

Comrades and Friends

The greatest historical failure of our times was the inability of successive white regimes to destroy and liquidate the ANC. Despite a thousand plans aimed at dismembering us and rendering our

Movement

ineffective,

we

grew

both

in

stature

and

effectiveness. Our survival and growth as a fighting force is the major victory

that

our

people

have

scored under

difficult

conditions of illegality. In that time, as well as fighting the regime, we prepared our people to play a meaningful role in a

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liberated South Africa.

This we did by encouraging our youth to go to school wherever they were. And in 1979, we founded the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro, Tanzania. When we approached the Tanzanian government with the idea of a school, they readily gave us land on which SOMAFCO stands today. Mualimu is here. We, therefore, ask him to convey our heartfelt gratitude to the Tanzanian people for the gesture they have extended to our people. Education will

forever remain the other leg of our struggle.

12.

The beginning of the 1980s witnessed the maturing of both the
subjective and objective factors

in favour

of

the people's

Victory.

As

we

were

poised

for

a

great

leap

forward,

we

designated the 1980s the " Decade of Freedom. " We proceeded to

call upon our people to make South Africa ungovernable and

apartheid unworkable. To this call our people responded in their

thousands. Everywhere in the country, popular organs of the people's

constitutional principles on the basis of the Freedom Charter.

In our View these principles would be a basis for a national debate on the new constitution. We, therefore, hoped to initiate a process whereby the new constitution would emerge from the people themselves. Through these and other initiatives, the ANC increasingly defined the terrain and tempo of our struggle. We thereby provided overall leadership to the country.

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However,

enemies

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struggle,

particularly

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the

international front, were far from vanquished. Diabolical schemes aimed at undermining our offensive had to be nipped in the bud.

To this end, we initiated a process of wide ranging discussions within the ANC, between the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement and between the ANC and the OAU and, in particular the Frontline states. These consultations resulted in the adoption of

the

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Harare Declaration by the OAU in 1989. The nonwaligned Movement endorsed the Declaration which was later adopted by the United Nations albeit with some modifications. We had secured our rear by

succeeding

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resolution of the South African problem by peaceful means. What

is more,

'Hme Harare Declaration was INN: an imposition, but Â£1

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emerged

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people

of

Southern

Africa

themselves.

14.

Comrades and Friends

I was struck down by a stroke on the eve of the adoption of the

manifestation of our practical solidarity with our sister people
in the Frontline States. In this regard, our combatants together
with their Zimbabwean comrades acquitted themselves well
in
battles against
the combined Smith and Voster forces.

They
carried out their mission gallantly and valiantly. We salute
9

Basil February and his fellow comrades who lie buried in the soil
of liberated Zimbabwe. However, at the conclusion of the Wankie
and Spolilo campaigns, our problem of re-establishing the ANC
inside remained essentially unresolved.

0.9.

Given our Wankie experience, it became necessary for us to meet.

Thus, in 1969 we had our First National Consultative Conference
in Morogoro Tanzania.

Conference was

to

take

stock of

the

totality of our experience and, on the basis of that, map out the

way forward. Morogoro became a land mark and a turning point in

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our

struggle.

It

was

that

Conference

which

produced

a

comprehensive document on the strategy and tactics of the ANC.

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Reporting to the Second National Consultative Conference in 1985,
the National Executive made the following observation about
Morogoro:

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Out of Morogoro came significant results, the most
important being the re-orientation of our Movement towards the
prosecution and intensification of our struggle inside South
Africa, the restoration and reinforcement of unity within our
ranks and

the integration of all revolutionaries within.

the
external mission of the ANC. "The ANC is committed to the
of the ANC to all South Africans, regardless of the colour of

we had to elaborate principles upon which the constitution of a democratic state would be founded.

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In response

to

these,

we

issued.

an, NEG

statement

in

1987

outlining conditions under which we would be prepared to enter

into

negotiations

with

the

regime.

At

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Charter. It was our View that such principles would constitute

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Diabolical schemes aimed at sabotaging our struggle had to be nipped in the bud. To this end, we initiated a process of wide ranging discussions within the ANC, between the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement and between the [HMS and the OAU enui,
in
particular the Frontline states. These consultations resulted in the adoption of the Harare Declaration by the OAU in 1989.

19.

