



YOUTH in the Liberation Struggle and Beyond

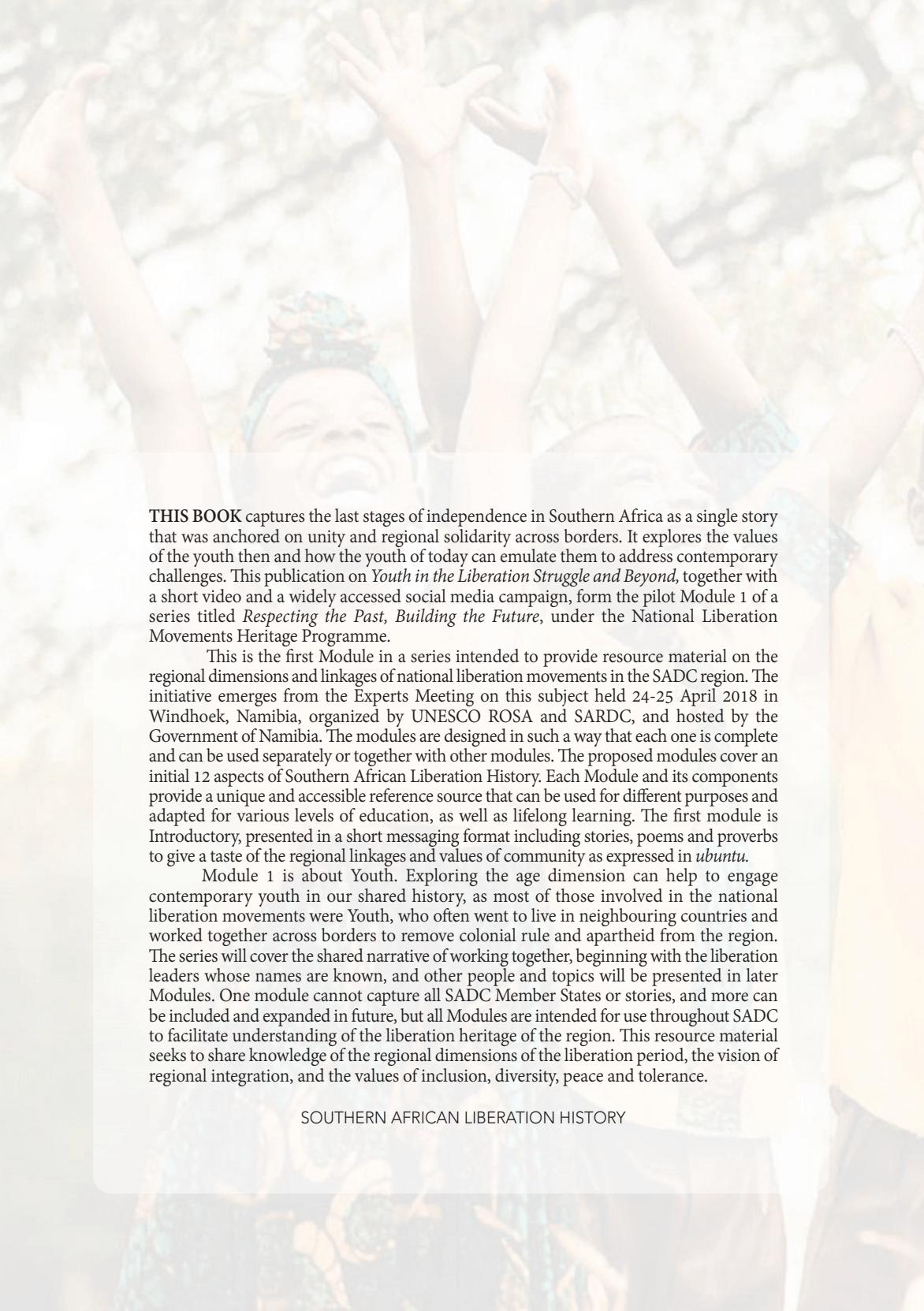


RESPECTING THE PAST, BUILDING THE FUTURE Module 1



Regional Dimensions and Linkages of NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE SADC REGION





THIS BOOK captures the last stages of independence in Southern Africa as a single story that was anchored on unity and regional solidarity across borders. It explores the values of the youth then and how the youth of today can emulate them to address contemporary challenges. This publication on *Youth in the Liberation Struggle and Beyond*, together with a short video and a widely accessed social media campaign, form the pilot Module 1 of a series titled *Respecting the Past, Building the Future*, under the National Liberation Movements Heritage Programme.

