

RECORD

THE BOGUS LETTER OF EXPULSION

My first knowledge of the expulsion of eight comrades from the ANC was through radio South Africa. An announcer, in the course of a commentary mentioned that and gave the name of Joe Matlou as being among those expelled. Shortly afterwards I got a communication from a colleague in London - also one of those supposedly expelled - which threw more light on the matter. According to the colleague, Tami Bonga, Duma Nokwe had addressed a meeting of ANC members in London in which he reported on the so called expulsions and reportedly listed the charges as "anti-Communism"; "anti-ANC"; "wrecking"; "factionalists"; and "imperialists-agents".

It also turned out that a 'similar members' meeting had been summoned in Lusaka at which both myself and my wife were excluded. The meeting addressed by Tom Nkobi and Alfred Nzo apparently also dealt with "expulsions" but reports indicate that no-one from the floor was permitted to ask questions.

On the morning of October 20th, 1975, one ANC Comrade by the name of Cassius delivered to me a four page letter signed by Alfred Nzo - the appointed Secretary-General of the ANC. The letter was dated October 4th, 1975.

This document turned out to be a shocking piece of verbal tripe permeated by all those tired cliches about "treachery" and stinking with lies and slander.

There is a saying: "Lies have short legs"

After making a hysterical but pathetic attempt to prove the existence of an organised faction within the ANC, the document declares:

"The national executive of the African National Congress wishes to announce that this treacherous conspiracy has as its ring leaders Alfred Kgokong Mqota; Ambrose Makiwane; O.K. Setlhapelo; George Mbele; J. Matlou; Pascal Ngakane; Tamie Bonga; and Tennyson Makiwane".....

None of the Comrades listed have been charged with anything, tried or called upon to make a defence. But the document, adding insults to injury raves on:

".....who will stand expelled, unless each one, individual and unequivocally denounce the activities of this faction and submits that denunciation to the secretary-general of the African National Congress within three weeks."

This entire scandalous performance is completely alien to the ANC, could only do credit to the memory of the likes of the goebbels, and the berias whose dictum was that - you are guilty until you prove your innocence. The authors of this document and those who authorised them, having set themselves up as the prosecution, the presiding judge, and the jailer now hope somehow to be recognised as an appeal court! But that just is not on!

However, this clique of disguised souls who call themselves the executive have reckoned without the possibility of the true situation, which has been at the bottom of the prolonged crisis of the ANC (external mission) being revealed.

The "expulsion document" starts off by saying:

" The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa has carefully examined and traced the activities of a treacherous faction and conspiracy by a group which is referred to and refers to itself as the African group in the United Kingdom and as part of the African National Congress" and further says:

"The organisation has been aware of the activities of this faction for a long time since 1969 to the present".

Lie Number I:

The so-called executive talks about "the african group in the United Kingdom" as though that group constituted a "faction" and a "conspiracy" although they know perfectly well the train of events that led to Africans to meet exclusively as a group in the United Kingdom.

The African meeting emerged as a result of the bankruptcy of the multi-racial ANC branch which was formed in the United Kingdom after the so-called ANC Morogoro Conference, in Tanzania. The reasons for the bankruptcy being the non-participation by Africans in the United Kingdom in the activities of the ANC - their organisation!

Now it appears that round November, 1974, the multi-racial U.K. branch decided to refer the question of non-participation of Africans to a meeting of Africans who were called upon to examine the problem and devise remedies.

I learnt of this procedure during a meeting of the so-called extended executive held in Morogoro, Tanzania, in March, this year (1975). At that meeting some speakers from the floor raised the question of what they referred to as the London problem. No other problems existed within any other ANC units or branches were raised - only London. The suggestion was that Africans in London were acting racialistically and exclusively by holding meetings by themselves. And the point was made clear - time and again at Morogoro that the Africans had met as such as a result of the November decision of the multi-racial ANC branch -, and they did indeed meet in January and February, openly and perfectly legally.

After meeting, the African members decided to write to the Secretary-General of the ANC conveying their findings.

All this came out in Morogoro - but then when the mischief makers saw they had no leg to stand on they then resorted to procedural arguments, complaining that the resolutions of the African group should have been referred to the multi-racial U.K. branch and not directly to the executive. Secondly, much was made of the presence at the meeting of Africans, of one Mogorotsi - a member who had deserted from the

ORGANISATION OF Militants - Umkonto WeSizwe(M.K.).
An explanation was given by Dr. Pascal Ngakane that Mogorotsi had infact been excluded from the first meeting but as a result of discussions at that meeting it was felt that the ANC was in such a sorry state of dis-organisation that even the problem of deserters had to be examined - hence Morogotsi was then allowed to attend. But indeed, not even the most dishonest person can claim as is now claimed that infact: the U.K. African ANC members acted treacherously and forged a conspiracy simply because they addressed resolutions to the Secretary-General of the ANC or allowed a desserter to attend(a deserter who incidentally participated in other ANC activities since his dessertion)..