Comrades and Friends

I was struck down by a stroke on the eve of the adoption of the Harare Declaration. My report should, therefore, end here.

In

historical fact. But to be able to make the type of contribution we made, time and again we had to strengthen ourselves through a process of internal reorganisation. It was in this context that in 1969 we held our first National Consultative Conference in Morogoro Tanzania. The objective of the Conference was to take stock of the totality of our experience and, on the basis of that, to map out the way forward. Morogoro became a land mark and

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a turning point in our struggle.

Conference produced a comprehensive document on the strategy and tactics of the ANC. The document emphasised the need to activate all

the

motive

forces

of

our

struggle.

These

forces

were

identified as blacks in general and, Africans in particular. The working class was seen as having a leading role

to

play in the

struggle.

In

this

regard,

we

reaffirmed

the

supremacy

of

political struggles.

Reporting to the 2002 Second National Consultative Conference in 1985,
the National Executive made the following observation about
Morogoro:

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Out of Morogoro came significant results, the most
important being the reorientation of our Movement towards the
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ranks and
the integration (If all revolutionaries 'within. the
external mission of the ANC.

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The significance of the decision
to open up membership of the ANC to all South Africans should be

II STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
COMRADE OLIVER R. TAMBO
TO THE ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE
JOHANNESBURG ~ JUNE 1991

The Deputy President, Comrade Nelson Mandela
Members of the National Executive Committee
Members of the Internal Leadership Core
Regional Convenors and Members of the Regional Leadership
Commanders and Combatants: of our glorious army, Umkhonto we Sizwe
Leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement
Excellencies Members of the Diplomatic Corps
Fellow Delegates, Comrades and Friends
Compatriots

0.0.

It is my singular honour and privilege to welcome each and every
one of you to this first legal ANC National Conference inside
South Africa after decades of us not being able to do so.

We

welcome you with boundless joy, especially you delegates, who,
represent hopes and aspirations of millions of our people across
the length and breadth of our country. We welcome you convinced
that you have come here propelled by a burning desire to end
apartheid tyranny sooner rather than later.

0.1.

It is my pleasant task to make a report back to our Movement, our
people and country, on the mission we were assigned to do outside
the country, more than three decades ago. I present this report
on behalf (yf the National Executive Committee and nwr fellow
returnees, both the living and the dead. At this stage, I want
to express my hope and wish that the remains of J.B. Marks, Moses
Kotane, Florence Maphosho, Elijah Makhathini, Eli weinberg, Dr
Yusuf Dadoo and countless more martyrs of our struggle shall soon
be brought back home so that they, too, can lie side by side with

their ancestors. This is the least we can do to honour the memory
of the heroic men and women who,
gave their all
so that a

most spectacular assaults on the enemy, such as the attack on SASOL. Thus, the great lie of the invincibility of the apartheid fortress was laid bare. Our people began to see cracks on the fortified walls of the laager.

0.9.

At the beginning of the 1980s both the objective and subjective factors were maturing in favour of a people's Victory.

We, therefore, designated the 1980s the "Decade of Freedom. " As we grew in confidence, we called Luxni our people 1K) make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable.

Our people responded to this call in their thousands.

Everywhere in the country, popular organs emerged, challenging the hegemony of the structures of apartheid. The UDF and COSATU were formed.

Thus we entered a period of dual power in the country.

The government was forced

to impose the state of emergency.

International confidence in the Viability of the apartheid state, plunged to its lowest level. As the crisis of

the apartheid state increased both in scope and content, Western governments began to court the ANC. For the very first time an official ANC delegation was received in Washington.

10.

It was against a Climate of heightened confrontations between our people

and

the

enemy

that

we

held

our

Second

National

Consultative

Conference

at

Kabwe

in

1985.

Conference

was

therefore characterised as the Council of War. Amongst the many positive decisions of this Conference, was the decision to open

conclusion.

I

wish.

to make

a

few observations:

We

did not

surrender when the going got tough. We did not tear ourselves apart because of lack of progress at times. We were always ready to accept our mistakes and ready to correct them. Even in bleak moments, we were never in doubt regarding our ability to win freedom for ourselves. We are in no doubt now that the people's cause shall triumph.

20.

I now declare this first ANC National Conference inside South Africa in three decades, open. The National Executive Committee is accordingly dissolved.

