

SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS IN CONNECTION  
WITH MR. JAMES JOBE HADEBE AND HIS  
RESIGNATION FROM THE EXTERNAL MISSION  
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF  
SOUTH AFRICA.

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You will have heard, or read in the Press, that Mr. Hadebe has resigned from the A.N.C. External Mission. This follows many months of battling by the National Executive Committee in Tanzania to understand and solve his political problems. In fact, at no time in the entire history of the A.N.C. has one complaining individual received so much sympathetic attention and patient examination of his case in such minute detail.

The background to the difficulties which the A.N.C. Executive Committee had to face in respect of the personal political conduct of Mr. Hadebe consist in and stem from the transfer of the A.N.C. Provisional Headquarters from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro in December, 1965.

The transfer was necessitated by the fact that the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania had decided to allow only four representatives of each national liberatory organisation to maintain an office in Dar es Salaam. All other members of these organisations had to be removed from Dar es Salaam to various other towns in Tanzania such as Mbeya, Songea, Tabora etc. At the time, the Dar es Salaam office combined both the A.N.C. Provisional Headquarters and the East African regional office of the External Mission of which Mr. Hadebe was the head.

After many months of reflection and discussion at Executive meetings, a proposal was finally put by the Acting President Mr. O. R. Tambo, who was then Deputy President, to individual members of the Executive by way of consultation, commencing with Mr. Hadebe whose position as Chief Representative in DAR was affected. In terms of the proposals the Provisional Headquarters would be transferred to Morogoro and manned by the following officials, namely, the Deputy President (OR), Secretary-General (D. Nokwe), Treasurer-General (M. Kotane), Director of Transport and communications (Uncle J.B.), Director of Publicity and Information (Alfred Kgekong), who was at the time receiving medical treatment overseas, Director of Youth and Students and Head of the Welfare Department (J. Hadebe) who in addition was to become Public Relations Officer attached to Headquarters, the Chief Liaison Officer for the Women's Section (R. Mompoti). Mr. Mzwai Piliso who had been recalled for health reasons from Cairo was to head the DAR office as Chief Representative, the other members being Mr. N. Msimang (Administrative Secretary) Z. Ngalo and B. Leinaeng.

Having completed direct personal consultations with all the N.E.C. members who were in DAR at the time, with the exception of Mr. Piliso who was not consulted, the then Deputy President convened an N.E.C. meeting to discuss and take a formal decision in response to and in compliance with the order of the Tanzania Government. The proposals already put to individual members were now put before the meeting and discussed. Mr. Hadebe, mentioning the fact for the first time, felt his transfer to Morogoro would separate him from his family. (Morogoro is 123 miles from DAR and is served by at least 4 buses per day each way). Generally he supported the proposals and after discussion a unanimous decision was adopted. Later the decision was announced at a general meeting of all our members in DAR and the names of all our people moving to Morogoro were read out. These included senior ANC leaders such as William Marula and

John/...

John Pule, former Transvaal Provincial Secretary of the A.N.C.

When Mr. A. Kgokong returned from overseas it was found that his state of health made Morogoro unsuitable and he had to remain in DAR.

A few months after the transfer to Morogoro had been completed and our machinery had began to run smoothly in our new rural surroundings - thanks to the superb spirit of sacrifice and devotion on the part of all our personnel - during the course of one of his visits to DAR, Mr. Hadebe sent a long letter to the Treasurer-General asking for £75 to enable him to contribute to the cost of erecting a tombstone for his late father in South Africa.

As a background to and in support of this request Mr. Hadebe referred in detail to his political past, and proceeded to demand payment by the A.N.C. External Mission of back pay due to him, firstly as an employee of a body in South Africa known as the Adult Education Movement; secondly, for services later rendered by him as A.N.C. Provincial Secretary; and thirdly, for services rendered to the SOUTH AFRICA UNITED FRONT as one of its representatives in DAR in the early Sixties. (The S.A.U. F. consisted of representatives of A.N.C., S.A.I.C., P.A.C., S.W.A.N.U., and S.W.A.P.O., and was financed from funds contributed by African Governments and friendly organisations, not by the Parties of which the representatives were members.) Having written this letter, Mr. Hadebe did not return to his duties at Morogoro but remained with his family in DAR.

