

DOCUMENTS OF THE EXILE

ANC support for the invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968.

It is well known that the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 by Warsaw Pact forces was lauded by the SACP as displaying 'superb planning and staff work', in that so huge a force was moved 'with such speed, efficiency and security' in so short a time. (*African Communist* No 36, fourth quarter 1968) What is less well known is that this invasion, expressing for the SACP the internationalist duty of the 'forces of socialism and human liberation', was endorsed by the ANC, in a statement signed by its then secretary-general in exile, Duma Nokwe. (*African Communist*, No 36, reprinted below) At the same time the ANC prison camps, had already come into being in Tanzania to cope with democratic dissent.

Statement by the ANC on the situation in Czechoslovakia.

The Socialist countries are great supporters of the liberation struggle throughout the world and we are confident that their unity and joint might will remain unimpaired by recent events in Czechoslovakia.

The recent statement by Mr Cernic, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, on the dangerous situation which developed in the country and which was deliberately engineered by right-wing counter-revolutionaries with the support of imperialism, throws further light and justification for the steps taken by the Warsaw Pact countries.

The gravity of the situation which faced the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia and the other socialist states is revealed in the following extract from the Prime Minister's speech to the Prague Parliament reported in the *Dar Es Salaam Standard* of September 14th, 1968:

We did not manage to analyse trends affecting both the internal political arrangement of the country and its consequences for our international position.

...the serious danger from the right led to the conclusion that there was an actual danger to the interests of all socialist countries.

The normalization of the situation in Czechoslovakia is the concern of the family of socialist countries and the peoples of the world.

The fraternal negotiations between the USSR and the Czechoslovak government, and the implementation of the agreements reached, we believe, will solve the problem and thus maintain their unity which will protect and consolidate the achievements of their revolutions and make them continue to march arm-in-arm to fulfil the objectives of international socialism.

September 19th, 1968

D. NOKWE – Secretary-General.

Two letters to Nelson Mandela from the former Umkhonto soldier Olefile Samuel Mngqibisa

written in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, 1991.

Searchlight South Africa No7 (July 1991) published a letter of resignation from the ANC by Samuel Mngqibisa (travelling name: Elty Mhlekezi), explaining the character of his imprisonment by the ANC security department in Tanzania in January 1991. Further letters give a picture of the political climate in the ANC camps during the exile. The second, in particular, with its revelation about the prison at Nampundwe in Zambia run by the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (Zapu, then in alliance with the ANC), indicates the manner in which loyal guerrilla fighters such as Mngqibisa were abused.

Mngqibisa's colleague Barney Molokoane, who narrowly avoided sharing the same fate in Zambia, is remembered as a respected guerrilla commanders in Umkhonto. Coming from Soweto, Molokoane was aged 18 in 1976, the year of the Soweto school students revolt. He took a leading part in the sabotage strike at the Sasolburg oil-from-coal plant in 1980, participated in the bombing of the SADF headquarters at Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria, and was killed in an attack, launched from Mozambique, on the fuel depot and military base at Secunda in the eastern Transvaal. His other colleague, Krustchev (also known in Umkhonto as Jeremiah Mlonzi), was killed in a skirmish with South African state forces in the western Transvaal, in an operation mounted from Botswana.

Deputy President,
ANC of South Africa.
2nd March 1991.

Re: OLEFILE SAMUEL MNGQIBISA

I, the above mentioned, wish to inform the leadership of the ANC of the problem which led to my sudden resignation from the ANC on 07/02/1991. I took this decision in order to save my life from the two thugs in our Security Department, namely Daffter and Cliff. I am still regarding myself as a full member of the ANC.

I must point out that I didn't really resign, but was sidestepping thugs who wanted to swallow me alive. I am ready and prepared to explain my problem to the ANC, in the near future inside the country, where I will be free from physical and psychological harassment. I would like the two thugs in my presence to prove to the ANC, about their allegations and malicious propaganda against me.

