

1. SOUTH AFRICAN TERRORISM

One more indication o risng tide o terrorism & violence stemmg frm SA & spreadng thru out whole Sthn Af & furthr afield.

Two-fold attack directed both ag. SA's inside & outside SA

And also direct & indirect intervention in the internal affairs o blk states.

Ths in turn achievd by various means:

- . by traing terrorists as individuals & grps;
- . by sabotage aimed at military & ec structure
- . by direct military incursions
- . by armg & financg anti-socialst grps
- . by assassinations

BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, SWAZILAND

hve hd bomb attcks, assassinations, incursion o SA's military forces & intelligence services ;<sup>2</sup> Undercovr subversion & attacks on exiles & refugees. ~~Burg last yr, numerous incursions (conservation officers)~~

SA ref: ~~Daya Pillay kidnppd, school, Manzini (Swazi) Dec 81 2 more exiled ANC membrs shot & killd whn car pursued by SA police~~

June car bomb in Marsapa, Swazi, killd ANC & SACTU militants Petrus & Jabu Nzima, 4 children

T Few wks ago, Lesotho Minister Jobo Rempeta killd in series o murderous attcks by 'Lesotho Lib Army', known to b wkng wth SA. In July anothr leadng politician, Chakela, murdered.

SAN people & othr tribes being recruitdd to fight ag. Namibians - same type o destructive process we saw in Cambodia - degradation

ZAMBIA

SA's operating frm Caprivi strip to create 'no-go' area i Western Prov. Mixture o direct mil. agg, covert subversion & ec. disruption, enormous drain on Z money & resources to combt these.

*extensive land-mng*

ZIMBABWE

murdr o Joe Gqabi, Harare, 1st yr, poignant  
 R traind hm in Guardian office. ANC rep.  
 Following mnth, massive explosion at Inkoms  
 Barracks destroyd munitions value R50 million  
 Dec 81 7 killd, 120 injurd in Harare explosion  
 aimed at senior ZANU officials; Mugabe accusd  
 SA of plan.  
~~Formr Rhodesian soldiers gone to SA take part.~~

ANGOLA & MOZAMBIQUE

bt most open military atkcs are in Ang & Moz.  
 An EEC Commission learnd tt SA armd forces  
 involvd in more thn 2,000 separate operations  
 inside Angola durg 81 alone, include 100 bombg  
 raids, 1700 reconnaissance missions, 53 troop  
 landgs, etc.

SA forces occupy 40,000 sqkilos Kunene & also  
 of course operate thru ally SAvimbi wth US supor  
 Angols borne brunt o military atkcs, bt Moz  
 also subject.

~~SA soldiers recently entered in full army uniform  
 armd & equipd, 8-man reconnaissance mission.~~  
 Since Mstola raid, whn 12 SA's murdered in open  
 military incursion, SA troops on bordrs hve  
 joint army actions wth ec. sabotage, destroyng  
 crucial transport links; road, rail & pipeline  
 connections between Moz & Zimb, *as also*  
 in Ang, where economic targts sch as oil  
 refinery in Luanda & Beira-Umtali pipeline.

ATTACKS MORE AUDACIOUS - Nov attptd Seychelles  
 coup. whn mercenaries hd pssports issued by SA  
 Ministr o Int, wth permission on highest level.

AND, OF COURSE, AS FAR AS LONDON - ANC offices

All these hve 3-fold purpose:

1. Directd ag. ANC & SWAPO, bth as increasng form  
 o terrorism, & t physical destruction of ind  
 & intimidation o othrs
2. to bring pressure to bear on Af states withdraw  
 support fr nat lib movemnts in SA & Namibia
3. 'Destablisation' - to make it imp. fr states to  
 dev & strengthn econ omiesz, pursue national  
 reconstruction, end dependence on SA which seeks  
 permanent domination

Therefore becomes clear that bombs sent to Ruth and de Braganca were logical & important part of this total programme.

& in all these actions, as with murder bomb sent to R, not imp. whether directly prepared in SA or whether done through other organs & groups: the technical knowledge, comes from heart of SA, the training, planning, instigating, financing stems directly from Pretoria.

This gives force by Gen Johan Coetzee, one day after R's murder, that SA is committed to the uncompromising pursuit & destruction of black nationalist guerrillas wherever they may be.

## 2. THE EARLY YEARS

Article in RDM stated: 'It is accepted that though Prof First's work was principally in the academic field, she was a person of considerable political importance.'