This is the first Module in a series intended to provide resource material on the regional dimensions and linkages of national liberation movements in the SADC region. The initiative emerges from the Experts Meeting on this subject held 24-25 April 2018 in Windhoek, Namibia, organized by UNESCO ROSA and SARDC, and hosted by the Government of Namibia. The modules are designed in such a way that each one is complete and can be used separately or together with other modules. The proposed modules cover an initial 12 aspects of Southern African Liberation History. Each Module and its components provide a unique and accessible reference source that can be used for different purposes and adapted for various levels of education, as well as lifelong learning. The first module is Introductory, presented in a short messaging format including stories, poems and proverbs to give a taste of the regional linkages and values of community as expressed in *ubuntu*.

Module 1 is about Youth. Exploring the age dimension can help to engage contemporary youth in our shared history, as most of those involved in the national liberation movements were Youth, who often went to live in neighbouring countries and worked together across borders to remove colonial rule and apartheid from the region. The series will cover the shared narrative of working together, beginning with the liberation leaders whose names are known, and other people and topics will be presented in later Modules. One module cannot capture all SADC Member States or stories, and more can be included and expanded in future, but all Modules are intended for use throughout SADC to facilitate understanding of the liberation heritage of the region. This resource material seeks to share knowledge of the regional dimensions of the liberation period, the vision of regional integration, and the values of inclusion, diversity, peace and tolerance.



MODULE 1

Regional Dimensions and Linkages of

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE SADC REGION

RESPECTING THE PAST, BUILDING THE FUTURE



YOUTH in the liberation struggle and beyond

Project Patron

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The further behind you look, the farther ahead you are likely to see...
African proverb

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Foreword

The freedom we enjoy today is one of the many achievements we can all be proud of as a region. We must endeavour to ensure that our unique liberation history is not forgotten. To achieve this, it is important for Member States to incorporate the Southern African liberation history into the school curriculum, so that our youth and the future generations appreciate the sacrifices of that generation of young men and women who liberated us from colonialism and apartheid.

The relevance of history today that tells us about our shared cohesion and identity is rooted in our shared culture of community, leading us to a deeper understanding of how the liberation leaders worked together as one, beyond the divisions of national boundaries. If we can teach and learn this history, we will advance toward social cohesion and a strengthened regional identity, in resistance to discrimination and xenophobia.

While we celebrate our liberation, we must collectively work to transform our economies and liberate our people from the bondage of poverty. We must all commit to our shared vision of a common future that will ensure economic wellbeing, improvement of the standard of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice, and peace and security of our people. Let us cooperate and move in Unity, everyone has a part in this.

The journey toward economic integration and development in Africa began in the long-range vision of African leaders and people, and their passionate commitment to freedom, unity and prosperity.



Dr Stergomena Lawrence Tax

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has taken several important initiatives to pay tribute to the men and women who sacrificed their lives for the liberation of our region, as well as the spirit of togetherness that existed among Member States, leading to the establishment of this regional community.

SADC has established a mechanism to honour the Founders of our regional organization through various means of profiling their names in our towns and cities, and learning about their achievements in our history. We owe a great deal to our Founders, we have lost them now, but their legacy lives on, may their souls rest in eternal peace.

SADC leaders decided in 2018 to endorse 23 March as a day to be celebrated annually to commemorate the liberation of Southern Africa -- Southern Africa Liberation Day.

As we teach and learn this history, let us make good use of the SADC Hashim Mbita publications. This is the only publication that has comprehensively documented the Southern African

liberation struggles, including national, regional and continental dimensions, and international linkages and support.

SADC published the series of books resulting from the Hashim Mbita Project on Southern African Liberation Struggles, to preserve the recent history of Southern Africa and generate awareness about African liberation. This is an extensive publication of nine volumes that was launched in August 2014 in its original languages, and recently translated fully into English, French and Portuguese. The publication enables the people of the region, and especially the youth to understand and appreciate the shared history of liberation, thus advancing social cohesion and regional identity.

The SADC Council of Ministers meeting in August 2017 approved the inclusion of Southern African Liberation History (SALH) in the school syllabus and requested education ministers to operationalize the decision, to enable the younger generations to learn about the liberation heritage and advance social cohesion in the region through a deeper understanding of the values and unity in which countries and people worked together and made sacrifices for each other to support freedom.

UNESCO and the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) facilitated a meeting of regional history experts in April 2018 hosted by the Government of Namibia, to discuss the development of resource materials in partnership with SADC. A pilot phase started under a programme on National Liberation Movements Heritage (NLMH) focusing on the regional dimensions and linkages of the national liberation movements in southern Africa, seeking to generate awareness and educational tools to sustain knowledge about the independence movement across the region and regenerate the shared cohesion among people across borders.

