions got standing ovation; Ramaphosa (then secretary-general) called NWC meeting while Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma were away, sidelined Mbeki and Zuma, Ramaphosa replaced Mbeki as chief negotiator, Zuma was appointed to chairing negotiations; Mbeki played key role in Codesa's Working Group III responsible for designing an interim government; collapse of Codesa, ANC withdrawal from negotiations, June 1992; Bisho massacre September 1992, negotiations started again two weeks later; 24 September 1992 record of understanding signed; Slovo's sunset clauses (power sharing); summer of 1992-1993 ANC and government agreed on an interim government, free elections and 5 year government of national unity.

H4.1: Cited documents

H4.1.1: Handwritten minutes of NEC meeting 15th and 16th November 1990; Source ANC Collection, Mayibuye Archive

[16th November 1990]

H4.1.2: African Communist, 3rd Quarter, 1992 No 132 Negotiations: What room for compromise? by Joe Slovo



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- [1992]
- H4.1.3: Negotiations News, 7 August 1992 The winter of discontent
[7 August 1992]
- H4.1.4: Decisions and follow up from the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC 4-5 April, 1991
[4-5 April, 1991]
- H4.1.5: ANC extended National Executive Committee meeting 17 May, 1991
[17 May, 1991]
- H4.1.6: Finance week, 17 July 1991. A close call: Achievement for Mbeki in swinging sanctions sentiments
[17 July 1991]
- H4.1.7: The ANC's proposals on interim government
- H4.2: Research documents
- H4.2.1: The Star, 17 June 1991 Sanctions ghost haunts ANC
[17 June 1991]
- H4.2.2: The Star, 24 September 1991 Prepare to invest in SA now, Mbeki tells French [Sanctions]
[24 September 1991]
- H4.2.3: Goldberg, D E-mail to Mark Gevisser, 29 October 1999 [Re: Thabo Mbeki and Sanctions]
[29 October 1999]
- H4.2.4: Suttner, R Do we continue the talks? The Pretoria minute and its aftermath June 1990
[June 1990]
- H4.2.5: Political report for presentation to joint NEC/ILC meeting, Johannesburg, 20-23 June 1990 [ANC document]
[20-23 June 1990]
- H4.2.6: Briefing notes: Re talks about talks [ANC document]
- H4.2.7: Minutes of NWC meeting, 11.5.90 [ANC document]
- H4.2.8: Working committee meeting 30/08/90 [ANC document]
[30/08/90]
- H4.2.9: Main points of discussion at the extended NEC meeting of 12 & 14 September 1990 [Violence, suspension of talks]
[14 September 1990]
- H4.2.10: Recommendations of the NEC sub-committee on the issue of negotiations, meeting on January 25, 1991'
[January 25, 1991]
- H4.2.11: Report of the working group established under paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute'
- H4.2.12: Press statement of the ANC. 15th February 1991' [suspension of attacks]
[15th February 1991]
- H4.2.13: ANC National Conference July 1991
[July 1991]
- H4.2.14: Oliver Tambo's opening address to the ANC 48th National Conference, Durban, 2 July 1991'
[2 July 1991]
- H4.2.15: Report of the independent electoral commission; 'ANC National Conference: July, 1991. Durban, South Africa. Resolution on the foreign policy of the ANC'
[July, 1991]
- H4.2.16: Gevisser, M Letter to Willie Esterhuysen, 9 May 1999 [Find/verify information]
[9 May 1999]



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- H4.2.17: Financial Mail, 2 August 1991 'Waiting in the wings'
[2 August 1991]
- H4.2.18: Esterhuysen, WP Fax unknown addressee [re first meetings with businessmen and sunset clauses]
- H4.2.19: Resolution on negotiations and suspension of armed actions, 16 December 1990 [ANC document]
[16 December 1990]
- H4.2.20: Advance to National Democracy: Report on the ANC National Consultative Conference, Johannesburg, 14-16 December 1990
[14-16 December 1990]
- H4.2.21: Opening address to the ANC National Consultative Conference, Johannesburg, December 14, 1990
[December 14, 1990]
- H4.2.22: List of candidates elected to the NEC, 1991
[1991]
- H4.2.23: City Press, 13 November 2005 Watershed weekend for embattled Zuma [Zuma removed as chief of intelligence department, replaced by Lekota in 1991]
[13 November 2005]
- H4.2.24: The Cape Times, 2 July 1991 Hani, Mbeki quit [candidacy leadership positions]
[2 July 1991]
- H4.2.25: The Star, 20 July 1991 ANC Cabinet takes control
[20 July 1991]
- H4.2.26: The Star, 8 July 1991 Communists riding high in new team
[8 July 1991]
- H4.2.27: Financial Mail, 28 June 1991. ANC Conference: Starter's orders
[28 June 1991]
- H4.2.28: Holden, P Operation Vula Report
- H4.2.29: Holden, P Negotiations Report: 1990-1991
[1990-1991]
- H4.2.30: Notes on ANC meetings: emergency meeting 18/09/90, NEC 22 July 1990, NEC 5/1/91, NWC 14/01/91, NEC 23/1/91, tripartite alliance meeting 27/1/91, NWC 2/2/91, tripartite alliance 27/1/91, special meeting 2/4/91, NEC April 1991
[22 July 1990]
- H4.2.31: Sunday Times, 22 December 1991 undated. Step by step on the rocky road to Kempton Park [Codesa]
[22 December 1991]
- H4.2.32: ANC Negotiations Bulletin, 16 January 1992 [Codesa]
[16 January 1992]
- H4.2.33: ANC Negotiations Bulletin, 12 March 1992 [Codesa]
[12 March 1992]
- H4.2.34: Summary of recommendations and decisions arising from meeting of working group 3 steering committee (WGSC3) held on 30 January 1992 (to be tabled for discussion as part of agenda item 4 of the working group meeting of 6 February 1992) [Codesa]
[30 January 1992]
- H4.2.35: Press statement Working Group 3 [Codesa]
- H4.2.36: Agreement on elements of interim arrangements, 2 March [Codesa]
[2 March]
- H4.2.37: Draft minutes of the third meeting of working group 3 (interim arrangements) held at the world trade centre on Tuesday, 11 February 1992 at 10h00-16h45



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[11 February 1992]

H4.2.38: Draft minutes of the meeting of WG3SC held on Monday 6 April 1992, 17h00 [Codesa]

[6 April 1992]

H4.2.39: Newspaper clippings, sources unknown, Codesa invites groups to make submissions, Main actors at Codesa, Buthelezi not quitting

H4.2.40: Working group 3 list of delegates and advisers [Codesa]

H4.2.41: Terms of reference for working groups for Codesa' [Codesa]