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speak for ImggP aī-\201 nnf

colleagues when I say that we shall always be ready to serve our Movement in whatever capacity. May I also take this opportunity to thank all those who have made my Presidency a worthwhile experience for me personally.

Amandla !

particularly England we succeeded in encouraging the formation of a powerful anti-apartheid Movement which helped to swing public opinion against the regime. Our position in international

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organisations,

like

the Chinese Non-Aligned Movement,

the Afro-Asian

solidarity organisation and so forth became unassailable. By 1974

the General Assembly of the United Nations was able to refuse the

credentials of the South African representative despite strong

resistance from the West.

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Comrades and Friends

If we managed to register early Victories on the international

front, internally we were not that successful. Between 1963 and

1967

communication

with

the

inside

was

very

minimal

and

unreliable. Our underground had been dealt a crippling blow by

the Rivonia arrests. On the other hand, the entire subcontinent

was still firmly in the hands of imperialist powers who connived

and collaborated with Pretoria against the liberation Movement.

We had trained cadres who were languishing in camps with little

prospects of returning home. Following discussions within the

Movement,

we

decided

to

send

the

Luthuli

Detachment

into

Rhodesia, with instructions that they were to fight their way
back home.

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So,

in 1967 a combined force of Umkhonto we Sizwe and ZIPRA
crossed the Zambezi into Rhodesia. This marked the beginning of
what was known as the Wankie*Spolilo campaigns. As well as being
an

attempt

to

resume

the

struggle

inside,

this

was

a

Harare Declaration. My report back should, therefore, end here.

In concluding I wish to make a few observations : We did not surrender when the going got tough. We did not tear ourselves apart because of lack of progress at times. We were always ready to accept our mistakes and to correct them.

Even in bleak

moments, we were never in doubt regarding our ability to win freedom for ourselves. We are in no doubt now that the people's cause shall triumph.

15.

It is now my pleasant task to declare this first ANC National Conference inside South.Africa in a period of thirty years, open. Accordingly, our National Executive Committee stand dissolved.

I am sure I speak for all my colleagues in the NEC when I say that we shall always be ready to serve our Movement in whatever capacity. May I wish you all the success in your deliberations. Lastly, I want to, most profoundly, thank all those who, made my Presidency an unforgettable experience for me personally.

Let us march to Victory.

Amandla !

their skin, was a giant leap forward towards true non-racialism within the ANC.

From Morogoro we created the Revolutionary Council which was charged with the responsibility of prosecuting the struggle inside the country. We later replaced the RC with the Political Military Council. The PMC was answerable to the NEC and, under 2.

its leadership, forward machineries were established. The post 1976 era witnessed a rapid re-emergence of the ANC inside the country. Amongst the many factors which contributed to this development were the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the June uprisings of 1976. As a result of the June uprisings, many young people reinforced the external mission.

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(like the other lunatic,
the independence of Angola and Mozambique
created new possibilities for our struggle. Angola provided us
with military bases and we opened up the eastern front. The
steadfastness
of
the
Frontline
states
proved
decisive
in
enhancing our striking capacity. The independence of Zimbabwe in
1980 further consolidated our strength and the anti-colonial
struggles
in
our
region.
Thus,

the balance
of
forces
was
irrevocably Shifted in our favour. Key leaders of the Frontline
states I have
joined.
us
today,
â\200\230ha once
more,
reaffirm
their
unflinching support for our cause. We are grateful to them and
to their people for all they have done for us. Never shall we
forget the support they rendered and continue to render to us.
11.

the membership of the National Executive Committee to all South Africans

,
irrespective

of

the

colour

of

their

skin.

We

,therefore,

became, second to the SACP, the first truly non"

racial political Movement in South Africa. The other important

decision. was

to

strengthen democratic practices within the

Movement by holding a conference after every five years.

Above all we resolved to rally to the defence of our people by

intensifying the struggle on all fronts.

11.

By the time of the Kabwe Conference we had succeeded to place the

issue (If

the transference (i.e. the

political. power firmly (in

the

agenda. This reality was beginning to be recognised by the far

sighted sections of the community who, began to seek us out

and

and engage us in discussions regarding the future of the country.

On the other hand,

as our people defiantly unbanned the ANC,

contacts between the inside and the outside were intensified. In

the circumstances, the need for us to address conditions under

which we would be ready to negotiate the democratisation of the

country became more than urgent. Of equal urgency was the whole

question of the nature of the state we wanted to see replacing
the apartheid state.