Now it is important to note that throughout its fifty years of existence in South Africa, the ANC functioned exclusively as an organisation of Africans! (the situation changed outside South Africa only after the so-called Morogoro Conference of 1969).

Now it is suggested that it is treachery and conspiracy for Africans to meet - by themselves!

The truth of the matter, however,, is that the so-called executive and its manipulators was angered and had its blood pressure raised because the African members in London took decisions which were not to the liking of some people namely:

- * Their criticism of the decisions of the Morogoro Conference of 1969;
- * The role of the Communist Party of South Africa vis a vis the ANC.

The fact that they were perfectly within their right in doing so is of no consequence to this clique even though the ANC constitution says in Article 6. (On rights and duties of members): A member shall have the right

- "(ii)....To criticise any official or decision of the congress;
such criticism shall be made to members of congress or at a properly convened meeting of the members of Congress".

Lie Number 2:

The "expulsion document" claims that "the organisation has been aware of the activities of this faction since 1969".....but the document does not expound on such a significant statement - significant because:

- * Some of the people who are now accused of being 'ring leaders' of this 'treacherous conspiracy' such as Comrades George Mbele and Comrade Pascal Ngakane were very much in South Africa at that time (perhaps they conspired from their prison cells in Robben Island!)
- * The question arises: if "the organisation has been aware of the activities of this faction, for a long time, since 1969," how come the organisation has condoned the "treachery" up to now! But says the document in justification:

"Throughout this period efforts have been to leading individuals of this faction to reform and to pool their efforts in the struggle for the return of the birth right of our people" -- some traitors indeed these who for SIX YEARS HAVE BEEN PERSUADED "TO REFORM"....."AND POOL THEIR EFFORTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RETURN OF THE BIRTH RIGHT OF OUR PEOPLE"

The truth of the matter, however, is like this:

IN 1969, A VARITABLE CRISIS DID MANIFEST ITSELF WITHIN THE ANC CADRES ORGANISATION - UNKONTO WE SIWE (M.K.).

(a) Background to the 1969 M.K. Crisis:

After remaining in camp for some four to five years, the M.K. cadres were called into action by the ANC and ordered to go into battle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) alongside the militants of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union. They saw action

in 1967 and in 1968 but although having some few sensational moments the campaign did not achieve its set objectives. By 1969, a complete stalemate had been reached, our M.K. cadres were out of action, and frustration had set in in earnest. In a situation of mounting crisis within the ranks of M.K. seven M.K. cadres decided to approach the leadership and put forward certain complaints and criticism. The criticisms and complaints were set out in a memorandum which however, was badly received by the ANC leadership and by some leading elements in M.K.infact the memorandum of the seven comrades was regarded as treasonable. The seven comrades themselves were threatened with dire consequences.

(b) The Memorandum:

As we have indicated the seven M.K. comrades formally approached the ANC leadership through the then Secretary-General, Duma Nokwe requesting a meeting.

Such meeting was indeed called under the chairmanship of comrade Duma Nokwe. I was myself not in Lusaka at the time. But reports indicated that a spirit of hostility manifested itself on the part of the majority of leaders present as a spokesman of the seven put his case. The meeting itself did not end its business that first day but Duma Nokwe requested at the closing that the seven comrades put their case in writing. THAT WAS HOW THE MEMORANDUM CAME ABOUT.

They did produce the memorandum but by the time they were ready to present it, a huge storm was breaking around their heads. They were accused of:

- * By-passing the M.K. Military Headquarters, although they protested that they had lost confidence in the said M.K. headquarters;

*Of violating their oath of secrecy by revealing in their memo certain secrets pertaining to M.K.

*Of working for the enemy.

The two last charges were serious enough to earn them the attendance of a firing squad. A hysterical atmosphere was indeed wiped up against the seven and they were saved thanks to the intervention of some of the leading comrades who refused to join the chorus of condemning these comrades as traitors.

It is appropriate to quote some extracts from the said memorandum:

"The ANC in exile is in deep crisis as a result of which rot has set in. From informal discussions with the revolutionary members of M.K. we have inferred that they have lost all confidence in the ANC leadership abroad. This they say openly and ifact show it. Such a

situation is very serious and infact a revolutionary movement has to sit down and analyse such a prevailing state of affairs.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that accredited members of the organisation are no longer consulted or no longer participate in policy making decisions of the organisation - there have been two or three conferences when leaders met and did not inform or consult the membership of the resolutions. The inference is that we are no longer considered as members of the ANC. As the leading revolutionary core of the organisation it is imperative for members of the M.K. to participate in all matters affecting the revolutionary struggle in South Africa.