H4.2.42: Newspaper clippings on the subject of Codesa: Insig 30 September 1992 Nelson nog baas, maar..., Financial Mail 28 February 1992 Vision of the interim, source unknown 24 April 1992 Govt backs campaign to include Zulu king, source unknown Secret bid to clear impasse, source unknown Where they stand ... in the interim, Times 12 April 1992 Codesa group reach broad agreement on interim government, source unknown Codesa grinds to a halt on main issues, Finance week date unknown Next on agenda: A fog over what's now to be negotiated, source unknown Talks lurch as Codesa tackles the real issue: Who will wield power?, source unknown SA poised to begin the transition, Business Day FW returns early to deal with crisis, source unknown Table waits for negotiators return, Times final 24 May 1994 ANC's bottom line, source unknown ANC v the state, source unknown Softly softly

[30 September 1992]

H4.2.43: Sunday Times, 9 August UN's blue print for peace [UN, Cyrus Vance]

[9 August]

H4.2.44: Sunday Times, 20 September 1992 Kobie wrecks summit deal: Ministers clash after agreement is reached with ANC [UN, Cyrus Vance]

[20 September 1992]

H4.2.45: Business Day, 10 August 1992 ANC did not seek special treatment from the UN [UN, Cyrus Vance]

[10 August 1992]

H4.2.46: Financial Mail, 24 July 1992 The only game in town: Cyrus Vance symbolises world concern that constitutional talks resume soon [UN, Cyrus Vance]

[24 July 1992]

H4.2.47: Weekly Mail, 30 July 1992 Vance gets to hear it all ... again [UN, Cyrus Vance]

[30 July 1992]

H4.2.48: Sowetan, 31 July 1992 440 prisoner set to be free: Convicts released after Vance's intervention [UN, Cyrus Vance]

[31 July 1992]

H4.2.49: City Press, 26 July 1992 Right man for the job [UN, Cyrus Vance]

[26 July 1992]

H4.2.50: Business Day, 3 August 1992 UN A-team arrives for the stayaway [UN, Cyrus Vance]

[3 August 1992]

H4.2.51: Financial Mail, 28 February 1992 The players converge [Sunset clauses]

[28 February 1992]

H4.2.52: Business Day, 10 March 1992 Jobs are safe, Mandela tells public service [Sunset clauses]

[10 March 1992]

H4.2.53: Weekly Mail, 5 November 1992 Slovo's sunset debate is red hot [Sunset clauses]

[5 November 1992]

H4.2.54: Negotiations: A strategic perspective (As adopted by the National Working Committee on 18 November, 1992)



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[18 November, 1992]

H4.2.55: Slovo, J Negotiations: What room for compromise?

H4.2.56: African Communist / 4th Quarter 1992 Negotiations: The strategic debate
[1992]

H4.2.57: Sowetan 28 November 1993 Slovo takes stock
[28 November 1993]

H4.2.58: SS, 6 December 1992 New, improved Codesa [Negotiations comeback]
[6 December 1992]

H4.2.59: Financial Mail, 15 January 1993 Not many chances left [Negotiations comeback]
[15 January 1993]

H4.2.60: Negotiations news, no 9 17 March 1993 Three-cornered contest ... a great rift to heal
[17 March 1993]

H4.2.61: Negotiations news, 26 April 1993 Back-burner tactic keeps talks sweet
[26 April 1993]

H4.3: Chapter notes

H4.3.1: Notes on international relations

H5: Chapter 37: Outrider

[April 1994]

Content:

Election date set for April 1994; 4 months after the assassination of Chris Hani by right wingers Mbeki and Zuma met Jurgen Kögl, their connection to the rightwing former army general Constand Viljoen (AVF), wanted independent Afrikaner state; 25 June 1993 the AWB invaded the world trade centre where negotiations took place, Viljoen met Mandela 5 days later; 25 August 1993 Mandela elected Mbeki national chairman of the ANC; Ramaphosa dismissive of those who bailed out of negotiations, Mbeki did not believe in isolating radicals, security forces separate from NP; August December had 6 more meetings with Viljoen; December 1993 Mbeki and team admitted idea of volkstaat into negotiations; Bop debacle 11 March 1994; elections to be treated as referendum on volkstaat; Mbeki's negotiating approach, idea of volkstaat died away after elections; valorisation of Afrikaner identity, cultural autonomy; ANC's relationship with Inkatha; the National Peace Commission; July 1993 IFP walked out of negotiations for good; Mandela met with Buthelezi one month before the elections, made a deal; Mbeki using African solidarity to bring Buthelezi home, in TRC testimony (1997) acknowledged that ANC once considered the IFP a partner in the liberation struggle, Buthelezi thawed; Buthelezi offered deputy presidency in 1999, part of trade to relinquish premiership in Natal, he declined, clashes with Mbeki over the next 5 years.

H5.1: Cited documents

H5.1.1: Accord on Afrikaner self-determination between the Freedom Front, the African National Congress and the South African government / National Party, 23 April 1994
[23 April 1994]

H5.1.2: The Sunday Independent, 25 March 2001 Finger on the trigger of war by Max du Preez
[25 March 2001]

H5.1.3: Focus, No 13 First Quarter 1999 Interview: Chief Buthelezi
[1999]

H5.1.4: Mbeki, T Letter to Mangosuthu Buthelezi, 13 April 1995
[13 April 1995]

H5.1.5: Transcript of the African National Congress Party Recall in Cape Town, 12-13 May 1997 [ANC statement to the TRC]
[12-13 May 1997]

H5.2: Research documents



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- H5.2.1: ANC Second Submission to the TRC Part 5: Operations Report: The Department of Intelligence and Security of the African National Congress
- H5.2.2: Negotiations News, 17 December 1992 Cosag facade shows cracks
[17 December 1992]
- H5.2.3: The Weekly Mail, April 16 to 22 1993 Killing highlights ANC and NP rifts [Murder of Chris Hani]
[April 16]
- H5.2.4: Negotiation News, No 2 25 May 1992 False start: The penny drops for ANC
[25 May 1992]
- H5.2.5: Newspaper articles re a Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and ANC agreement: Weekly Mandela 19/11/93 AVF puts its hopes on Mandela, Financial Mail 1 October 1993 Bending over backwards, unknown source Volksfront faces critical decision, ANC rejects Right's bid for homeland, Star?, 31.1.94 AVF hardliners snub ANC offer, Star? 31.1.94 See Right's angry mood, Star? 22/2/94 Will the Right dare to use violence?, source unknown 20/2 94 There will never be a volkstaat: Mandela, Star? Ministers attack Mandela threats, Saturday Star? 19/3/94 The Right sheds its wild fringes and goes to polls, Business Day 25 March 1994 Negotiators set to sign volkstaat deal, Business Day 30 March 1994 Accord on volkstaat is to be signed tomorrow, Star? 21.2.94 Can any secession succeed, Sowetan 27.2.94 Gambling with compromise, Sowetan 27.2.94 How solid is the rightwing alliance?, source unknown Right-wingers welcome ANC stand on Afrikaners, Sowetan 6.9.93 CP hopes for a white homeland
[1 October 1993]
- H5.2.6: Star Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield interviews CBM's Colin Coleman [political settlement and elections]
- H5.2.7: Sunday Times, 24 April 1994 How the Chief was turned
[24 April 1994]
- H5.2.8: Sunday Tribune, 10 July, year unknown Inkatha, ANC talks turn to animosity
[10 July,]
- H5.2.9: Track Two, May/September 1994 Bringing in Buthelezi: How the IFP was drawn into the election [Attached is transcript of interview by Ron Kraybill with Colin Coleman (CBM) re IFP inclusion in election mediation]
[September 1994]
- H5.2.10: CBM (Consultative Business Movement) Information Update, No 15 29 July 1994 The Constitutional process: The CBM and the political settlement, The international mediation effort and the deal bringing the IFP into the process
[29 July 1994]
- H5.2.11: Mandela, N Letter to Leon Higginbotham, 31 March 1994 [re mediation between IFP and ANC]
[31 March 1994]
- H5.2.12: Meyer, R Letter to FT Mdlalose, 4 April 1994 [mediation between the IFP and ANC]
[4 April 1994]
- H5.2.13: Agreement amongst the ANC, the IFP, and the South African government on the terms of reference for international mediation
- H5.2.14: International mediation, terms of reference (as proposed by the ANC)
- H5.2.15: Colin Coleman (International Mediation Forum) Letters to P Maduna, FW de Klerk, 11 April 1994 [Attached are names and addresses of mediators]
[11 April 1994]
- H5.2.16: Consolidated terms of reference for international mediation agreed upon by the IFP and the ANC