I must highlight to you, Baba Mandela, that there has never been 'Freedom of Speech' inside the ANC for all the years we spent in exile. We have been living under a state of emergency throughout, because of these thugs. For instance, during my interrogation I was told to explain what was the reaction of the Dakawa community when I allegedly addressed them, telling them that the leaders were 'Sell-outs'. This was one of the five questions I was told to write on what they termed 'my own confession'. I wrote anything near because I was afraid of torture.

If we were in our country, I was going to take legal steps against them. I doubt that some of the Security members are really serving the ANC. The moment of listening to the rank and file is fast approaching and one day the truth will break through. Every member of the ANC who was in exile must be ready for accountability. Our parents love us and our people in general would like us to tell them more about what is the ANC.

I must also inform you, Baba, that I never forwarded my resignation copy to the British Embassy as shown on paper. I devised this tactic so that these thugs must never think of kidnapping me when I move around Dar Es Salaam. Anyway, if I had given that embassy a copy, that was the only way to secure my life from those barbarians. I am aware that they are going to shoot me inside the country to suppress information I will be bringing forward to the people. But I will rest in peace because my parents will know who took away my life.

We all have a task to scrutinize every member of the Security to prove if they are for the ANC. Some four-five years back, a Tanzanian government representative in Mazimbu discovered one comrade being tortured to death by three Security thugs named Stalin, Vusi and Lancaster. The court of law sentenced them to four years imprisonment. Stalin used to be boastful, saying they do this to defend the ANC.

Some Security members crossed the floor over to the regime after victimizing lots of comrades here. I can quote one named Miki, who was a warder in our notorious prison [Quatro] in Angola. I was with Miki in Lusaka in 1984 before he left for Lesotho on a mission. Later we learned that he surrendered to the regime just after entering the country. Now, can we say that such people are defending the ANC? NO!

The two thugs in Dakawa have put me in a very bad position. I am fortunate because I married a Tanzanian woman. Her two sisters have offered me a room to sleep in. They feed me and help me financially.

Thank you so much.

Yours in the struggle.

Forward to the National Conference.

O.S. Mngqibisa

**Baba Nelson Mandela,
Republic of South Africa.
April 11th, 1991.**

Dear Father,

I hope and believe that you received a letter I wrote to you on 02/03/1991, concerning my resignation from the ANC. I also copied you my resignation letter I wrote to the ANC's chief representative in Dar Es Salaam, plus a copy of the letter I wrote to the young devil in Dakawa, named Jackie Morake, who is a coordinator there.

I want to categorically stress that I took this extreme decision because my life was in a serious danger. I was shot passport photos a week after my detention at Dakawa prison. Those Security hooligans wanted to smuggle me 'officially' to the ANC's second-most notorious prison in Mbarara, Uganda, for crucifixion. Unfortunately for them, I could not give myself up like Jesus gave himself up to the Jews. I am an MK cadre, know my Movement and have had a bitter experience in the ANC.

I was first detained in the ANC in Lusaka in December 1978 after a hot debate with four ANC/MK so-called commanders in our residence (Yellow House) in Lusaka. This took place in a meeting we cadres had requested with those civilian, but maybe educated, commanders. I refer to Keith Mokoape and Snooky. They reinforced themselves with the late Mfundisi and Solly Simelane, because they could not argue with us militarily. The meeting was held in Yellow House and the aim was to come and iron out problems we faced by then.

You will recall that we were just fresh from a very tough military survival course in one of Zapu's camps outside Lusaka. Some comrades amongst us were survivors of Ian Smith's military raids on a Zapu camp named FC (a former Frelimo camp). There were comrades with serious injuries from that raid. Yellow House was a transit for trained cadres in a last preparation for infiltration into the country, to carry out urban guerrilla warfare attacks. As stated, the cadres requested the meeting to solve problems, being lack of medical treatment for the injured comrades and also shortage of foodstuffs.

The course we underwent explains itself: 'survival course'. Zapu camps had insufficient food supplies, and the course rations your meal or you sometimes don't eat at all. So the policy in MK is that after that training, you are well fed to recover strength. Our complaint was for enough food and medical care for the comrades. I was one of the speakers in the meeting and spoke like a soldier. I shaked, shocked the desk commanders with my heavy voice. They saw me to be arrogant and called me sorts of names.