"We raise the above points so as to arrest the present trend. We as genuine revolutionaries, are moved by the frightening depths reached by the rot in the ANC and the disintegration of M.K. accompanying this rot and manifesting itself in the following ways:

- I. The ANC leadership in exile has created a machinery which has become an end unto itself. It is completely divorced from the situation in South Africa. It is not in a position to give an account of the functioning branches inside the country. There has never been an attempt to send the leadership inside the country since the Rivonia arrests. There has been an over-concentration of people in offices..... The quality of information is not revolutionary and is out of step with the existing political situation inside the country.....

2. We are perturbed by the careerism of the ANC leadership abroad who have, in every sense, become professional politicians rather than professional revolutionaries. We have been forced to draw the conclusion that the payment of salaries to people working in offices is very detrimental to the revolutionary outlook of those who receive such monies..... It is high time that all members and cadres of the ANC be they in M.K. or not, should receive equal treatment and be judged only on the basis of their dedication and sacrifice....."
3. The leadership of the ANC abroad must be committed to a resolution and programme of going home to lead the struggle there....presently there is a leadership vacuum at home as all the leaders are either locked-up in Vorster's jails or are in exile.
4. There are certain symptoms which are very disturbing and dis-spiriting to genuine revolutionaries. These

comprise the opening of mysterious business enterprises which to our knowledge have never been discussed with the membership... As a result of these enterprises more and more M.K. men are being diverted to them..... We are therefore compelled to conclude that there is no serious drive to return home and carry out the struggle.

5. An equally disturbing situation is that M.K. is being run independently of the organisation.....the ANC has lost control over M.K. that there is no co-ordination between the ANC and M.K. All this has brought about a situation where M.K. is run single-handed by the Commander-inChief who appoints and dismisses arbitrarily.
6. The security department is internally directed. It is doing nothing against the enemy. The failure of the so-called security department has been shown by its inability to furnish the organisation with the fate of our dedicated comrades in Zimbabwe. Or how is it possible that so many comrades have been able to desert so successfully?

In the prosecution of its internally directed activities the security department has become notorious. Those who serve in it have the central task of suppressing and persecuting genuine dedicated cadres of M.K.....

In Morogoro Joseph Cotton, Shadrack Tladi, and Boy Otto are openly flirting with Peace Corps. The first two handle vital information as they are connected with the radio transmission service relaying organisational material.....

And equally perturbing fact is that Mrs. Vuyiswa Nokwe, the wife of the Secretary-General and Chief of Security of the ANC, Comrade Duma Nokwe is presently working for Amiran Israel, an internationally known Israeli intelligence organisation operating under the cover of an import-export firm.....We demand an explanation for this anomalous situation and that she should cut links with this counter-revolutionary organisation forthwith.

7. The tragedy about the Zimbabwe campaigns is the fact that we have been unable to analyse our operations so as to assess and draw lessons.....
8. It is a cause for serious concern that comrades who have come back from the battle front have not been accorded a comradely reception and the fact that there has been no re-appraisal of their combat experience. We are shocked by the criminal neglect of our most dedicated comrades who have either fallen in battle, sentenced to death or serving long term imprisonment in Zimbabwe. These men are heroes.....
9. A strange and alarming trend is developing whereby secret trials and secret executions have been carried out. We are not against the execution and liquidation of traitors but we are against this veil of secrecy.
10. It is a shame that we should have been witnesses to the emergence of extremely reactionary methods of punishment in M.K. There have been instances where offenders in M.K. have been dumped in dug-outs filled with several drums of water...for periods up to about 22 days."

Instead of dealing with the memorandum on its merits, some people, even then, tried to look for scape-goats. There were suggestions that the seven M.K. comrades who had signed it were not intellectually equipped. The truth of the matter, however, was that two of the signatories possessed Bachelor of Arts Degrees; one was a matriculant (G.C.E. 'A' Level); another male nurse and the other three were longstanding members of the ANC in South Africa.

But what gave a new twist to the suggestion that there was 'someone' behind the memorandum comrades was Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo's decision in his capacity as Acting President to take it upon his shoulders to address a meeting of the M.K. men who were in Lusaka. In his address Comrade Tambo said that the whole trouble was really at the top - with the leadership and the M.K. men had been merely used as 'brooms with which the leadership swept its dirt.'

As a sequel to that statement a meeting of the leadership was summoned in Morogoro, Tanzania.