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outlining

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enter

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negotiations with the regime. At the same time we commissioned

the

ANC

constitutional

committee

to

begin

elaborating

seen in

its proper perspective. Addressing a public meeting

between 1955 and 1959,

I was asked a question as to whether I

would accept a membership fee of eight white comrades who, wanted

to

join the ANC.

I could not accept the money because the

practice at the time was that whites should join the Congress of

Democrats. Even though constitutionally anyone could be a member

of the ANC, practice at the time militated against this. In this

sense, Morogoro was a giant

leap forward towards

true non-racialism

within the ANC.

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From Morogoro we created a special body with the responsibility

of prosecuting the struggle inside South Africa. This body was

called the Revolutionary Council and we later replaced it with

the Political Military Council. The PMC was answerable to the

National Executive. Under its leadership,

forward machineries

were established. Slowly but with increasing success we began to

revive our structures inside the country. Thus, our presence

amongst our people was re-established.

0.8.

0.8.

The greatest historical failure of our times was the inability

of successive white minority regimes to destroy and liquidate the

ANC.

Despite a thousand plans aimed at

dismembering us and

rendering our Movement ineffective, we grew both in stature and

effectiveness, particularly in the post 1976 era. Our survival

and growth as a fighting force is the major Victory that our

people have scored under difficult conditions of illegality. By
1981 units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, were able to mount some of the

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burning desire to make this Conference the last one we ever shall have to hold in bondage.

0.1.

This Conference is not only unique because it takes place in South Africa after an absence of three decades, but also because of its representativeness, its South.Africoanness. Given the Cloud of uncertainty hanging over our country like a dagger, given the ever rising climate of confrontation fostered and perpetuated by enemies of peace and democracy, given our people's impatience with oppression, decisions that will emanate from this Conference must inevitably burden South Africa and, indeed our entire region with consequences of historical magnitude. It is within these four walls is the voice of reason, the voice of freedom, the voice of peace, the African National Congress.

0.2.

Comrades and Friends

In line with our democratic traditions, I now present a report back to our Movement, our people and country, on the mission we were assigned to do outside the country more than three decades ago.

I present this report on behalf of my colleagues in the

National

Executive,

my peers

and

fellow combatants

in

the

external mission, both the living and the dead, and indeed on my own behalf. Because the history of the past thirty years is as vast as the road we have traversed hitherto, one can but only mention landmarks in our report.

0.3.

We left the country in the early 1960s on the instructions of the NEC.

(kn? brief was to establish the external mission in
order to win friends for our struggle and thereby isolate the

all that Zambia could offer, but he also saved my life when I was taken ill. Thank you comrade Kaunda. Thank you Zambia.

15.

Our 1985 Conference took place against a Climate of heightened confrontations between our people on the one hand and the regime on the other. The regime sought to create divisions amongst us by resorting to all sorts of schemes including attempts to draw a wedge between the youth and the old within the ANC. None of

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agenda. This reality was beginning to be recognised by the far

sighted sections of the white community whoâ\200\230.began to seek us out

and engage us in discussions regarding the future of our country.

More importantly, contacts between democratic forces inside and

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In

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Hrâ\200\234,

democratisation of the country became more than urgent. Equally,

difficult, given that internationally and regionally the balance of forces was still predominantly in favour of apartheid forces.

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THN3 entire

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the

hands

of

imperialist powers who, connived and collaborated with Pretoria

against the liberation Movement. Our cadres had to pass through

colonial Mozambique and colonial Rhodesia before reaching the

borders

of

South Africa.

That

was

the

time when

wars

of

independence in the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia began in

earnest. We took advantage of

this and decided to send the

Luthuli Detachment into Rhodesia with instructions that they were

to fight their way back home. This was also a manifestation of

our practical solidarity with the people of the Frontline states.

In this regard,

our combatants acquitted themselves well

in

battles against the combined Smith and Voster forces. Though the

detachment never succeeded to reach home, they had carried out

their mission gallantly and valiantly. We salute Basil February

and his fellow comrades who lie buried in the soil of liberated

Zimbabwe. However, at the conclusion of the Wankie and Spolilo campaigns, our problem of reestablishing the ANC inside remained essentially unresolved.