The following morning Solly lied and said I am wanted at the office. We drove to town and later to Zimbabwe House, which served as Zapu offices. He parked the car inside the yard and rushed to the offices. Whilst waiting for him, two wrongly informed Zipra cadres [troops of the Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army, Zapu's military wing] approached and ordered me out of the car. One armed with an AK47, the other with a light machine gun (LMG), they sandwiched and escorted me to the offices. Later Solly said, 'You will stay here until further notice'. Further notice meant fourteen months behind bars. I was kept in isolation ('Kulukudu') for two days at the backyard.

Zimbabwe House served two purposes, an office and a police station. After two days I was transferred to a bigger cell where Zipra cadres were packed like sardine fishes. Everybody slept on his side and there was no breathing space. A week later I was transferred to Nampundwe, an area situated about 30-40 kilometres west of Lusaka. The place seemed an old farm with a dilapidated house. It had a square high fence and barbed wire on top. I was in a state of panic, because that was a period

when Ian Smith was attacking Zambia almost weekly. I was interrogated by three heavily armed Zipra Forces officers in a tent and two others standing guard at the door.

I tasted prison for the first time in the ANC. Back home I never even entered a police station cell. My parents are also shocked and surprised at the state of affairs I find myself in. Many parents in South Africa will be disappointed to find out that their loved ones were and are still detained by the organisation they support so much. I also support the idea that an independent commission of inquiry be set up, although I was in Zambia when the mutiny 'Mkatashingo' took place in Angola in 1984. If the soldiers were wrong, as alleged by the military officials, the investigation will prove that.

In February 1979 at about 2.00 pm Nampundwe Camp was raided by three Rhodesian Air Force jets. The prisoners' house was the first target, as the camp commander had dispersed other soldiers except the prisoners. It was traditional for Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation to announce whenever Smith was to attack. So, when everybody dispersed, Zipra cadres informed us about the raid which was about to take place that day. Before the raid, the camp commander passed by and said to us, 'Today you are going to die, you Selous Scouts' (meaning traitors).

We were 79 in number, and I was the only MK member in there. That day the gate was tightened with a thick electrical cable and to our surprise, for the first time a man was standing guard at the gate with an LMG. Three jets bombarded the house. Fortunately the pilot of the jet carrying bombs miscalculated and the bomb landed outside the yard. Another jet had a machine gun and the other one was carrying napalm. There was confusion and screaming in the yard and I managed to escape with some light injuries. Lots of Zapu cadres were badly injured, some with serious napalm burns.

I was one of the first to jump into an oncoming ambulance. Two Cuban medical officers armed with AK47s were escorting the ambulance. We were rushed to University Teaching Hospital (UTH) in Lusaka. Some comrades died the following morning at the hospital. I was discharged the following morning and discharged to Zapu's Makeni Clinic for further treatment. After a few days I went to Yellow House and spent one night there.

The following morning Keith Mokoape came and drove me to Zimbabwe House again. There he said to me, 'I don't have powers to release you, the only person who can release you is Joe Modise'. Anyway, the day they attended our meeting at Yellow House, they told us they were delegated by Joe Modise to come and listen to our complaints. So it was clear that Joe Modise authorised my detention. He is known as the mastermind of ANC prisons. I was not his favourite and I was not easily manipulated.

I was later transferred to Zapu's main prison in Mboroma No.2 in the north part of Zambia. My three comrades who were also vocal in our meeting at Yellow House — the late comrades Barney Molokoane and Krustchev, and Ace (who is studying in one of the Scandinavian countries) — were all sent to Angola for punishment. Mind you, we were labelled enemy agents because of our talking too much. But we proved them wrong by continuously carrying out tasks of the ANC. I was released in February 1980 and my two comrades fell in battle inside the country.

Joe Modise later sent me to Tanzania in 1984 because I was a nuisance in front of him. My crime in the ANC was: (1) To point out wrongs I see; (2) I was accused of being friendly to comrades who took part in the mutiny in 1984. After their arrival in Dakawa in 1988 from prison in Angola, Alfred Nzo addressed the community and said his words: 'The comrades should be integrated and have a right to participate in all ANC structures, including political ones'. (3) My third crime was to be friendly to white volunteers/expatriates within our community.