At that meeting the Agenda was the situation which developed around the question of the memorandum. Some attempts were made to implicate myself, and Comrades Alfred Kgokong Mqota, and Mzimkulu Makiwane in the production of the memorandum. However, the charge failed. BUT I MUST ADMIT THAT I, AND SOME FEW LEADING COMRADES DID REFUSE TO CONDEMN THE AUTHORS OF THE MEMORANDUM AS TRAITORS. BUT MY REFUSAL TO DO SO WAS EXPRESSED OPENELY AND FRANKLY TO THE OTHER LEADERS.

The Morogoro meeting, however, did find Comrades Kgokong Mqota and Mzimkulu Makiwane guilty of a lesser offence than of travelling from Dar to Lusaka contrary to instructions. For that they were suspended for six months.

But the case of the sentencing of the two comrades on that score was very similar to one whereby the prosecution which, having failed to prove a treason charge re-arrests the acquitted person on traffic offence as he is driving home.

The charge that there was 'someone' behind the memorandum comrades having failed, Comrade Tambo was faced with a task - which turned out to be unenviable one, of going round to the M.K. comrades explaining himself and his assertion that

the leaders were 'using the M.K. men as brooms to sweep their dirt'.

Also arising out of the Morogoro meeting of leaders a tribunal headed by comrades Matlou and Piliso was set up to put the seven memorandum comrades on trial. They refused to appear before the tribunal and were expelled from the organisation by the decision of the tribunal.

I have outlined this particular case in some detail to demonstrate how false the accusation is that a certain 'treacherous faction' has been at work in the ANC. But the case of discontent and dissatisfaction within the ranks of the M.K. men was not this only one.

In June 1967 a team of M.K. comrades was sent into fighting in Mozambique. The aim of the visit was to acquaint the comrades with prevailing conditions under a situation of combat and to generally get them to acquire new experiences. In a report entitled "what the group feels", the said comrades took the opportunity to express to our organisation some of their grievances in a thinly disguised but pointedly caustic terms. The extracts:

"We have found that it is a little frightening to go into a place where you might be shot at any time, but once you are in, all the fear goes and you feel just at home with bombs falling right around you. This may be one of the things that is holding us back in our struggle because even among the top layer there are those who think that once they will touch or set their feet on South Africa's soil an alarm will have sounded and a squadron of bombers and a division of soldiers will be on them. This is not true comrades".

And again:

"The Frelimo comrades are achieving victory after victory because right from section to the highest commander there is that respect and understanding....we have never heard of a command of : 'polish my shoes; or go wash my dish; wash my under pants; carry my knapsack or whatever thing' With such commanders one would do anything for the interests of his immediate soldiers and organization, not for certain individual soldiers who perhaps bring him false stories about some of the soldiers or polish his beautiful shoes or just say yes to whatever thing whether right or wrong said by that

particular commander, or a commander who is
cruel and rough and inconsiderate towards
his soldiers just for the sake of pleasing
the superior commanders and some of the leaders.

And again:

"The kind of security we experienced in Mozambique can be of some considerable help to us. The security which is for the interest of the whole people, the organisation and the soldiers themselves and the gains of the revolution. Not for certain individuals in the army done by those few people in exchange for certain privileges and chances which other fellow comrades never get.

With such security will shall never reach home...."

And again:

"The people who should do these things (tasks) should be those who are really fit to do them and should be people who know their work not people who are chosen not for their merits but the mere fact that when a superior officer approaches or a leader, they start shivering and show that somewhat foolish discipline and respect and thereafter come with a report about a fellow comrade calculated to put that comrade's name in bad light".

And again:

"We are always told that our organisation is recognised throughout the world and that it is a mighty organisation but this may surprise some of us as to why it should be so difficult for us to reach home....."

The insinuations contained in the passages quoted are too plain to need elaboration.

It is also well known that in the wake of the stalemate that had overtaken the organisation by 1969 and also in the wake of the crisis that emerged within M.K. a conference of the external mission of the ANC took place in that year. Specifically the conference was referred to as the 'Morogoro Consultative Conference'.

But before I go into the question of the Morogoro consultative conference, it is necessary to summarise again the situation that existed within the M.K. and within the ANC.

(c) The M.K. (Umkonto We Sizwe)

The extracts from the report of the M.K. team which went into Mozambique and those from the memorandum of the seven could perhaps be said to reflect views from a rank and file position although it should be noted that two among the seven memorandum comrades, that is Chris and Jege had served in important committees of the M.K.

But it is necessary to perhaps balance up the picture by referring to some views on the M.K. situation at the time which can be described as official.