This letter, strangely irreconcilable with any politician's sense of duty to the cause he espouses, set in motion a long series of meetings in which Mr. Hadebe participated, and which were all designed to find out his real problem and to retrieve him from a crisis which seemed to have overtaken him, and which had placed him in a patently incorrect political position. But before any of the meetings were held, and in the fear that the unfortunate death of his father might have had an unusually adverse effect on him, the Deputy President raised a total of £50 from charitable sources, which amount was given to him.

A striking feature of these meetings, which involved sometimes the Executive Committee, sometimes sub-committees and at other times individual leaders who approached him on their own initiative, was, with a few exceptions, the spirit of co-operation shown by Mr. Hadebe, the patient and sympathetic approach of his colleagues, and the general consensus reached at the end of each discussion.

Another equally outstanding feature was that between one set of discussions and the next, Mr. Hadebe either reversed his position, thus necessitating a re-discussion of issues already disposed of, or embarked on some public political act in which he committed the A.N.C. without prior reference to the Executive or consultation with any of his colleagues in the leadership.

One example of this was a booklet published under the title of "Xmas Greetings" with a picture of himself on the outside. The booklet was unprecedented in its content and was in the form of a letter signed by Mr. Hadebe in his capacity as an official of the A.N.C.. The printing of the booklet was ordered in a letter written on A.N.C. official paper and also signed by him in his official capacity, with the result that the Printers threatened legal proceedings against the A.N.C. when the latter refused to pay the printing costs.

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And yet when the errors relating to the printing and publishing of such a booklet were pointed out to him, Mr. Hadebe showed characteristic understanding and co-operation: He deleted his designation where this was still possible, agreed not to publish another instalment of the Xmas Greetings as he had planned to, and accepted liability for the Printers Account.

There were other examples, such as when, acting entirely on his own, he issued a leaflet announcing he would lead a group of Youth from the Liberation Movements based in DAR on a tour which would include climbing Mount Kilimanjaro and reading the Arusha Declaration on the mountain top. He embarked on some tour which drew little attention and involved 2 or 3 Liberation Movements who had been misled into believing that the tour was an A.N.C. initiative.

The main attempt by the N.E.C. to establish the reasons underlying Mr. Hadebe's abandonment of his duties at Headquarters and his disregard of elementary procedures relating to the taking of Party decisions consisted in the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to investigate every aspect of his problems, complaints or allegations and to recommend an appropriate solution. The Commission was headed by J. D. Matlou, the other members being D. Nokwe and M. Msimang.

With the concurrence of Mr. Hadebe, who attended and contributed in all the numerous sessions of the Commission, the latter found that his main problem was of a financial nature, and further that Mr. Hadebe needed a period of rest. The Commission recommended some contribution towards payment of his debts and a paid holiday. The N.E.C. agreed on a 3 months paid holiday and on a contribution of £75 towards the settlement of some of his outstanding liabilities. In due course Mr. Hadebe took his holiday. This is the longest holiday that any member of the A.N.C. has ever been allowed, with his allowance paid in full.

At the end of his holiday Mr. Hadebe returned to DAR and 2 months later went back to his post at H.Q. in Morogoro. It seemed then that the problem which had endured for a long time had now been resolved, thanks to the patience, perseverance and sympathy for a comrade on the part of the N.E.C.. We could now concentrate all our attention and energies, not on one straying brother, but on the prosecution of the liberation struggle in the cause of which thousands of our people have over the decades laid down their lives.