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- H5.2.17: Memorandum of agreement for reconciliation and peace between the Inkatha Party/KwaZulu government and the African National Congress and the South African government/National Party
- H5.2.18: Confidential draft of the memorandum for reconciliation and peace between Inkatha Freedom Party, African National Congress and the South African government/National Party
- H5.2.19: Coleman, C Letter to Thabo Mbeki, 13 April 1995
[13 April 1995]
- H5.2.20: Independent Newspapers, 8 March 1998 Partners alarmed at call for Cosatu to split from alliance, undated Angola shows us how valuable ANC-IFP unity would be to SA Unity between ANC and IFP will advance stability and democracy; 11 January 1998 ANC big guns get serious on unity with IFP [IFP/ANC unity]
[8 March 1998]
- H5.2.21: Financial Mail, 25 June 1999 How Buthelezi shaped president Mbeki's team
[25 June 1999]
- H5.2.22: Newspaper articles re Mbeki offering deputy presidency to Buthelezi, Buthelezi's refusal and subsequent clashes between them: Sunday Independent, 20/6/1999 Why Mbeki gave up on Buthelezi, Sunday Times 20 June 1999 The President falls out with Buthelezi, source unknown 15 June 1999 Buthelezi refused to accept Mbeki's offer, Star? 21/6/99 Mbeki's new team all set to get down to hard work, Citizen 16.6.99 Buthelezi says no to Mbeki, notes on cabinet, Daily News, 14 June 2000 Mbeki offer to Buthelezi unconditional, Sunday Independent 8 September 2000 Mbeki attitude angers Buthelezi, IOL 3 December 2000 Mbeki will keep his promise Buthelezi, IOL 13 March 2001 State denies Mbeki side-stepped Buthelezi, IOL 31 March 2001 Buthelezi warns Mbeki over chiefs issue, The Star 11 February 2002 Still tension between Buthelezi and Mbeki, Sunday Independent 25 May Buthelezi considers leaving cabinet, SAPA 28 June 2002 Masetlha takes up new post in the presidency, The Mercury 14 November 2002 Snubbed Buthelezi bites back at Mbeki, The Star 4 December 2002 Mbeki, Buthelezi to go separate ways?, The Mercury 13 February 2003 Mbeki and Buthelezi set to heal rift, The Mercury 20 May 2003 Buthelezi hints at quitting government, The Star 26 November 2003 Buthelezi tackles Mbeki over votes abroad, IOL 8 February 2004 Mbeki has not answered Imbizo requests, Daily News 9 March 2004 Buthelezi blasts ANC over Aids crisis, The Star 19 March 2004 Mbeki, Buthelezi clash over immigration laws, Saturday Argus 28 March 2004 Mixed reactions greet Mbeki's address, The Star 20 March 2004 Buthelezi defied me, says angry Mbeki, Saturday Argus 2 April 2004 Mbeki attacks Buthelezi, IOL 3 April 2004 Mbeki's attack a surprise, says Buthelezi, The Mercury 6 April 2004 Buthelezi lashes out at hypocrite Mbeki, Mail and Guardian 30 April 2004 Mbeki's brutal letter to Buthelezi, Pretoria News 3 May 2004 Buthelezi makes Aids personal
[20 June 1999]
- H5.2.23: Holden, P Timeline: ANC/UDF and IFP conflict 1980 - 1994
[1980]
- H5.2.24: Sowetan, 12 July 1994 Cartoon and Lighten up [Mbeki's trip to Arabian Gulf before the elections]
[12 July 1994]
- H5.3: Chapter notes
- H5.3.1: Notes on Colin Coleman
- H5.3.2: Notes on Jurgen Kögl
- H5.3.3: Notes on General Constand Viljoen
- H5.3.4: Notes on Niel Barnard
- H5.3.5: Chapter draft
- H6: Chapter 38: Into power



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[24 April 1993]

Content:

Oliver Tambo's death, 24 April 1993 (5 days after Hani's funeral); Mbeki's grief, wrote oration for Mandela to deliver at funeral; national chairmanship, building a constituency; Mbeki's relationships with Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela, both resented Ramaphosa, both vulnerable within ANC leadership, Mokaba launched Mbeki-for-president campaign 25 June 1993; Mbeki elected as national chairman, Mandela's preference for Ramaphosa as deputy president, Mandela consulted widely and selected Mbeki; Ramaphosa declined Minister of Foreign Affairs post; left for NAIL a BEE pioneering company; Mbeki thought Ramaphosa a beneficiary of a conspiracy against him, knew the economic policies he and government was to follow would not be popular with the left, Ramaphosa in cahoots with the left; Mbeki's conspiracy theories about the media and business establishment; race politics different in internal politics than in exile, UDF attracted large numbers of whites, exile movement a small number; negative criticism from media began after 1994, Mbeki: inappropriate to criticise a democratic government; by September 1995 Mbeki branded any media criticism of ANC as racist, critical black journalists criticised as Uncle Toms; real negative press provoked by his August 94 Press speech Unmandated Reflections; Mbeki felt abandoned by white liberal business community who favoured Ramaphosa; the 2001 alleged conspiracy against Mbeki, a coup plot driven by reactionary white business and media interests, conspirators: Tokyo Sexwale, Ramaphosa, Matthews Phosa, also marked the beginning of fallout with Jacob Zuma insinuated in the affair; Mbeki's belief that there were always conspirators set against his ascendancy.