There is for instance the "report of the commission of inquiry into the incidents at Roma Township(Lusaka), on 9th August, 1970" The Commission was chaired by comrade Alfred Nzo who had by then been appointed Secretary-General; and consisted of five other comrades. The commission

had been set up following the discovery of arms by the Zambia Police in a room occupied by two members of the ANC. The commission took a lot of evidence in connection with this incident and it also addressed itself to the situation existing within the organisation. On Page (9) under the sub-heading 'discipline' the report states:

"Methods of discipline in the past by the ANC(SA) appear shocking in a revolutionary organisation which depended on voluntary recruits for its hard core cadres. In the course of the struggle such cadres would be on their own and would be expected to make their own decisions. Such cadres must be expected to already have or have had instilled into them by training and example, a high degree of political consciousness. Methods of water torture, imprisonment in dug-outs, beatings, detentions, etc would appear to be self-defeating and result in loss of morale and loyalty.

"Even the commander-in-chief is alleged to have been guilty of such unrevolutionary conduct, e.g. he had tortured a woman comrade by placing her in a dug-out filled with water. The witness went on to state that this comrade is now mentally unbalanced"

And on Page 10, Paragraph 1, the report says:

"One comrade was of the opinion that those comrades recently expelled from the ANC(SA), while guilty of a strong breach of discipline, were nevertheless dealt with excessively harshly in terms of past practice. He pointed out that some had been most useful members of the ANC(SA) while others had fought at Wankie".

And again on Page 10, Paragraph 5, the following appears:

"The prolonged period of exile, most of it in camps, has been a major contributory factor to the break down in morale and discipline particularly as many comrades were told that they would return home within six months. It would appear that very unsatisfactory or no explanations were given for the delay".

This particular paragraph is of great significance since it gives reasons for "the break in morale and discipline" which are quite different from those given today by the very Alred Nzo (who as I have said was chairman of this commission) and his clique who now seek to blame it all on the activities of a "treacherous faction".

Ofcourse, "the prolonged period of exile" referred to comes in the case of many comrades to a period of ten years : And as the commission says, "most of it in camps".....and as it says further "many comrades were told that they would return home within six months".

(d) The Situation within the ANC(SA):

On the situation within the ANC itself, the commission reported on Page II, Paragraph 2, that:

"The Chief Representative in Zambia who is also a member of the National Executive Committee and the Revolutionary Council made an alarming contribution to the commission. His view is that there is a complete breakdown of authority within the ranks of the

"ANC(SA) so that people do what they feel like and are not brought to book. He is of the opinion that the authority of the ANC(SA) is completely nil and he lays the blame for this on the leadership....."

At that time (1970) the blame was laid "on the leadership" today it is laid on the activities of a "treacherous faction!!"

Further on in that very same paragraph 2, the following appears:

"Self-criticism is lacking in the ANC(SA) (even in the Morogoro conference) and there is too much tendency to gloss over problems. Things are so chaotic that we are unable to discipline anyone without calling in the Zambia authorities".

(e) The Morogoro Consultative Conference of 1969:

The idea of convening a conference was put forward by comrade Alfred Kgokong at a meeting of some of the leaders of the external mission of the ANC in Lusaka. It had by then (1969) become clear that the movement had reached an impasse. The idea having been accepted by the rest of the leadership

it was decided that extensive discussions among various ANC units everywhere, should precede the conference. Recommendations had to be made with the idea of pushing the movement forward.

The conference took place at the end of April, 1969, in Morogoro, Tanzania. It was attended, in addition to ANC delegates by representatives of the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress, and the South African Communist Party.

The Conference convened in an atmosphere of deep crisis exacerbated by:

*The M.K. Crisis which had exploded to the surface, as I have said, with the memo of seven M.K. comrades who were by then expelled.

- * The suspension of two ANC leaders comrades Alfred Mqota and Mzimkulu Makiwane.

Discussions at the conference, from the very onset, were thus dominated by this crisis, which had then further developed this way:

*The leadership constituted in what was called the "executive" consisting of about twenty two people had resigned and had given Comrade Oliver Tambo, assisted by two other leaders powers to appointed a smaller executive of nine. The idea was that a smaller group would more or less be able to be in permanent session working to push the struggle forward.

- * After the first few hours of bitter debate from the floor, comrade Tambo stood up and announced his resignation. And he left the meeting. Later he was persuaded to withdraw his resignation and the conference resumed.

(f) The Debates:

Some of the points emerging from the debates went something along these lines:

- (1) That the pre-conference discussions were of a fighting nature. Not less than fifty documents (emerging from these discussions) were sent to headquarters;

- (ii) There was disparity between the leaders and the M.K. cadres;
- (iii) Fears were expressed over the President (Tambo's) two men council - and the expression was frequently used that there was "a confidence crisis";
- (iv) The ANC cannot function in the old way;
- (v) Our conferences outside were "consultative conferences" because the bulk of the ANC membership was in South Africa and decisions taken had to take fact into account;
- (vi) A lot of talent allowed to lie idle whilst only a few hands were used;
- (vii) When an organisation carries out a revolution - that organisation must itself change;
- (viii) Leaders should themselves undergo military training;
- (ix) Members of the "executive" were scattered all over the world;
- (x) The basic national content of the revolution must not be undermined;

- (xi) New structures proposed must be a guarded secret;
- (xii) A call for the integration of non-africans into the ANC;
- (xiii) Expression of the view that significance of consolidating the african image (of the ANC) lay in the fact that if it were disturbed the result might be to alienate some support from some of the african people.
- (xiv) Lack of confidence in the leadership.