But we were mistaken. Mr. Hadebe used part of his time in Morogoro to write letters to some A.N.C. members organising an unauthorised A.N.C. Youth Conference to be run by himself. He next published in the Press an unauthorised statement that he was to lead a march by the A.N.C. youth to State House in support of the Arusha Declaration. Mr. Hadebe was clearly bent on a disruptive course in which he sought to draw attention to himself at the expense of the freedom cause for which freedom-fighters are making heroic sacrifices and winning great victories throughout Southern Africa. There was, however, yet another rude shock awaiting us.

10/4/20

On the 4th December, 1967, the Dar es Salaam daily newspaper, the "STANDARD of Tanzania", published the following report together with a picture of Mr. J. Hadebe:

Mr. James/....

"Mr. James Hadebe, long-serving member of the African National Congress of South Africa, who yesterday resigned from the external mission of the Congress in Tanzania, said he was quitting for "personal and political reasons". He refused to give a full explanation for his resignation until after Tanzania's Independence Day and Human Rights Day on December 9. He said, however, that he would retain his ordinary membership of the Congress. Mr. Hadebe has been in Tanzania as a top-ranking official of the congress for the past seven years."

Some time after the 10th of December the "STANDARD" reported that Mr. Hadebe had still not given his reasons for resignation but had said these would be given "either by the African Liberation Committee or by the Tanzania Government"!

No letter of resignation has been received by the N.E.C. nor has any explanation for the resignation been given. Indeed, Mr. Hadebe now appears to be preparing to form a splinter organisation with himself as head. He has chosen this time, of all times, to embark on the ambitious project of building a JAMES JOBE HADEBE image. For your information we publish here the full text of the type of cable Mr. Hadebe is sending out to certain members of the A.N.C.:

"TELEGRAM COPY ....DAR 1730." (Addressed to a member at Box 97, Lobatsi).

"Urgent meeting of Mbuli Molewa Ntitho Seperepere Sello and any other non-leaders and people your area to give me and my supporters here fresh mandate in defence of umbuto wesizwe as the Leader Organisation of the African people at home against people with double loyalties within the external mission Quit early this month stop acknowledge cable mandate instructions soonest to Mtimkulu Box 25044 DAR ES SALAAM I am personally known to some politicians there and possibly be remembered by Seretse Khama to whom I presented and introduced 25 S.A. refugees in 1960 on our way to Ghana by Charter plane stop check with Hon. Tsoebebe MP and Sello stop fresh mandate awaited with keen interest by all concerned here stop my house number is 63513 = J.J. Hadebe former Transvaal Provincial Secretary and Chief Representative in East Africa."...

If, as we believe, Mr. Hadebe's problems are basically financial, and override his sense of duty to the struggle of his people, two courses of action are open to him: The one is honest, and consists in asking to be relieved from full time service in the political struggle so that he can seek lucrative employment somewhere. This is what "resignation from the External Mission" and retaining "ordinary membership of the Congress" should mean. There is nothing disruptive about it, however regrettable it may be. The other course of action open to Mr. Hadebe is a dishonest but highly lucrative one. We shall discuss it in full if the need should arise.

We have dealt with the case of Mr. Hadebe at some length because it demonstrates, more than any other, our belief in the unity of our people, and our desire to save those

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who can be saved. But the 56th anniversary of the founding of the A.N.C. finds this time-tested national organisation at war for the first time in its history. No A.N.C. member will be allowed to engage in counter-revolutionary activities. If we have appeared to ignore this conduct in the past, we cannot afford to do so now. Our brave brothers sacrificing at the battle fronts of South Africa and Zimbabwe shall not be stabbed in the back by their own A.N.C. members, acting with impunity.

Please note that COMRADE J. MAKATINI, Deputy Director of our Youth and Students Section, now takes full charge of this department and all correspondence should be addressed to his office in Algiers, with copies to the Secretary-General at Headquarters.

D. Nokwe.  
SECRETARY-GENERAL.

12th January, 1968.

N.B.: TO ALL CONGRESS MEMBERS.