For example I had two British friends who were instructors at our Vocational Training Centre in Dakawa. One of them was my plumbing instructor, and during my interrogation I was asked why was I too close to them. I failed to answer that stupid question. In the ANC we were discouraged to study in western countries, because it was said the CIA would swallow us. But leaders' sons and daughters studied and are studying there. Our Security Department has tarnished the name of the ANC.

I conclude by saying, Tyranny is tyranny, we must expose it to the international community. Thanks.

Yours in the struggle.

O.S. Mngqibisa

cc. Walter Sisulu, SA.

cc. To my Father, SA.

cc. Chief Representative, ANC of South Africa, Dar Es Salaam.

NB I shortened my bitter story.

Chauvinistic harassment of Zulu-speakers in ANC camps in Tanzania in 1991, following the township slaughters on the Witwatersrand.

As early as the 1960s there were reports of ethnic conflicts in the ANC camps in Tanzania. During the 1970s and 1980s misgivings were frequently expressed among exiles that privileges tended to accrue to Xhosa-speakers. In this respect, the feared security chief Mzwandile Piliso was regarded as particularly culpable. A major theme in the mutiny in Umkhonto in Angola in 1984, however, was the prominent place among the mutineers of young Xhosa-speaking soldiers who were strongly critical of all forms of corruption, including ethnic favouritism. (Four of the five authors of the history of the mutiny in *Searchlight South Africa* No 5 are Xhosa-speakers). The following press release from the British-based pressure group Justice for Southern Africa indicates how far ethnic hostilities had deteriorated in the camps by mid-year. Ten Zulu-speaking members of Umkhonto were imprisoned in June, apparently following the non-fatal stabbing of an ANC member, Martin, at Mazimbu at night-time. Although subjected to brutal abuse by Tanzanian forces, they were not charged by Tanzanian courts. Eventually, after an intensive campaign led by Mrs Linda Ntshangase, her husband Bongani Ntshangase and four others were released at the Tanzanian Prime Minister's office on 1 August, where they were also informed that they had been expelled from the ANC. The demand throughout of Mrs Ntshangase was that her husband be charged or released.

Bongani and Linda Ntshangase later fled to Kenya, following threats from Tanzanian officials that Mrs Ntshangase had embarrassed the state. At the request of Mrs Ntshangase, the campaign Justice for Southern Africa had appealed on behalf of the arrested men to the British Foreign Office, the Tanzanian High Commission, Amnesty International and the ANC secretary general. An account of the arrests was broadcast on the BBC World Service on 17 August. As late as the end of September, however — long after statements by ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Pallo Jordan and others that all ANC prisoners in exile had been released — there was information that the following ANC members remained in prison at Ruth First prison (Plot 18), Dakawa, in Tanzania: Justice Gumbi (Monde Masike), Albert Bhengu (Vuma Mbhele), Terror Wonder (Shabalala Bra Bhengu), Schaft Lwane Khoza, George Kitseng and Vusi.

By October, it appeared that ethnic-related violence in the camps had sharply increased, leading to real terror and one death. It was also suspected that prisoners continued to be held at a Ugandan Air force base in the Luwero region of Uganda.

JUSTICE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

Press Release 22 August 1991

A Purge of Zulu-speakers in ANC Camps in Tanzania?

A purge appears to be taking place in the ANC refugee camps at Mazimbu and Dakawa, south of Dar Es Salaam, organised by the ANC security department 'Mbokodo' with the assistance of the Tanzanian government. This involves the arrest, and detention without trial, in June of ten Zulu-speaking members of the ANC at the *Ruth First* prison at Plot 18 in Dakawa.