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insecurity over macro-economic policy; Manuel's GEAR (growth, employment and redistribution macro-economic policy) May 1996, lack of consultation with SACP and Cosatu; GEAR seen as betrayal by the left, ANC went into power with RDP (reconstruction and development programme), GEAR a top-down, non-negotiable macro-economic policy, neo-liberal; before Manuel's arrival (1991) ANC economic policy the domain of left wing London economists; the DEP wrote economic policy in accordance with international financial institutions; 1992 debate on privatisation, Mbeki: nationalise strategic areas, privatise others; RDP more a wish list than workable policy, RDP office very unpopular, Mbeki downscaled it to service delivery mechanism, shut it down in 1996; under the tree meetings with Cosatu, unhappy with GEAR, Mbeki drafted the state and social transformation; the ANC's Mafikeng conference 1997; 1998 Cosatu rejected GEAR; Vavi (Cosatu) and Blade Nzimande (SACP); Mbeki's difficult relationship with Nzimande; the arms deal, to attract industrial development, an ideological commitment to self-determination, SA to play a role in continental peacekeeping; 1998 conflict ridden year in Congo, Lesotho, Nigeria; patronage of Joe Modise, security arms deal bought was against internal threat of disaffected military on both sides; government's plummeting relationship with the private sector, Mbeki increasingly critical of business sector especially with Anglo crowd not committed to transformation; Mbeki: SA business men badmouthing SA government abroad; 1998 Business Trust established; Mbeki's response to Anglo-American's CEO Tony Trahar; Mbeki and especially Manuel: government should not be in perpetual negotiations with its social partners; fracture between those whose job it was to run the state and those whose job it was to represent the people; the hero or the impimpi; for its architects GEAR was a means toward self-reliance, a product of Mbeki's New Africanism, determined to survive independent of white creditors; Mbeki also warned of pitfalls of culture of acquisition; Mbeki later revised GEAR, replaced it in 2003 with understanding that SA consisted of two economies (1 booming, the other underdeveloped).

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- J101: Toast proposed by the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the state banquet in honour of her majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Pretoria, 10 November 1999 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[10 November 1999]
- J102: Address by the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the opening of the commonwealth heads of government meeting, Durban, 12 November 1999 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[12 November 1999]
- J103: Saturday Star, 23 October 1999 The minds behind politicians words
[23 October 1999]
- J104: Speech at the annual national conference of the Black Management Forum, Kempton Park, November 20, 1999 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[November 20, 1999]
- J105: Address on World Aids Day, 1 December 1999 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[1 December 1999]
- J106: New Year's eve radio and television address, 31 December 1999 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[31 December 1999]
- J107: Business Day, 4 January 2000 SA must aim for the stars [reference to Mbeki's new year's address]
[4 January 2000]
- J108: Statement of the NEC of the ANC, delivered by the President, on the occasion of the 88th anniversary of the ANC, January 8 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[January 8 2000]
- J109: Statement at the centenary synod of the Ethiopian Episcopal Church Umzi Wase Tiiyopiya/Motse Wa Topia, PE, January 11 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[January 11 2000]
- J110: Statement at the funeral of Alfred Nzo, Johannesburg, January 22 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[January 22 2000]
- J111: State of the nation address of the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki: National assembly chamber, Cape Town: February 4, 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[February 4, 2000]
- J112: Second session Parliament: Announcements, tablings and committee reports, 29 February 2000 [media]
[29 February 2000]
- J113: Response of the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, to the debate on the state-of-the-nation address: National Assembly, Cape Town: February 10, 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[February 10, 2000]
- J114:
[April 2 1998]
- J115: Statement of the ANC at the Human Rights Commission Hearings on Racism in the Media: 5 April 2000 [media]
[5 April 2000]
- J116: State of the nation address, 4 May 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[4 May 2000]
- J117: Speech of the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, on the occasion of the consideration of the budget vote of the presidency: National Assembly, June 13, 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[June 13, 2000]



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- J118: Keynote address to the national general council, PE July 12 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[July 12 2000]
- J119: Address to the Pretoria Press Club on receiving the newsmaker of the year award, 25 July 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency, media]
[25 July 2000]
- J120: Second national institute for economic policy (NIEP) Oliver Tambo lecture delivered by the president of the republic of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, Johannesburg, 11 August 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[11 August 2000]
- J121: President Thabo Mbeki, National Assembly, 20 September 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[20 September 2000]
- J122: Address on the African Renaissance to the Ghana-South Africa friendship association, Accra 5 October 2000
[African Renaissance]
[5 October 2000]
- J123: Address to the Parliament of Ghana, Accra 6 October 2000 [African Renaissance]
[6 October 2000]
- J124: Address at the Sowetan community builder of the year award ceremony, Midrand, 16 November 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[16 November 2000]
- J125: Statement of the president of the ANC, Thabo Mbeki, on the conclusion of the 2000 local government elections, 2 December 2000 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[2 December 2000]
- J126: The state of the nation address of the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the national assembly chamber, Cape Town, 9 February 2001 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[9 February 2001]
- J127: Response of president Thabo Mbeki, to the debate on the state of the nation address, National Assembly, Cape Town, February 15, 2001 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[February 15, 2001]
- J128: National Assembly debate on Zimbabwe by minister of agriculture and land affairs, Ms Thoko Didiza, 27 February 2001 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[27 February 2001]
- J129: Address by president Thabo Mbeki on South African Freedom Day, Pietersburg, 27 April 2001 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[27 April 2001]
- J130: Speech on the occasion of the consideration of the budget of the presidency, 21 June 2001 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]
[21 June 2001]
- J131: ANC Today, Vol. 1 No 25, 13-19 July 2001 Letter from the President: Africa's high road to unity and rebirth [African Renaissance]
[13-19 July 2001]
- J132: Address by president Thabo Mbeki at the inaugural ZK Matthews memorial lecture, University of Fort Hare, 12 October 2001 He Wakened to his Responsibilities [African Renaissance]
[12 October 2001]
- J133: President Thabo Mbeki's answers to questions in Parliament, 24 October 2001 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]



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[24 October 2001]

J134: Address by the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the national council of provinces, Cape Town, 13 November 2001 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]

[13 November 2001]

J135: National assembly state of the nation debate, address by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, MP, minister of home affairs and president of the IFP, 12 February 2002 [IFP speeches]

[12 February 2002]

J136: Response to state-of-the-nation speech by Ebrahim Fakier, 8 February 2002

[8 February 2002]

J137: Cosatu's response to the President's speech, 8 February 2002

[8 February 2002]

J138: Statement at the conclusion of the debate on the state-of-the-nation address, 14 February 2002 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]

[14 February 2002]

J139: Address by president Mbeki at the occasion of the launch of the freedom part, 16 June 2002 [speeches made during Mbeki's presidency]

[16 June 2002]

J140: Statement at the re-burial of Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, 27 October 2002 [African Renaissance]

[27 October 2002]

J141: Report on Mbeki speeches January 2003

[January 2003]

J142: Report on Mbeki speeches June 28 to August 1 2003

[August 1 2003]

J143: Report on Mbeki letters June 27-September 4 2003

[June 27-September]

