

4/29/96
F-2

April 29, 1996

Mr. R. Vigne
53 Cornwall Gardens
London, SW7 485
England

Dear Randolph:

I am ashamed to say that I am looking at three letters of yours. One going back to September of last year, another your very welcome longer letter of December, 1995 and your note of March which we discussed over the phone.

I must apologize for this delay and hope to make up for it by the information that I will be talking about.

I also wanted to let you know that I will be coming to London on May 13th and will be there for three weeks to do some more interviewing and archival work. So I hope that I can catch up on a lot of other things with you then.

But in the meantime, I just wanted to touch on a number of things you mention in your letter. First, I have written to Coghlan to ask for a copy of his article although when I talked to him in South Africa, he didn't seem to be aware of any possible connection between the ARM and the Horticulturalists. You must have read Thompson's, "Natalians First" in which on page 165 he says dealing with the Horticulturalist leaders that they could not ignore the fact that their organization "offered the makings of a violent resistance". Indeed, a Sunday Times editor was led to make inquiries after he heard rumours that a group without a name was plotting sabotage. The proposition was apparently put to the Horticulturalists by the leader of the United English-speaking South Africans, a Johannesburg based group founded in 1958 with the slogan "for South Africa, Queen and Commonwealth". At a meeting in Durban he (and my question was whether this person could have been John Lang) told Horticulturalist leaders that " they ought to throw the nationalists into the Indian Ocean" and advocated force against the imposition of a republic..... They regarded his suggestions as preposterous and repellent". Surely there must be something here?

I will be bringing with me to England the tape I made of my interview with Swanepoel, who indeed was the man who did the New African thesis and you would be welcome to listen to it, there are parts of it that I think you would find extremely fascinating.

...2

By the way, I will also bring to England the material I got from the Security Services which includes a document called "The CIA in South Africa" which is rather long and tedious, mainly a content analysis of various newspapers and journals. Much of it is simply a listing of names and authors in the first 97 pages. Then there is a very interesting 10 page piece on "financing the revolution" which is a draft by, I'm sure, John Lang setting out in rather inflated terms what the NCL was all about and sets out the costs of expenditures made up until August 7, 1961 and future expected expenditures. I think you will find this one, if you haven't seen it, extremely fascinating. Then there is another 10 page chapter on "names behind the revolution" which analyses the alleged parts played by various people that we know including de Crespigny, Lang, various members of the Liberal party etc. The last 70 pages of the report is essentially a list of people who wrote for the New African, Frontier, Inkululeko, Classic, Transition Africa South and Africa South in Exile. The latter as you can guess very mundane indeed. I'll bring the bulk of this with me to England. The next document is headed "Africa South, Africa South in Exile and Transition". This is a second part of the same study which in its first manifestation appeared as "The New African". It purports to be a study of the network that was financed by the American CIA and goes through various articles that have appeared in these journals and picks out various of the authors and provides biographical information about them. Some of this is routine and some is a little more interesting eg. that dealing with the American, National Student Organization and the CIA. I may or may not bring this.

The next document is headed "African Resistance Movement". It is in Afrikaans and extremely informative providing data about the organization of the NCL, the name of all the members and their code names, the various attacks they carried out extracts from NCL documents. This one is a real must. You'll be interested that it comes to about 55 pages and in some ways is very complete indeed. I will certainly bring this.

In some ways, the most amusing of the pieces (the 4th one) is headed "The De Crespigny Mystery". Swanepoel became quite obsessed with De Crespigny and is in fact the person who chased him out of South Africa. He pursued this at some length in this 63 page report and told me all this while being quite unaware of the fact that I was married to Jan. He was most amused when I told him who I was married to at the end of our interview. Anyway, this one too is quite fascinating.

Lastly, I should mention that I had no trouble at all getting a copy of the New African document when I was at UNISA and if you like I can bring my full copy of that as well.

Thank you very much for sending me the Slovo piece which really is quite interesting although I think it emanates more from Monty than some of the other people involved. I haven't seen the Unfinished Autobiography but I will try and get it when I'm in England.

I have talked a number of times to David Wolfe about the Lloyd affair. I talked to him just a couple of weeks ago and sent him nearly all the material I had on Lloyd, with the exception of the interview I had with the latter which is garbled and needs some work on my

...3

part. If it's done by the time I leave for England I'll bring that with me as well. Wolfe tells me that the Labour Party after the most rigorous and careful analysis decided to decline the use of Lloyd's services. Too bad he couldn't have been more honest, I have a feeling people would have been much more forgiving.

I hope that when I am in London, I can see the material that you and the Hains' have on this affair. I wonder if the material which I sent to Nick Fielding of the (Sunday Telegraph?) got through to you and the Hains'. Fielding said that he would pass this on I can't recall whether I sent some of this material to you - If not, I'll certainly bring whatever I have on Lloyd with me, particularly the statement he made to the police.

I never did hear from Sarah Crowe.

It's wise of Adrian to stay out of all of this. I find it very interesting that Stephanie and Albie still keep in touch with him. That was a very close knit group and it's interesting that the CPers seem to feel much less angry about Adrian than do some of the other people. The Eddie/Adrian show would have just been a bit too much.

Lastly, after I have finished this letter to you I want to finally get down to dictating those notes on the material I saw in the South African Archives. I will bring them with me or mail them to you because I think they would be very useful.

One last thought, if my material on Lloyd did not get to the Hains should I send it to them now in the hope that they will be more cooperative when I'm in England?

Anyway, that's all for now. All the best and once again, my apologies for the delay in getting this to you.

Yours sincerely

Magnus Gunther
Professor

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P.S. One other thing Randolph. While I was in London in October, I did check at SOAS about your archives. I discovered that indeed, the papers that you gave them are held at SOAS but unfortunately they require your official written permission before people can examine those papers. Does that mean that you want to keep these closed for a little longer? If not, would you mind if I looked at them to see if there was such relevant to the ARM?