There was a long debate on M.K. which was started by the chairman (the late J.B. Marks) lifting the time limit in the debate, and declaring that he was giving everyone a carte blanche to cleanse his breast.

The debate was long and sometimes acrimonious. Other debates centred around questions of re-structuring movement, diplomatic work, etc, etc. The most important decision of the Morogoro conference was that THE MOVEMENT SHOULD REDIRECT THE BULK OF ITS WORK HOMEWARDS.....in contrast to globe trotting and conduct of external diplomatic work which had dominated activity up to that time.

Other decisions included:

- I. Declaration of a general amnesty under **THE** theme, let us pardon, forgive and forget;
- II. Opening the membership of the ANC external mission to non africans.

(g) The Morogoro Conference Aftermath:

Inspite of the hopeful note on which the Morogoro conference ended, things didn't go right.....in several directions e.g.

A. Distortion of Decisions:

Although the decision to reduce the size of what is called the "executive" had been unanimously taken by the former "executive" suggestions were made that those who were not included in the reduced "executive" (that was appointed by Comrade Tambo & his two men council) had lost the confidence of the members and were no longer leaders;

Although a general amnesty was declared comrades Alfred Mqota and Mzimkulu Makiwane were not immediately re-instated like others. And later on their allowances and rations were withdrawn altogether on

on the ground that "they had written a rude letter to the executive" ;

members
The Committee/charged with handling the programme of home-go, unilaterally decided to adorn the title 'revolutionary council' and announced their names in the press;

The decision to absorb non-africans into the ANC membership brought difficulties at an early stage.

B. The M.K. Situation:

The decision to reinstate the seven memorandum comrades (as a result of the amnesty decided upon in Morogoro) caused an uproar when announced to the M.K....

Trouble within M.K. infact continued with some cadres refusing to obey orders. That resulted in several of them being expelled.

(h) The London Situation:

After the Morogoro conference I was posted to London to handle some of our external diplomatic work in the capacity of Deputy Director of External Affairs.

London happens to have a large number of our people and the non-africans who belonged in South Africa to organisations allied to the ANC. Many of the leaders of the South African Communist Party are also to be found there. Therefore the problems arising from the Morogoro decisions to integrate non-africans into the ANC naturally manifested themselves there. I witnessed some of them. As time went on Africans in London began to lose interest in the activities of their organisation - the ANC. Some of the reasons put forward for that state of affairs were the following:

- * Unhappiness with the way the former Chief representative Mazisi Kunene had been changed and replaced by a coloured comrade Reg. September;
- * The loss of what became to be referred to as the "African image" of the ANC resulting from the above mentioned change in the ANC office in London;
- * A clandestine campaign of slander against some of the ANC African leaders who were regarded by some people as "nationalists" e.g. the late Robert Resha, Tamie Mhlambiso, Mazisi Kunene;
- * The role of the Communist Party of South

- * and the feeling among some of our people that the Communist Party of South Africa appeared to "exercise undue influence upon the policy and decision making organs of the ANC".

Whatever evidence others might have on this score, I personally witnessed an instance wherein the Communist Party of South Africa instructed its members within the ANC to resist a decision which had been taken by an ANC sub-committee of the ANC (the Congress Group)...and I didn't keep quiet about that.

These problems (in London) were raised by me directly with the Acting President, Oliver Reginald Tambo each time he came to London.

By the beginning of 1971, the situation within the ANC in London was reaching crisis proportions. Some of the African leaders of the ANC who lived in London or who happened to be in London decided to meet and discuss the situation. The meetings ultimately took place with the participation of:

Comrades: Oliver Reginald Tambo;
M.B. Yengwa;
Dr. Z. Conco;
Dr. P. Ngakane;
Robert Resha (late)
Tanie Mhlambiso;
Mazisi Kunene;

Thambo Mbeki;
Joe Matlou; and
Tennyson Makiwane.

The meetings were held at comrade Mhlambiso's flat in London and lasted for two or three days. At the meeting comrades made the points that:

- * The ANC was still experiencing a deep crisis;
- * That part of the problems resulted from the Morogoro conference;
- * That there was need to re-assert the African leadership of the struggle;
- * Fears were expressed (Dr. Conco) as to whether the Africans were still fully in control of the ANC (external mission).