Wrong. Her work ~~exists~~ in all fields totally politically motivated & directed. ~~Importance of R's life is in~~ every facet of her work its strength was the political motivation.

POLITICAL HOUSEHOLD. Parents, CP. Joined YCL. then CP, whose early support for fight for national liberation made it inevitably ally of ANC.

In this way, R came to know many ANC people, worked with them as colleague & friend.

(Early political activity) 46 Mine strike, leaflets. Journalist career began 46 & one year later, BETHAL, with Gert Sibande.

Two things to consider when recalling 'scoops'.  
1st, they came about because of paper's close contacts with people; only paper that supported their struggle; they came to paper with their stories.  
2nd, her work as journalist never individual scoops like so many press revelations. They were part of uncovering of whole apartheid system, & bound up with important political campaigns. (as with potato boycott)

Through this probing & crusading journalism, R came to direct contact with life of black people, not just fringes, but intimate insight into its realities.

// our political lives were integrated, but so were  
our social lives. Relaxed together weekends, went  
on holidays together . . . .

The Slow girls, like our children, became  
accustomed to men whose heavy boots  
scarred parquet floors, stripping bookshelves,  
desks, drawers. Our children, our homes,  
might look like others in our suburbs, but

FIGHTING TALK. Hw R startd many on literary careers - seen hr working on Hutchinson, eg. - Agsin, FT ws nt simply lively journal, it ws movemnt ppr, supportd, financd, distributd by t orgs; nev'r hd pretensions to being impartial journal o literary pieces. *It was Words it fought.*

Married 49. Home at RP, wth 3 daughters, extended hospitality to all.

*In Jhbg,*

We were closely integratd grp; ~~went on holidays together~~, enjoyd social aspects o our lives before impositions o house arrests & bans made it imp. There were many sch yrs, bt evn these nev'r movd far frm t pol:

eg, Sun, wine, braaivleis - rasie funds FT or pty at end o TT whn reportrs jumpd thry windws to gt pixx blks & whites togethr.

(shockng to their readrs.) *For us there was -*  
Underground stream - profound current it bore all our lives along

CP ~~bannd~~ 50. R helpd form new underground.

Arrests in 56 - two stages. van Niekerk.

### 3. DIFFICULT TIMES.

60, ANC bannd, emergency. Joe in jail, bt R ovr bordr. TILLY & JULIUS again steppd in. *later Julius also had to flee - most wanted man.*

Returnd to wk underground: red hair.

R first bannd aftr returng to SA frm SWA, collectng material fr bk, still outstandg & useful.

In SWA, nt just journalist seekng material - knew wht she wantd, who to see, & hr pol. contacts made poss to reach blk leadrs & knw their problms

Finally bannd frm writng, publishng, prohibitd frm enterg premises o any ppr or publication, R startd librarian course as poss nw career. She ws in Univsty library whn SB'scame to arrest hr in 63.  
RIVONIA:

Closely associatd wth Mandela, etc. State hd eviden they needd. Kept hr fr 117 days. *Cat a mouse*  
She knw pol life at tt time in SA ws ovr, & went into exile. *Own feelings*

4. EXILE

R lovd Ldn, stimulatng, 'town girl'.  
Bt fr R, as fr exiles, thrust o wk ws changd.

Still tremendsly active, nw in AAM & ANC; demand  
as speakr, writer, policy-makr.

Enormously busy & productive: vistd Af ovr period  
o yrs to write B&RREL OF A GUN.

Co-authored the SA CONNECTION - again valuable  
weapon evn today.

Book on LIBYA

Midwife to 2 othr bks, Oginga Odinga &  
Mbeki's Peasants Revolt, *published while he on Robben Is.*

Last bk, togethr wth Anne Scott, ws Schreiner.

PERSONAL TESTIMONY: knw hr long time, bt yrs before  
I really came to knw hr.

Brilliant, supr intellect, probing,, questioning  
mind, independent & not s'fraid o challenging  
acceptd views.

Ths made some uncomfortable - no one likes to  
hve to rethink entrenched positions.

SHAW: T reasonable man adapts hmself to t wrld;  
t unreasonable one persists in tryg to adapt t  
wrld to himself. Therefore all progress depends on  
t unreasonable man.

She ws oftn impatient, particuluarly o fools. Many  
men find it hard to accept very clever women.