Following representations by the pressure group *Justice for Southern Africa* to the British Foreign Office, the Tanzanian High Commission, the ANC chief representative in Tanzania and the ANC leadership in South Africa, five of the ten were released in the office of the Prime Minister in Dar Es Salaam on 1 August. One of them, Bekezela Lungisani Mabaso, had reportedly been beaten while in detention with a steel rod by a member of the ANC security department, assisted by Tanzanian security guards (letter from Tanzania, 12 August 1991).

A letter of protest has been sent by Mr Mabaso and another of the prisoners, Mr Bongani Ntshangase, to Nelson Mandela. In the letter they state:

We, Zulu-speaking members of the ANC, have all along been called funny names like S'qhaze, Drum 10, Manpower and worst of all Inkatha bandits. When the young lions came back from the [Umkhonto we Sizwe military training] camps [at Iringa in Tanzania], they got furious because they had left the country because of Inkatha.

In a further letter (dated 15 August), the two men state that Zulu-speaking members of the ANC were especially angry at being called Inkatha bandits 'because they had left South Africa as a result of Inkatha harassing and killing innocent people'.

Dismissals at Somafco

The purge has extended to one of the best known ANC educators abroad, the Zulu-speaker Mr Zakahle Zindela, known to hundreds of ANC exiles (now both inside and outside South Africa) as 'Uncle Slim'. Mr Zindela was dismissed from his job as deputy principal at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafco) at Mazimbu — the main ANC secondary school in exile — together with the head of the department of English, Mr Mandla Khuzwayo, also a Zulu-speaker. In the letter to Mr Mandela, Mr Ntshangase and Mr Mabaso state that the dismissals of Messrs Zindela and Khuzwayo took place 'because they are allegedly Zulu instigators' and in order for the 'authorities to justify their false allegations against Zulus'.

Mr Zindela a founder of Somafco in 1979, negotiated an agreement with Unesco in 1990, by which it undertook to pay the salaries of teachers at Somafco. News of his dismissal and the alleged charges against him shocked ANC members in Britain who had known him in Tanzania. In his letter to Mr Mandela, Mr Ntshangase, a former teacher in South Africa and a teacher at Somafco, accused four ANC officials in Tanzania as well as the 'ANC security of East Africa' of being responsible for 'degrading malpractices' against him.

One of the four he accused of malpractice is Mr Don Ngakane, the principal of Somafco, who worked there as a teacher under the direction of Mr Zindela from 1980 to 1987. Mr Ngakane was promoted as principal over the head of Mr Zindela in 1989 when the previous head of Somafco, Mr Andrew Masondo — accused of serious human rights abuses by ANC members in exile — was appointed ANC chief representative in Uganda in 1989. ANC members state that Ngakane is close to Masondo and the security apparatus.

Disturbing Questions

Disturbing questions are raised by the arrest of the ten Zulu-speaking members of the ANC and the dismissals of Mr Zindela and Mr Khuzwayo. Somafco is funded by semi-official agencies responsible to the governments of countries such as Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Germany. Teachers' salaries are funded by Unesco.

To what extent were the dismissals of Mr Zindela (as well as those of Mr Khuzwayo and Mr Ntshangase) made on the base of non-educational criteria? What implications could such an act have for political manipulation of teachers in South

Africa in the future? In a letter dated 14 August, Mrs Linda Ntshangase states that her husband's salary cheques for May and June (paid by Unesco) had been seized by the ANC authorities at Mazimbu. Her husband and the other ex-detainees are now destitute. What kind of responsibility is exercised by semi-governmental donor agencies for ensuring that funds going to ANC educational projects at Mazimbu and Dakawa are not abused?

Further questions are raised concerning the apparent connivance of Tanzanian authorities in malpractices by the ANC security department. In their letter to Mr Mandela, Mr Ntshangase and Mr Mabaso state that they are 'now living under fear both from Tanzanians as well as ANC security in East Africa'.

In her letter, Mrs Linda Ntshangase calls for 'fast action' to assist her and her husband and Mr Mabaso because 'the Tanzanian government...is harrassing us' as well as the ANC authorities. She writes that fellow Zulu-speakers in exile in Tanzania, who assisted her, are also 'in peril concerning this case both from the ANC and the Tanzanian government'. She states that she feels 'absolutely insecure' and fears returning to Mazimbu at the end of the month, in order to collect her and her husband's belongings, 'because I might be assassinated'.