In his reply comrade Tambo insisted that there was no crisis in the ANC that the only trouble existed only in London but everywhere things were going on smoothly and the struggle was moving full steam ahead.

Comrade Tambo stuck to that argument until the last day of the meeting when Comrade Tamie Mhlambiso said:

"What are these stories we hear that some of our men in Lusaka have turned into pick-pockets?" Comrade Tambo turned to him and said: "I thank you for being frank Tambo -- Some men who were good have turned into animals".

A very bad situation (also referred to in Nzo Commission of Inquiry which I have already mentioned) had at that time developed among some of our cadres to the extent that some of them were appearing in Courts almost every week on criminal charges.

The discussions at those meetings were very frank indeed. A decision was taken that another conference, to comprise of the African members be called.

Comrade Tambo also suggested that the views expressed at the London meeting of African leaders should be put to our non-African allies as forcefully and as frankly as had been done at our meetings. That was agreed and it was done at a multi-racial meeting held at Comrade Joe Slovo's house in London. There it was restated that:

- * The struggle and the organisation that leads it must reflect the true situation in South Africa, i.e. the situation where the Africans constituted the overwhelming majority;

- * That when we talk of the armed struggle and the organisations that were allied to the ANC in South Africa, it should be recalled that neither the coloured peoples' organisation nor the the South African Indian Congress ever took any decision to embark on armed struggle (infact the Indian Congress still functions up to now legally in South Africa whilst the Coloured Peoples' Organsiation is defunct). That only two organisations took decision to embark on armed struggle, namely, the ANC and the South African Communist Party. And that the question that should be addressed to the Communist Party is "where is your guerilla army?; where are your men?"

Leaders of the Communist Party were present at the meeting, e.g. Dr. Dadoo. But they kept quiet. The conference of the African members of the ANC took place in August, 1971, in Zambia amidst some resistance on the part of some people. At the conference itself attempts were made to arraign the Comrades Resha (late), Mzimkulu Makiwane, Mqota, and myself. The attempt failed.

I should mention that the standard of discussion at that conference was pretty high since it was largely based on the developments within South Africa where the Black consciousness movement was gaining momentum. The conference again ended on a call for unity. A decision was taken that efforts be made to bring back into the fold even those comrades who had left the organization or who had been expelled. And it seemed that a fresh start would be made.

No sooner ^{than} ~~had~~ that conference was over than mischief makers began their pranks once more. For example when Comrade Mazisi Kunene tried to introduce a vocational training scheme calculated to give some basic skills to our cadres (tailoring, typing, carpentry, etc.) so as to keep them occupied and enable them to make some little money, the scheme was condemned by some of our people as a CIA inspired move and a female British student who was working with Mazisi on the scheme was condemned by these elements as a proven agent of the British MI5.

The decisions of the Zambia Conference were not implemented. For instance it was stressed that there was a leadership vacuum within South Africa. But four years later not a single leader has gone back into the country.

I have given all this background in some detail to demonstrate that for the past six to seven years the ANC(external mission) has been in the throes of a deep crisis. All objective observers even outside could see that fact illustrated by:

- (1) That inspite of the epoch making and successful revolutionary war in the former portuguese colonies of Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, and soon Angola,; inspite of the spread of the armed struggle into Zimbabwe and Namibia - not a shot, not even in the air, has been fired within South Africa.
- (2) The fact that eight years after the death of our Former President-General-Chief Albert Luthuli, that no substantive President has been chosen - hence Comrade Tambo is perpetually acting.
- (3) That it took the ANC three months to officially react to detente exercise which threatened to blow up a campaign to isolate South Africa prepared over many years.

Unhappily the ANC crisis continues. Last year, August, Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo called a meeting of ANC members in Lusaka where he called for re-organisation and unity. He also alluded to continuing problems e.g.

the fact that some of our cadres were sleeping in derelict cars in place on the outskirts of Lusaka. And he reported that some boots donated by friends had been eaten up by rats whilst lying for months in the ANC stores in Tanzania.

Now come the expulsions. On this score I must point out that in the long history of the ANC, a democratic tradition giving people a fair hearing has been developed. And that even outside South Africa various comrades charged with wrong doings have been afforded a trial (whether its fair or not is another matter). Those cases, seen as serious, in which tribunals were set up included:

- * A murder case - the Phalanyane case;
- * Desertion by a top M.K. Officer - the Gatyeni case, spying for South Africa;
- * The Bophela case; and
- * The case of the seven memorandum comrades.