J144: Report on Mbeki speeches August 2003

[August 2003]

J145: Report on Mbeki Letter from the President September 2003

[September 2003]

J146: Report on Mbeki speeches September/October 2003

[October 2003]

J147: Report on Mbeki Letter from the President October 2003

[October 2003]

J148: Report on Mbeki Letter from the President November 2003

[November 2003]

J149: Report on Mbeki speeches November 2003

[November 2003]

J150: Report on Mbeki Letter from the President December 2003

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J151: Report on Mbeki Speeches December 2003

[December 2003]

J152: Address to the Botswana National Assembly, Gaborone, 11 March 2003 [African Renaissance]

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J153: Address at the SANEF conference on the media, the AU, Nepad and democracy, 12 April 2003 [Media]

[12 April 2003]



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- J154: Address at the opening of the tourism indaba, 4 May 2003 [African Renaissance]
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- J155: ANC Today, Vol. 3 No 45, 14-20 November 2003 Meeting the challenge of the second economy
[14-20 November 2003]
- J156: Report on Mbeki Letter from the President January 2004
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- J157: Report on Mbeki speeches February 2004
[February 2004]
- J158: Report on Mbeki Letter from the President March 2004
[March 2004]
- J159: Report on Mbeki Letter from the President April 2004
[April 2004]
- J160: Holden, P President's Letters and Speeches May to July
- J161: Report on Letters from the President, 2004 [August - December]
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- J162: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 3 23-29 January 2004 Letter from the President: Reconciliation and social change must go together [History/memory]
[23-29 January 2004]
- J163: Address by the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, on the occasion of his inauguration and the 10th anniversary of freedom: Pretoria, 27th April 2004
[27th April 2004]
- J164: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 22 4-10 June 2004 A tale of two parties
[4-10 June 2004]
- J165: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 23 11-17 June 2004 Letter form the President: In search of enemies [Media]
[11-17 June 2004]
- J166: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 30, 30 July - 5 August 2004 Letter from the President: Truth and Prejudice [Media]
[5 August 2004]
- J167: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 32, 13-19 August 2004 A matter of life and death
[13-19 August 2004]
- J168: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 35, 3-9 September 2004 Nobody knows my name
[3-9 September 2004]
- J169: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 38, 24-30 September 2004 Once more a matter of life and death
[24-30 September 2004]
- J170: Report on the response to Mbeki's comments on the crime statistics, 7 October 2004
[7 October 2004]
- J171: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 42, 22-28 October 2004 Dislodging stereotypes
[22-28 October 2004]
- J172: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 43, 29 October-4 November 2004 Happy 40th birthday Zambia
[29 October-4 November 2004]
- J173: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 49, 10-16 December 2004 A complex process of regeneration and rediscovery
[10-16 December 2004]
- J174: Report on Letters from the President 2005
[2005]
- J175: Executive summary: Speeches and letters from the President, 2004-2005
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- J176: ANC Today, Vol. 5 No 24, 28 January 2005 Economical with the truth [Media]
[28 January 2005]
- J177: ANC Today, Vol. 5 No 5, 4 February 2005 European cows and global clamour against African poverty
[4 February 2005]
- J178: Address of the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki at the second joint sitting of the third democratic parliament
Cape Town: February 11, 2005
[February 11, 2005]
- J179: Response to the debate of the state of the nation address, National Assembly, Cape Town 17 February 2005
[17 February 2005]
- J180: ANC Today, Vol. 5 No 8, 25 February 2005 Farewell Oom Ray!
[25 February 2005]
- J181: ANC Today, Vol. 5 No 9 4-10 March 2005 The old order changeth, giving place to new
[4-10 March 2005]
- J182: ANC Today, Vol. 5 No 11, 18 March 2005 Human rights, black aspirations and white fears
[18 March 2005]
- J183: Address to South African Communist Party Special National Congress, 9 April 2005
[9 April 2005]
- J184: ANC Today, Vol. 5 No 15, 15-21 April 2005 Letter from the President: Never again the divisions of April 1952
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- J185: ANC Today, Vol. 5 No 28, 15-21 July 2005 The privilege of trusteeship
[15-21 July 2005]
- J186: ANC Today, Vol. 4 No 42, 21-27 October 2005 Hail the Nobel Laureates apostles of human curiosity!
[21-27 October 2005]
- K: DRAFT BIOGRAPHIES (A-Z) FROM: FROM PROTEST TO CHALLENGE VOLUME 7 MANUSCRIPT
- L: INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED BY HOWARD BARRELL
- L1: Interview with Joe Slovo, Lusaka, August 12-16 1989
[August 12]
- L2: Interview with Garth Strachan, Harare, August 5-7 1989
[1989]
- L3: Interview with OR Tambo, Salisbury (Harare) August 10, 1981 [conducted by Howard Barrell and Jenny Cargill]
[August 10, 1981]
- L4: Interview with Jacob Zuma, Lusaka, August 18 1989
[August 18 1989]
- M: EXTRACTS FROM INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS CONDUCTED BY HOWARD BARRELL, THOMAS KARIS, GAIL GERHART AND MARK GEVISSER
- M1: List of interviews
- M2: Memoirs of George Bizos as related by Thomas Karis and Gail Gerhart, New York, October 1989
[October 1989]
- M3: Howard Barrell interview with Brian Bunting, London, February 8 1990
[February 8 1990]
- M4: Gail Gerhart interview with John Daniel, New York, November 5 1990
[November 5 1990]
- M5: FW de Klerk on Thabo Mbeki, source unclear
- M6: Howard Barrell interview with Gavin Evans, Johannesburg, January 28 1991
[January 28 1991]



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- M7: Gail Gerhart conversations with Barbara Harmel, various dates
- M8: Howard Barrell interview with Joe Jele, Lusaka, 17 August 1989
[17 August 1989]
- M9: Thomas Karis notes on interview with Dr. Johann Kinghorn, December 7 1988
[December 7 1988]
- M10: Howard Barrell interview with Ronnie Kasrils, Lusaka, August 19 1989
[August 19 1989]
- M11: Gail Gerhart interview with Oyama Mabandla, New York, October 31 1993
[October 31 1993]
- M12: Gail Gerhart interview with Oyama Mabandla, Johannesburg, September 4 1999
[September 4 1999]
- M13: Thomas Karis interview with Oyama Mabandla, San Diego, July 15 1992
[July 15 1992]
- M14: Howard Barrell interview with Mac Maharaj, Johannesburg, November 20 1990
[November 20 1990]
- M15: Tim Modise interview with Epainette Mbeki, August 9 2000
[August 9 2000]
- M16: Interviewer unknown, interview with Epainette Mbeki
- M17: Howard Barrell interview with Mac Maharaj, undated
- M18: Howard Barrell, fourth interview with Mac Maharaj, Johannesburg, February 3 1991
[February 3 1991]
- M19: Karis Gerhart interview with Thami Mhlambiso, June 17 1981
[June 17 1981]
- M20: Gail Gerhart interview with Mzala Nxumalo, New York, 10 December 1990
[10 December 1990]
- M21: Howard Barrell interview with Ivan Pillay, Lusaka, July 20, 23 1989
[July 20, 23]
- M22: Howard Barrell interview with Sue Rabkin, Lusaka, July 7 and 9, August 16 1989
[August 16 1989]
- M23: Howard Barrell interview with Cassim Saloojee, November 1 1990
[November 1 1990]
- M24: Howard Barrell first interview with Joe Slovo, Lusaka, August 12-16 1989
[August 12]
- M25: Howard Barrell first interview with Garth Strachan, Harare, August 5-7 1989
[1989]
- M26: Howard Barrell interview with Raymond Suttner, Johannesburg, November 28 1990
[November 28 1990]
- M27: Howard Barrell interview with Naledi Tsiki, Johannesburg, November 26 1990
[November 26 1990]
- M28: Thomas Gerhart interview with Ben and Mary Turok, Johannesburg, September 26, 1993
[September 26, 1993]
- M29: Howard Barrell interview with Ben Turok, London, February 21 1990
[February 21 1990]
- M30: Howard Barrell interview with Jacob Zuma, Lusaka, August 18 1989
[August 18 1989]