0.5.

On the international front things looked different. If successive white regimes managed to contain our initial efforts to relocate inside the country, they dismally failed to do so on the international front. From the very beginning we made modest but

doubt about what we believed,

what we were working for;

no

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hesitation in political aims. The uncertainty arose from the

blows we had received. "

0.3.

It was in those Circumstances that we took a calm resolve to meet

the challenge headâ\200\224on, for the cause we stood for was greater

than ourselves. We did not indulge in selfâ\200\224pity and personal

admonishment for having dared to challenge white supremacy. On

the contrary, we acted sustained by the knowledge that we were

representatives cĩ-\201â\200\231ia great euui noble people. We rose â\200\234U3 the

challenge fully conscious that a people with a proud history of

resistance

such

as

ours

would

expect

no

less

from

their

progenitors. As a result, our determination to fight on became

stronger than ever; for we strongly believed in the justice of

our cause â\200\224 a cause of a people destined to be free some day. It

mattered not how long it would take us to reach that day.

It

mattered not how much pain and suffering we would have to endure

before we too could be free men and women. We were going to be

free and, we shall be free.

0.4.

What was the key question that we had to address in the early

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The external mission had to launch and sustain an all round offensive internally and externally. In other words, we had to transform the external mission into 61 fully fledged ANC, operating:

in conditions of

illegality

In

this regard,

our

efforts to re-establish internal structures proved to be very

power
emerged,
challenging
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erstwhile
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of
the
apartheid structures. In 1983 the UDF was born and a year later
COSATU was formed. Thus we entered a period of dual power in the
country. By 1985 the regime was forced to declare the state of
emergency. As the crisis of the apartheid state deepened,
so
plunged international confidence in its Viability . And for the
very first
time an official ANC delegation was
received in
Washington.

13.

Even though we made these impressive gains, areas of failure remained
many and varied. For instance, the fact that many cadres spent

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long: times

confined 'U)

time barracks

and underground houses

without ever seeing action, was one such failure. We could have
sent more people to school than we actually did?) this was also
a failure.

It

was a\200\230with

the

View of

resolving some CH?

our

subjective weaknesses and thereby strengthen the Movement, that

we convened the Second National Consultative Conference in Kabwe,

Zambia, in 1985.

14.

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Now that President Kaunda is here,

I want to say a few words

about this towering Champion of the African revolution. It was

because of him that the ANC and Lusaka became synonymous. We

cannot talk of our struggle without talking about the nerve

centre of that struggle in the Republic of Zambia. It is thanks

to President Kaunda,

the government of Zambia and indeed the

Zambian people, that today I am making the kind of report back

that I am making. Not only did comrade Kaunda give our struggle

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

COMRADE OLIVER R. TAMBO

TO THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONFERENCE

DURBAN 224

1 JULY 1991

Dr Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of the ANC

Dr Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia

Dr Robert Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

Mwalimu Nyerere, Distinguished Leader of the Republic of Tanzania

Members of the National Executive Committee

Regional Leaders

Commanders of Umkhonto we Sizwe

Excellencies Members of the Diplomatic Corps

Distinguished Guests

Fellow Delegates

Comrades and Friends

0.0.

It is my singular honour and privilege to welcome into our midst
some of the most distinguished African leaders of our times.

President Kaunda, President Mugabe and Mwalimu Nyerere will be
properly introduced,

line

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just

230ha give

them the warmest

embrace on behalf of the ANC, the entire South African people and
indeed (on my own behalf. Welcome to this your (WWI home dear
brothers.

We welcome you with boundless joy, especially you delegates, who
represent hopes and aspirations of millions of our people across
the length and breadth of our strife-torn country. We welcome you
conscious of the fact that you have come here propelled by a

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day. It mattered not how much pain and suffering we would have

to endure before we too could be free men and women.

0.5.

The fundamental question that VW3 had to resolve ill the early

1960â\200\231s was lunv best 'h) transform CMUâ\200\230 resolve iJHx) practical

struggle. It became clear to us, particularly in the post Rivonia

era, that we had to launch and sustain an all round offensive

internally and externally. To this end, we travelled extensively

and simultaneously began to train our cadres in countries like

Tanzania,

Ethiopia,

Egypt,

and

Congo.

Demands

of

the

day

necessitated the transformation of the external mission into a fully fledged ANC, operating in conditions of illegality.