The programme aims to use the rich regional history of the emergence from colonialism and apartheid to address contemporary challenges of xenophobia and discrimination, and to promote intercultural dialogue and civic education among the youth of the region, while encouraging people of all ages to regain and explore the knowledge of their common and shared history, thus strengthening and consolidating regional integration. The Module 1 video was shown to SADC Council of Ministers in August 2019 with enthusiastic response.

Each Module is a unique reference source comprising a short video, an illustrated booklet for use in print and online, and social media messaging. The pilot Module 1 on *Youth in the Liberation Struggle* is the first step in a series intended to develop resource material from a regional perspective, designed in such a way that each module can be used separately or together with other modules, in various formats, with inter-related topics. Modules are introductory and can be used for different purposes, and adapted for all levels of education, including primary, secondary and tertiary, as well as out-of-school youth and lifelong learning.

Exploring the age dimension can help to engage contemporary youth in our shared history, as most of those involved in the national liberation movements were also Youth. Module 2 on teaching and learning liberation history is at concept stage, following a curriculum review conducted by the SADC Secretariat and UNESCO Regional Office for Southern Africa with SADC Member States. The initiative seeks to support the Member States in their efforts to provide learners with an appreciation and understanding of the shared regional heritage, solidarity and linkages. May I encourage Member States to speed up the inclusion of Southern African Liberation History in the school curriculum for the benefit of the current and future generations.

A summary report was launched in May 2021. On this basis, through a consultative process, the SADC Secretariat elaborated a roadmap for the integration of Southern African Liberation History and Global Citizenship Education in the school curriculum of SADC Member States, and the Roadmap was approved by SADC Ministers responsible for Education and Training, Science, Technology and Innovation in June 2021, requesting UNESCO and other partners to support the Regional Working Group and Member States in this regard.

I want to thank our partners in this initiative for their continuing support towards the promotion of SADC programmes.

And I want to close with a statement that I think illustrates the connectivity of our past, present and future. Former President of Botswana, H.E. President Festus Gontebanye Mogae made this statement when he hosted the 25th anniversary of SADC in 2005:

“Our Community is more than a political grouping, it has a past and a future whose roots can be found in the liberation movements and in the Frontline States. But, more fundamentally they are revealed in the hearts and souls of our proud sons and daughters of the soil who have stood together in their insistence that the region be transformed into something new and different...”



Dr Stergomena Lawrence Tax
SADC Executive Secretary 2013-2021

August 2021

Preface

The ideals and principles of the National Liberation Movements in the Southern part of Africa speak to our present times in many ways. The aspirations for Freedom, Non-discrimination, and Solidarity were at the core of this History; and still today, we continue to be inspired and guided by these principles, in order to make our societies a better place for present and future generations. As such, the National Liberation Movements represent a lively and active Heritage, which provides opportunities to promote inclusion, cultural diversity, and civic education in the Region, and beyond.

With the intention of learning from the past and sharing the Liberation Heritage with the youth of today, UNESCO is proud to launch this educational resource, which is the first of a Series of 12 Modules. These modules have been developed in close collaboration with the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), and in partnership with the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

This Module 1 is dedicated to *Youth in the Liberation Struggle*. It attempts to link the past to the future, by engaging contemporary youth in a shared History, as most of those involved in the National Liberation Movements back then were youth themselves. Unfortunately, the Southern region of Africa has in recent years seen different forms of xenophobia, discrimination, violence, and intolerance. This Module conveys a strong message to youth, namely that *History has been different*, and teaches us about the power of Unity and Solidarity that existed among the peoples of this region. The movement of Peoples – youth in particular – between countries in the Region, and the sense of Unity and Solidarity permitted Freedom to materialise; if that worked then, let us learn from it and adopt the same principles now and for the future.



Prof. Hubert Gijzen

This important initiative forms part of the National Liberation Movements Heritage (NLMH) programme, which UNESCO has developed in collaboration with SADC and SARDC. It builds on UNESCO's programmes related to Social Inclusion and Anti-discrimination, Youth, and on the flagship publication on the '*General History of Africa*'. The programme aims at contributing to advance regional integration, social inclusion, and peaceful societies by fostering critical reflection, debate, and civic engagement around the ideals of the National Liberation Movements Heritage. The education resources that will be produced under this programme build on unique reference sources including videos, social media content, and print formats, which are easily accessible by youth in primary, secondary, and tertiary education, as well as out-of-school youth.