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- M31: Howard Barrell first interview with Jeremy Cronin, Lusaka, July 16 1989
[July 16 1989]
- M32: Interview with Naledi Tsiki, undated
- M33: Howard Barrell interview with Pallo Jordan, Lusaka, July 4 1989
[July 4 1989]
- M34: Notes on Howard Barrell interview with Joe Jele, Lusaka, 17 August 1989
[17 August 1989]
- M35: Notes on Mark Gevisser interview with Sipho Makana
- M36: Notes on Mark Gevisser interview with Sindiso Mfenyana
- M37: Mark Gevisser interview with Ann Nicolson
- M38: Mark Gevisser interview with Linda Jiba
- N: MEDIA REPORTS 2002-2004
[2002-2004]
- N1: The week that was: September 9-15 2002 [Aids, AU, Nepad, Zimbabwe, Alliance]
[2002]
- N2: SABC footage that might be helpful [Aids, leadership, ultra-left, Zimbabwe, , economy]
- N3: The week that was: October 7-13 2002 [Alliance, leadership, Zimbabwe, Nepad]
[2002]
- N4: The week that was: October 14-20 2002 [Alliance, Nepad, leadership]
[October 14]
- N5: The week that was: October 28 - November 3 2002 [Zimbabwe, leadership, Nepad, Aids]
[October 28 - November]
- N6: The week that was: November 4-17 2002 [leadership, Nepad, Aids, alliance]
[2002]
- N7: The ANC's December conference 2002 [economy, alliance, Zimbabwe, corruption, violence, judiciary]
[2002]
- N8: January in brief, 2003
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- N9: February in brief, 2003
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- N10: February summary two [2003]
[2003]
- N11: Media report, March 2 - 23, 2003
[2003]
- N12: Media report, April 28 - May 29 2003
[May 29 2003]
- N13: Media report, July 2 - July 20 2003
[July 20 2003]
- N14: Media report, July 21 - August 2 2003
[August 2 2003]
- N15: Media report, August 3 to August 17, 2003
[August 17, 2003]
- N16: Media report, August 18 to September 24, 2003
[September 24, 2003]
- N17: Media report, September 25 to October 28, 2003



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[October 28, 2003]

N18: Media report, November 2003

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N19: Brief media report, January 2004

[January 2004]

O: Readings - general

O1: List of readings

O2: Dubow, S 2000. The African National Congress

[2000]

O3: Moerane, M. T. The Aspirations of the Urban African from Rhodie N. J. 1972 South African Dialogue: Contrasts in South African Thinking on Basic Race Issues McGraw-Hill Book Company, Johannesburg

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O4: Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996

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O5: CDE Round Table, Number three, 1999 The 1996 Census: Key findings, problem areas, issues

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O6: World Economic Forum, 1994 Southern Africa Summit, Cape Town 9-10 June

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O7: Nordic Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa, and Challenges for Democratic Partnerships into the 21st Century, Robben Island 11-14 February 1999 Conference Report

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O8: The Politics of Ungovernability, Fourth Pillar, Fifth Column: The Internationalisation of the Struggle, Returning Home: The Strategy and Practice of Accommodation (1990-93); source unknown

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O9: Michael Young manuscript, title unknown, pp 227-369

O10: Gerhart, G and Karis, T From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 2, pp 222-223

O11: Gerhart, G and Karis, T From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 3 pp vii-xiii, 34-35, 352-357, 386-387, 468-469, 578-579, 658-659, 672-675, 678-679, 682-683, 768-769, 798-799

O12: Gerhart, G and Karis, T From Protest to Challenge, Vol 4, pp vii-xv, 54-57, 70-73, 82-85, 122-123, 126-129, 136-139, 150-153

O13: Author unknown Rebellion-in-exile, pp 52-55

O14: Callinicos, L 2004. Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains David Philip, Claremont [manuscript with notes by Mark Gevisser]

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O15: Johnson, S (ed.) 1989 'South Africa: No Turning Back' Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis

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O18: Saule, N. 1996 'Images in some of the literary works of Sek Mqhayi' Doctorate thesis in African Languages at the University of South Africa

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P: NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, SORTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AND / OR THEMATICALLY

P1: 1985 clippings

[1985]

P2: 1990 clippings

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P3: 1991-1993 clippings

[1991-1993]

P4: 1994 clippings

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P8: 1998 clippings

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P9: 1999 clippings

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P10: AIDS 1999 - December 2000

[December 2000]

P11: AIDS January 2001 - 'now' [2007]

[January 2001]

P12: AIDS December 18 2001 to 'now' [2007]

[December 18 2001]

P13: Nepad June 3 2002 to 'now' [2007]

[June 3 2002]

P14: Zimbabwe June 1999 to 'now' [2007][African Renaissance, Millenium Africa, Renaissance Plan]

[June 1999]

P15: African Organisations [African Renaissance, Millenium Africa, Renaissance Plan]

P16: Africa (general) clips 2 April 2000 to 28 January 2001 [African Renaissance, Millenium Africa, Renaissance Plan]

[2 April 2000]

P17: African Renaissance / MAP October 1998 to 'now' [2007] [African Renaissance, Millenium Africa, Renaissance Plan]

[October 1998]

P18: Congo / Great Lakes 14 June 1999 to 14 November 1999 [African Renaissance, Millenium Africa, Renaissance Plan]

[14 June 1999]

P19: Privatisation

P20: Economic policy March 1998 to 'now' [2007]

[March 1998]

P21: Media February 2001 to 'now' [2007]

[February 2001]

P22: Leadership September 1999 to 'now' [2007]