But it is a matter of shame to have to contrast even the behaviour of the racist-South African regime to that of this self-seeking, self-perpetuating bureaucracy in the ANC. As is well known our leaders like the late Chief Luthuli and 155 of his colleagues were brought to trial in the treason case of 1956. And so was Nelson Mandela and his colleagues in the Rivonia Case. Funds for the defence were raised not only among our people but among the international

community as well. It is also well known that among the defendants in the treason case were men like Oliver Tambo; and Duma Nokwe who today find it permissible to accuse and judge colleagues behind their backs.

The so-called letter of expulsion contains scandalous mockery. It states (after listing the so-called ring leaders of the treacherous conspiracy):

"who will stand expelled unless, each, individually, and unequivocally denounces the activities of this faction....."

The stipulation calls upon the victims to denounce a non-existent faction, and a non-existent conspiracy. Perhaps by not bothering to prove the existence of the conspiracy this clique is trying to emulate the late Oswald Pirow, star prosecutor in the South African treason trial of 1956, who when asked by the defence for further and better particulars about the existence of the alleged conspiracy, turned round and said:

"Ask the accused. They know. They are the ones who conspired."

THERE HAVE INDEED BEEN NEITHER FACTIONS NOR CONSPIRACIES BUT WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IS THE RELENTLESS PERSECUTION OF ALL THOSE WHO HAVE DARED TO CRITICISE; WHO HAVE DARED TO OPPOSE THE CRIMINAL ACTS AND THE SABOTAGE OF THE STRUGGLE; WHO HAVE DARED TO CALL FOR CHANGE; WHO HAVE DARED TO FIGHT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

A WORD ABOUT THE LATE COMRADE ROBBIE RESHA

They say elsewhere about the late Comrade Resha:

"Robert Resha's ^{name} was desecrated as if he was supporting something to which he was opposed to throughout his whole life and service to his people, his country and his organisation. This they did deliberately because they thought that Robert Resha was silent, but he is not".

late

I was a personal friend of Robbie Resha for very many years in South Africa and abroad and I can speak with great deal of authority about him.

Late Robbie Resha is indeed silent now. He is no more with us and that is why some characters can still afford to speculate about his possible reactions. BUT THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS THAT THE AN.C. (of which Robbie was a member since the forties) DID NOT EVEN WRITE AN ORBITUARY ON HIM! BUT EVEN MORE SHAMEFUL AND SCANDALOUS HE HAS NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO REST IN PEACE. HIS NAME HAS BEEN VILIFIED AND SCANDALISED BY SOME PEOPLE IN THE A.N.C. AND HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF HAVING ATTEMPTED TO FORM ANOTHER ORGANISATION.

But what is likely to happen is that Robbie - that gallant fighter - will continue to fight this traitorous clique even from his grave. His views WILL SURELY TRIUMPH.

Conclusion:

- I. The so-called expulsion is, ofcourse, *unconstituional.*

- therefore illegal, therefore null and void.
I, for one, will continue as if nothing
has happened.

II. Some of us must admit that we erred by not
resolutely exposing to the African masses
the evil machinations of this self-seeking,
and self-perpetuating bureaucracy in the
ANC, and its harmful activities which have
led to the stifling of the liberation
struggle.

III. We erred in regarding Mr. Oliver Reginald
Tambo as an innocent church going gentleman
and not saying it as it is that he has in fact
presided over this rot.

IV. We under-estimated the ruthless determination
of the white-controlled South African
Communist Party (the only Communist Party
in the world to have dissolved itself -
in 1950 - when faced with repression) to impose
its hegemony over the African National
Liberation Struggle in South Africa - such
attempts being signified in the theme spread
among some of M.K. cadres that "the ANC has
failed and it was high time the Communist
Party took over".

We did not foresee the fact that to achieve its grand design that Communist Party would vilify and slander as 'nationalist' or 'racialists' all those African leaders who resisted their wicked plan - hence the fate of the late Robert Resha.

- V. Efforts to remedy the situation have failed up to now because we have not resolutely and publicly denounced the rot that has set in and the criminal acts that have taken place. We participated in meetings and in the framing of resolutions which we believed would correct the situation. But we hushed things up erroneously believing we were by so doing protecting the organisation when infact we only succeeded to enable the perpetrators of crimes to get away with it.

Our long oppressed people in South Africa have in the past produced gallant fighters such as Dingane; Cetshwayo; Hinsta; Makana, Moshoeshoe. In the modern era, they have produced such men as P.I. Ka Seme; Makgatho, Xuma, Luthuli; etc. Undoubtedly, they will throw up a dedicated and patriotic leadership again.

But we have reached a critical moment. In the whole continent only three areas remain unliberated - surely our people cannot lag behind at this decisive moment...in the struggle for Africa's total liberation. The struggle continues inspite of the betrayals that have taken place.

TENNYSON XOLA MAKIWANE .

/txm.

October, 1975.