*She was restless, immensely quick, incisive.*  
Bt she ws not arrogant or self-imporant. *Recognised*  
*tt change & growth are inherent qualities of + life process.*

5. MAPUTO

R returnd to her roots whn she went to Moz.  
Removd frm tt Western Milieu of academic debate.  
Returnd to wk directly relatd to SA struggle, to  
help transform ths poor country so dependent on  
SA into ind. soc. state.

It ws as tho EVERYTHNG CAME TOGETHR AT MAPUTO

- \* t lifelong traing in digging up facts, in research & investigation
- \* the reporter's yrs tt hd opened up fr hr t life o those othrs, t great blk majority o SA's, t miners, t migrant wkrs, t deprivd people
- \* her experience o t lsw & o courts, o prison & isolation
- \* hr academic experience in Britain, <sup>public life</sup> & ~~refining~~ as a teachr, public speakr, lecturer.
- \* her creative writing & anti-apartheid activities durg 15 yrs o exile in England
- \* her penetrating Marxist understandg o Moz's needs.

At Maputo, headed internat. team as research dir, & drew on all ths rch past to help initiate plans & projects tt wld b viable both frm an economic & also a socio-political standpoint.

Hanlon: 'In her 4 yrs in Moz, RE did wht most academics on the left only dream of: she creatd a centre of activist research helping to transform a society... she workd fr tt transformation because she saw t victory of socialism in Moz as crucial fr t developmnt o socialism in SA. Clearly, t ap. regime agrees . . .

T Moz Miner - pastng up, pix, layouts. Othr projects were in vital areas o industry & ag.

She continued to participate i t wk o t ANC, & in AA activites both nationally & internationally

'Stream of hr talent ws flowng at full spate.'

Brilliant, yes. Cld hve made mark as indiv in many fields. Bt ths ws nt her choice. T result is tt her natural gifts & her life's work are immeasurabl increasd in value.

R helpd shape many policies & activities in the CP & ANC. But she in turn ws shapd by t orgs thru which she workd. 2-way dialectical process - t

XXXXC

T. U. Nzinga, white organizer Aggett  
the peasant-Modibe, intellectual Biko  
youth Dipole



- 6
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She headed international team as research directr & drew on all this rich past to help initiate plans & projects tt wld b viable both frm an economic & a socio-political standpoint.

Hanlon in NS: In hr 4 yrs in Moz, RF did wht most academics on the left only dream of: she creatd a centre of activist research helpg to transform a society.

T Moz Miner - she workd wth scissors. We discussd layouts & pictures. Othr projects were in vital areas o agriculture & industry.

Brilliant, yes.. Cld hve made hr mark as individual in whatever chosen field. But this ws not her choice. Result is tt hr abilities & life's wk are immeasurably increasdd in importance.

R helpd shape many policies & mch activity in CP & in ANC ~~ANC~~ BUT SHE IN TURN ws shaped by t orgs thru which she workd. It was 2-way dialectical process - t reaction o the indiv on t collective, & of t collective movemnt on the individual.

Hr bks remain, but the living memorial to RF is our movement. Even if we cld distance ourselves from t personal sorrow, which many of us cannot, we could not lessen t political loss.

Yet paradoxically, ths loss is reducd precisely because our leaders, our Luthulis, Kotanes, JB Marks, Hodgsons, Ngoyis & so many othrs, whn they died left their lives inextricably woven into our present struggle & our future triumph.

reaction of the individual on the collective, & of the collective on the individual.

Her books remain, but the living memorial to RF is our movement. Even if we could distance ourselves from our personal sorrow, which many of us cannot, ~~it~~ still would not lessen the political loss.

Yet, paradoxically, this loss is reduced precisely because of the high value of her life. For all of these, all our leaders, for Luthuli & Kotane, for JB Marks, Hodgson, Lilian Ngoyi, Bram Fischer, Duma Nokwe, for the murdered inside & outside the apartheid prisons, Ngudle, Saloojee, Nzanga, Madiba, Biko, Aggett, Dipale & so many more, for all these, like Ruth, when they died left their lives inextricably woven into our present struggle and into our future triumph.

Death shall have no dominion. Amandla!  
A Luta Continua!

What acts have ANC or SWAPO committed that compare with the murderous terrorism of the SA regime? Who are the terrorists? Isn't it time the Western press described the perpetrators of all these murders & destruction in their true terms?

Who taught them their modern, refined methods of torture, the weapons of interrogation, the military means & technical know-how?

I was deeply affected by R's departure. She was a close friend. Sense of personal & pol loss. She had been intimate part of struggle. SA wld be poorer. Felt I had a stone in my heart whn I warchd t plan e go.

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