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- P23: Leadership September 1999 to 'now' [2007]
[September 1999]
- P24: Corruption February 2001 to 'now' [2007]
[February 2001]
- P25: ANC / Alliance April 2001 - October 2002
[April 2001 - October 2002]
- P26: ANC Today March 2001 - April 2002
[March 2001 - April 2002]
- P27: Mbeki interviews 8 February 2001 - 27 June 2001
[8 February 2001 - 27 June 2001]
- P28: Foreign policy / Africa 23 November 2000 to 'now' [2007]
[23 November 2000]
- P29: Plots' April - May 2001
[April - May 2001]
- P30: Land July 2001 to 'now' [2007]
[July 2001]
- P31: Race April 2000 to 'now' [2007]
[April 2000]
- P32: South Africa background; General (28 June 2000 only)
[28 June 2000]
- Q: ARCHIVE CATALOGUES
- Q1: UWC Mayibuye Archives Catalogue
- Q2: Contents of interviews by Howard Barrell
- Q3: Karis-Gerhart Collection Catalogue, Historical Papers, Wits University [includes notes on the archive]
- Q4: The Barbara Hogan Papers Catalogue, SAHA
- Q5: African National Papers (Lusaka and London, 1960-1991) Catalogue, Mayibuye Centre
[1960-1991]
- Q6: Julie Frederikse Collection catalogue, SAHA
- Q7: Manuscripts, printed matter, pictures, books and periodicals of the Lovedale Mission Press Catalogue, Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University
- R: MARK GEVISSER WRITINGS, SPEECHES
- R1: Wisser in brief, Vol. 2 No 1 June 2003 Life/Writing: A Colloquium on Biography
[1 June 2003]
- R2: UCT Summer School Thabo and me: why do we care about biography?
- R3: UCT Summer School Are we living the dream deferred? 20 January 2005
[20 January 2005]
- R4: Wolpe Lecture Are we living the dream deferred? 17 June 2004
[17 June 2004]
- R5: Cheryl Carolus, undated by Mark Gevisser
- R6: The Mind of South Africa proposal by Mark Gevisser
- S: PHOTOCOPIED IMAGES FROM BOOK
- T: ADMINISTRATION
- T1: Location of master documents and schedule
- T2: Master file of people to be contacted
- T3: Loose ends



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- T4: Literary citations and general rights clearances, Mbeki rights clearances
- T5: Questions out
- T6: Questions not yet sent
- T7: Answers in
- T8: Quotes and questions responses arranged alphabetically A - L
- T9: Quotes and questions responses arranged alphabetically M - N
- T10: Quotes and questions responses arranged alphabetically O - Z
- T11: Progress reports
- T12: Search index files
- U: NOTEBOOKS
- U1: B 6, 7, 9
- U2: C1, 2, 4-10
- U3: D1, 3, 4-6, 8-11-17
- U4: E1, 2, 4-9
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- U6: BEE 1, 2, 4-6-11, 13
- U7: EC 1, 3-5
- U8: JK'
- U9: TM' [Thabo Mbeki]
- U10: Notes from Great Hall'
- U11: Besotho'
- U12: India'
- U13: Soto'
- U14: 2000: Mbeki notes general'
[2000]
- U15: 2000: general notes'
[2000]
- U16: Justice files
- U17: Wiser
- U18: Racism conference, investigation notes
- U19: Sandton'
- U20: Shoot'
- U21: Houses'
- U22: Aziz Pahad
- U23: Mwaanga
- U24: Mrs Moerane
- U25: Albert Dhlomo
- U26: Mufamadi'
- U27: Jurgen Kögl
- U28: Winnie'
- U29: Pityana'
- U30: Moeletsi'
- U31: Gill Marcus
- U32: Makana
- U33: Slabbert



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- U34: Wimpie de Klerk
- U35: Mfenyana Nokwe
- U36: AIDS/Kwanda
- U37: Goodings
- U38: Brown/Attenborough/Lauwrence
- U39: Hugh Macmillan / Nama
- U40: Chona Phiri
- U41: Mampane
- U42: Moss Ngoashong
- U43: Philippa Ingram
- U44: Appelbaum/Booklaunch, Willie
- U45: Ken Parker
- U46: Nathan Iyer / Point
- U47: Kathy Kathrada
- U48: Titus Mafole / Moss Ngoasheng
- U49: Mendi Msimang
- U50: Govan Mbeki
- U51: Mama' [Mbeki]
- U52: Jara
- U53: Olive
- U54: Allan Hirsch
- U55: Gerwel and Cronin
- U56: Matthews Phosa
- U57: Maduna
- U58: Jordan
- U59: Paul Trewelha: Ronald Segal
- U60: Esterhuyse
- U61: Lindiwe Mabusi / Mrs Mbeki
- U62: Tiksie Mabisela
- U63: Fezeka Mpahlwa
- U64: Kwabhe Tunga/Sjal Phezulu
- U65: Pinky'
- U66: Pravin Gordhan/AR Zuma
- U67: Shakaland'
- U68: Jenami Fraser
- U69: Omatoso
- U70: Joan Brickhill
- U71: AE 11 April 2006'
[11 April 2006]
- U72: ZT: July'
- U73: JZ'
- U74: JJ'
- U75: Unidentified notebooks
- V: BOOK DRAFTS
- V1: Draft, undated [missing chapter 25, chapters 1 to 39]



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- V2: Draft, October 2006 [chapters 1 to 41]
[October 2006]
- V3: Proof, August 2007
[August 2007]
- V3: Draft, undated [missing chapter 40, chapters 1 to postscript]
- W: FLOPPY DISCS
- W1: First accused transcripts (6 discs), Mbeki transcripts (4 discs), 'Mbeki chapters March 2003' (1 disc), 'Mbeki May 2003' (1 disc)
[March 2003]
- W2: Barrell interviews (7 discs), Thabo quotes (1 disc), 'Briggs, Ginwala, W. de Klerk, W. Nhlapo' (1 disc), 'Gooding' (1 disc), Macmillan ANC manuscript (1 disc)
- W3: Filing database (1 disc), 'Umsebenzi' (3 discs), 'Thabo' (2 discs), 'Malatsi, M, Mohali, VZ, Capter 9' (1 disc), Pahad quotes (1 disc)
- X: INTERVIEWS ON AUDIO CASSETTE / CD / MINIDISC
- X1: Sophie Moerane (3 audio cassettes)
- X2: Tor Sellstrom (4 audio cassettes)
- X3: Derek Gunby (3 audio cassettes)
- X4: Govan Mbeki 1 (1 audio cassette)
- X5: Govan Mbeki 2 (3 audio cassettes)
- X6: Govan Mbeki 3 (3 audio cassettes)
- X7: Thabo Mbeki SABC interview (1 audio cassette)
- X8: Thabo Mbeki - Nepad (1 audio cassette)
- X9: Thabo Mbeki TV news (1 audio cassette)
- X10: Thabo Mbeki 1 (1 audio cassette)
- X11: Thabo Mbeki 2 (2 audio cassettes)
- X12: Thabo Mbeki 3 (5 audio cassettes)
- X13: Epainette Mbeki 1 (1 audio cassette)
- X14: Epainette Mbeki 2 (4 audio cassettes)
- X15: Epainette Mbeki 3 (3 audio cassettes)
- X16: Gooding (3 audio cassettes) [1 case empty]
- X17: SA FM 'AM Live'
- X18: SA FM 'Face to face with the President', 22 June 2001
[22 June 2001]
- X19: SA FM 'The Tim Modise Show' 4 April 2000
[4 April 2000]
- X20: SA FM 'The Tim Modise Show' 29 June 2000
[29 June 2000]
- X21: SA FM 'The Tim Modise Show' 14 July 2000
[14 July 2000]
- X22: SA FM 'The Tim Modise Show' 18 July 2000
[18 July 2000]
- X23: SA FM 'The Tim Modise Show' 12 September 2000
[12 September 2000]
- X24: SA FM 'The Tim Modise Show' [Mrs Mbeki]
- X25: SA FM 'The Tim Modise Show' [AIDS]