The Role of the Tanzanian Government

First reports of the arrests indicated that the ten Zulu-speakers had been arrested on 10 June by the Tanzanian Field Force Unit (FFU), a para-military unit, following the non-fatal stabbing of an ANC member at Dakawa. In a letter to the British Foreign Office of 7 July, a representative of the campaign *Justice for Southern Africa* stated that the ten men had reportedly been arrested and locked up by the FFU, and beaten up. The men had later been released by the Tanzanian military authorities into the hands of the ANC security department.

Mr Mabaso was then allegedly beaten by Tanzanian security guards, as well as by ANC security officials, while held in the ANC prison at Dakawa. According to Mrs Ntshangase, her husband and a colleague were released at the Prime Minister's office in Dar Es Salaam on 1 August. In the presence of a member of the ANC security department ('Comrade George'), her husband was told by an official of the Tanzanian government ('Comrade Alex') that he was 'no more a member of the ANC, from now he will be a normal refugee'. When Mrs Ntshangase asked for an official expulsion letter, she was told by Comrade Alex that it was at the Home Affairs ministry.

Mrs Ntshangase writes that she and her husband were then told by this Tanzanian official that she had 'provoked the Tanzanian government because I've exposed secrets and I'm helping an enemy by so doing'. She continues:

The Prime Minister's Office is a mouthpiece. Presently they [her husband and his friends] have nowhere to stay and no money for food after being detained without trial for 51 days, being tortured by the FFU and the ANC.

Now we do not know what to do. We are absolutely dissatisfied about this decision since they [the ANC and the Tanzanian government] have refused to take this case to the Tanzanian courts and get a fair trial.

From the time that her husband and others were arrested, Mrs Ntshangase consistently called on the Tanzanian government to place the case under its own judicial authority. As *Justice for Southern Africa* stated in its letter to the British Foreign Office of 7 July, Mrs Ntshangase 'called for the matter to go before the Tanzanian courts in the normal way'. This request has not been met. Five of the original ten Zulu-speakers who were arrested in June are still held by unknown people at an unknown place — almost certainly, by the ANC security department — in an arbitrary fashion, with the apparent connivance of the Tanzanian Prime Minister's Office.

The ANC and its Constitution

A further disturbing element in this matter concerns apparent violation by the ANC authorities in Tanzania of the organization's own constitution. In his letter to Mr Mandela, Mr Ntshangase states:

Presently I am staying with Tanzanians because I have been expelled from the ANC, together with Lungisani Mabaso. We were expelled by the Chief Rep [Manala Manzini, since moved to Britain for study] and his deputy [Henry Chiliza]. The Chief Rep refused to show me or give us the expulsion letters. I am therefore dissatisfied because the ANC security had detained and tortured us for two months without trial. According to the ANC code of conduct, I ought to have been charged and tried for what I had allegedly done.

According to the code of conduct, I was expecting the tribunal to have tried us and recommended to the Secretary General for our expulsion. The SG should have suspended us pending the seating of the National Conference which has powers to expel a member from the movement. It is therefore my sincere belief that the President [Mr Mandela] and the NEC will make an impartial investigation to our case and see to it that justice is done in the ANC.

Manzini and Chiliza are among the four ANC officials accused by Mr Ntshangase of being responsible for 'degrading malpractices' against him. The third is the principal of Somafco, Mr Ngakane. The fourth, Mr Moffat Monakgotha, is described by ANC members as an official of the ANC security department (Mbokodo) working in the office of the director of Somafco.

Apart from the anomaly of the ANC having apparently violated its own constitution while preparing to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa, the inter-connection between education and political police in the school system of the ANC in exile must be brought to an end, along with its prisons for political critics.

Up till the time of the letter by Mr Ntshangase and Mr Mabaso of 15 August, it seems likely that five Zulu-speakers continue to be detained by the ANC without trial. The recent statement by the ANC that the release of all its prisoners was complete (*Financial Times*, 19 August) appears less than candid.

JUSTICE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

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