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Initially we put more efforts into our international work. If we hoped to raise the necessary resources for the struggle, we had to unite the world behind the ANC. But also the regime had to be isolated in order to be weakened. From the very beginning we made modest though steady gains in this regard. We found ready friends in the Socialist countries who rendered us solid support. The newly independent countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia threw tĩ-\202mĩ-\201jâ\200\230

full

weight

behind (MM? struggle.

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the

West,

democratic South Africa freed of oppression and fear could be born.

0.2.

I left the country in 1960 on the instruction of the NEC. My brief was to establish the external mission of the ANC and to awaken the international community to the plight of our people. Anticipating the banning of the ANC, the NEC had decided that if such banning was to materialise, the external mission which I was to head would take responsibility for all the internal and external fronts. We went to Beohuanaland where at best we were treated with suspicion and at worst with outright hostility by the British authorities. We soon learned that we had to confront this hostility throughout the western world.

Within days of our departure, there was a massacre at Sharpville followed

by

the

banning

of

the

ANC

and

other

political

organisations. Our worst fears were confirmed when our leaders

were

captured

at

Rivonia

and

later

sentenced

to

life

imprisonment. These events left us with a sense of deep shock and

revulsion. We felt lonely and abandoned in a hostile world. No

one has more aptly portrayed our then situation than Hilda
Bernstein. In her words,
0'

There came a time when it seemed as
though the ground was no longer firm beneath our feet; as though
the world had tilted and we were uncertain about each step. But
this
was
not
only
a
personal
concern.

The
same
sense
of
disorientation. existed in
tï-\202ma organizations within which.
we
worked. It was not so much a loss of direction, there was no

steady gains in our endeavour to isolate the racists and create
a reliable Iwmuâ\200\230 base for (NH? struggle.

111 this

regard,

the

Socialist countries ledlnrthe Soviet Union.gavetu3solid support
from the very beginning. The newly independent states of Africa,
Latirl America and .Asia

threw

their fiiï-\201J-

weight

behind our

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struggle.

In the West,

particularly England we succeeded in

encouraging the formation of a powerful anti~apartheid Movement.

This helped swing public opinion against apartheid. Our position

in international organisations, like the non*Aligned Movement,

the .Afro~Asian. solidarity' organisation enni

so

forthâ\200\235

became

unassailable. By 1974 the General Assembly of the United Nations

was

able

to

refuse

the

credentials

of

the

South

African

representative despite strong resistance from the West.

0.6.

It must be mentioned that the positive role of the Frontline states proved to be crucial in the decisive role enhancing our striking capacity. Tanzania did not only provide us with our first external Head Quarters, she also provided us with training facilities for our soldiers. We later moved the Head Quarters to Lusaka where it has been until our return home. In this regard, the independence of Mozambique, Angola and later Zimbabwe, irrevocably shifted the balance of forces in favour of the anti-colonial struggle in the sub-region.

0.7.

Comrades and Friends

Our contribution to the liberation of the sub-continent is a

apartheid state, and secondly, we were to create a reliable rear base for our struggle. Though the decision that I was to leave was taken in 1959, due to logistical problems I only left in 1960. By that time the Sharpville massacre had taken place and the ANC had been banned. As a result, the NEC directed the external mission which, I was to establish and head, to assume overall responsibility in prosecuting the struggle both inside the country and abroad.

At the time we believed that we would not be outside the country for more than five years.

In the event, we stayed for thirty years.

I went to Bechuanaland from where

I proceeded to Tanganyika where

I met Mualimu for the first time.

From Tanganyika I went to Tunisia and then Ghana. Thus began our international crusade to win friends and isolate the racists.

Inside the country the leadership was preparing for the armed struggle which was launched in 1961. Our efforts were therefore complementary

However,

this (tHi not

last

long em;

our IHigh

Command was arrested in Rivonia in 1963 and later sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. Rivonia was a severe blow which took us years to overcome.

0.4.

Given these forbidding Circumstances, we took a calm but firm resolve to meet the challenge headâ\200\224on, for the cause we stood for was greater than ourselves. We did not indulge in self-pity and personal

admonishment

for

having

dared

to

challenge

white

supremacy. On the contrary we acted sustained by the knowledge that we were representatives of a great and noble people. We rose