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X26: SA FM 'After 8 Debate with John Perlman' 14 March 2003

[14 March 2003]

X27: SA FM 'After 8 Debate with John Perlman' 14 April 2003

[14 April 2003]

X28: SA FM 'After 8 Debate with John Perlman' 28 March 2003

[28 March 2003]

X29: Interview with Dr. Dadoo, Chairman of the SACP & Vice-Chairman of the RC of the ANC, by Thabo Mbeki. Topics include deaths in detention and the growing resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa, Mayibuye Centre (1 audio cassette)

X30: Interview with Thabo Mbeki in London for the film 'Song of the spear), 8 November 1985 Tape 2 of 3, Mayibuye Centre (1 audio cassette)

[8 November 1985]

X31: Meg Pahad (2 audio cassettes)

X32: Essop Pahad (3 audio cassettes)

X33: Saloojee (2 audio cassettes)

X34: Olive Mpahlwa (2 audio cassettes)

X35: Mufamadi (2 audio cassettes)

X36: Pityana (2 audio cassettes)

X37: Rod Kedward (2 audio cassettes)

X38: Soderberg/Bjurner (1 audio cassette)

X39: Bjurner (1 audio cassette)

X40: Bishop Dwane (2 audio cassettes)

X41: Hugh Macmillan (2 audio cassettes)

X42: Isaac Mabindisa / Doc Makhalima (1 audio cassette)

X43: Isaac Mabindisa (1 audio cassette)

X44: Peter Lawrence (2 audio cassettes)

X45: Michael Young (2 audio cassettes)

X46: Mike Yates (2 audio cassettes)

X47: Dhlomo (2 audio cassettes)

X48: Jackson Vena (1 audio cassette)

X49: Jackson Vena / Mrs White (1 audio cassette)

X50: Ruth White (1 audio cassette)

X51: Jacob Zuma (2 audio cassettes)

X52: W De Klerk (2 audio cassettes)

X53: Adelaide Tambo (2 audio cassettes)

X54: Mngqikana (2 audio cassettes)

X55: Chuzakin (1 audio cassette)

X56: Sindiso Mfenyana (2 audio cassettes)

X57: Fezeka Mabuza (2 audio cassettes)

X58: Mohali (1 audio cassette)

X59: Joe Nhlanhla (1 audio cassette)

X60: Lindiwe Mabuza (1 audio cassette)

X61: Gocows (1 audio cassette)

X62: Altman (1 audio cassette)

X63: Linda Jiba (1 audio cassette)



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- X64: Ann Page (1 audio cassette)
- X65: Frene Ginwala (1 audio cassette)
- X66: Wiseman Nkuhlu (1 audio cassette)
- X67: Veronica Linklater (1 audio cassette)
- X68: Cecil Williams (1 audio cassette)
- X69: Modise/Manuel (1 audio cassette)
- X70: Mfeti (1 audio cassette)
- X71: Rodionova (1 audio cassette)
- X72: Lord Briggs (1 audio cassette)
- X73: Esterhuysen/Willie (1 audio cassette)
- X74: Nangane (1 audio cassette)
- X75: Smuts Ngonyama (1 audio cassette)
- X76: Schori/Wastberg (1 audio cassette)
- X77: Wastberg (1 audio cassette)
- X78: Dr Zuma (1 audio cassette)
- X79: Ann Yates (1 audio cassette)
- X80: Constand Viljoen (1 audio cassette)
- X81: Lord Renwick (1 audio cassette)
- X82: Adrian and Celia Mitchell (1 audio cassette)
- X83: Pam dos Santos (1 audio cassette)
- X84: Mosebjane Malatsi (1 audio cassette)
- X85: Welile Nglabo (1 audio cassette)
- X86: Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (1 audio cassette)
- X87: Manto Tshabalala-Msimang (1 audio cassette)
- X88: Kunene (1 audio cassette)
- X89: Pundy Pillay (1 audio cassette)
- X90: Makalima (1 audio cassette)
- X91: Dr Mazwai (1 audio cassette)
- X92: K Alexander (1 audio cassette)
- X93: Joe Matthews (1 audio cassette)
- X94: Hardtalk' Interview with Ayanda Ntsiluba (1 audio cassette)
- X95: Rica Hodgson (1 audio cassette)
- X96: Mogoba (1 audio cassette)
- X97: Saamtrek tape one' (1 audio cassette)
- X98: Mandela/Idasa (1 audio cassette)
- X99: Mark Gevisser and Rica Hodgson/Nelson Mandela (1 audio cassette)
- X100:Thabo Mbeki on SABC News (1 audio cassette)
- X101:OM' (1 audio cassette)
- X102:Lebeden' (1 audio cassette)
- X103:3 unidentified tapes
- X104:Thabo Mbeki call to the people (1 CD)
- X105:Mark Gevisser', 22 May 2007 (1 minidisc)
[22 May 2007]
- X106:Thabo Mbeki response to Mark Gevisser, 23 May 2007' (1 CD)
[23 May 2007]



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X107:Answers to Questions from Mark Gevisser, 4 July' (1 minidisc)

[4 July]

X108:Mark Gevisser 2' (1minidisc)

Y: VIDEO CASSETTES / DVDS

Y1: March on #10 Downing street'

Y2: The Battle for Grosvenor Square'

Y3: Let the People decide'

Y4: Breaking the Fetters'

Y5: SA the white laager'

Y6: Current Affairs: Voices of the ANC'

Y7: Thabo Mbeki: Renaissance Man Parts 1 & 2

Y8: Inauguration 27 April 2004 Tapes 4 & 5

[27 April 2004]

Y9: Sibongile Khumal 'Ancient Evenings''

Y10: Thabo Mbeki Pars 1 & 2'

Y11: ANC Tour of Sweden Tape 4

Y12: Thabo Mbeki press statement, Govan Mbeki speech

Y13: Mabuse launch

Y14: Election 1999, Thabo Mbeki

[1999]

Y15: Unidentified VHS tape

Y16: Unidentified VHS tape