We strongly believe that the NLMH Programme will contribute to remedy the general ignorance, and potential loss of knowledge and understanding about this important chapter in the (recent) History and collective Memories of the Region. Now is the time to address this, and to create an opportunity to build further on the significant achievements made in regional development and cooperation in the region. This will also help push back potentially harmful developments of a "we and they" syndrome at (sub-)national level, resulting in xenophobia, intolerance and damage to social cohesion.

It is our hope that youth and educators will find the NLMH Programme and its first Module insightful, useful and inspirational. I am convinced it will provide useful guidance in fulfilling their aspirations to live in societies, which are characterised by appreciation of human diversity, free exchange of ideas, open interaction, and solidarity. That is the Africa we want for everyone.

Professor Hubert Gijzen
Regional Director and Representative
UNESCO Regional Office for Southern Africa

This publication *Youth in the Liberation Struggle and Beyond* highlights the significant regional dimensions and linkages of the national liberation movements in southern Africa. It shows that the attainment of political independence was well coordinated and was assisted through regional solidarity as well as the support of the continent and the international community.

This is Module 1 of a series entitled *Respecting the Past, Building the Future*, which emphasises the place of history in regional development by illustrating that those who liberated the region from colonial rule did not work in isolation to achieve their goal. Many of them were young adults and today's young people can learn from these experiences in the current struggle for economic development and equality.

It is important that we do not lose the knowledge of this solidarity and collaboration in the achievement of our political independence across the region. With our shared history and common efforts in mind, we can be inclusive in our endeavours and contribute meaningfully and successfully to regional development and cooperation across the region.

This publication results from an initiative of the UNESCO Regional Office for Southern Africa (ROSA) entitled *The National Liberation Movements Heritage Programme: Using the History of Independence to Promote Inclusion, Cultural Diversity, and Civic Education in the SADC Region*.

The initiative was developed by History Experts from the region at a meeting on 24-25 April 2018 held in Windhoek, Namibia. This was the first step in the launch of a regional programme on the National Liberation Movements (NLM) Heritage, towards the collection, preservation and teaching about this important period leading to the independence of Southern Africa and the formation of our regional community, the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

The History Experts Meeting was hosted at the Parliament of Namibia, and recommended the production of modules that are accurate, accessible and easy to use. These are intended to provide resource material for the formal and non-formal education system in the region, including adult education, as well as accessible facts for government officials, parliamentarians, media, research institutes and public access.

The modules will significantly improve the teaching and learning of the NLM history, heritage and values through the provision of well-illustrated documents accessible on various platforms. Each module includes, in addition to the publication, a short video and social media messaging.

UNESCO ROSA in collaboration with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) has done commendable work in producing this module, the first of many.

This valuable work provides a strong foundation for forthcoming modules on related subjects. The proposed modules cover an initial 12 subjects.

I hope that this publication together with the other components of the Pilot Module 1, including the video and a widely accessed social media campaign, will empower young people across Southern Africa to appreciate and take ownership of their shared past and work together towards a common future. It is in my hope that this rich and well-crafted material will stimulate youth debate and engagement, and will significantly promote inclusion, common values, cultural diversity, a culture of peace and tolerance for the good of our region.



Hon. Prof. Peter Katjavivi
Project Patron

Hon. Professor Peter H. Katjavivi
Speaker, National Assembly of Namibia
SARDC Board Chairman



Regional Dimensions and Linkages of

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE SADC REGION

RESPECTING THE PAST, BUILDING THE FUTURE

YOUTH in the liberation struggle and beyond

In the beginning, there were a lot of things that happened before you were born, that have an impact on your life. History has a lot of impact on your life, even though it happened before you entered the world. One of the good things about History is that some of the biggest obstacles were already overcome by others. So you have new challenges. But you have new tools too. And your challenge is to contribute to improving society and leaving it as a better place than you found it, for the next generation, your children and their children. They will see you as History. How do you want to be remembered?

History is the study of human experience over space and time, showing how the past informs the future and provides the opportunities that you have today. This journey through the regional dimensions and linkages of National Liberation Movements is intended to give you access to the recent past in southern Africa, and common aspirations and values across borders. Through understanding the past we can shape our common future. The present is up to you.

Its very challenging for one generation to understand the priorities and perspectives of another generation, why they took certain decisions, and the values that drove them, the drummer that they followed. There is an indigenous proverb from the Americas which says,

you can't understand the decisions of another person until you have walked a mile in their moccasins (shoes).

Just two generations ago, most of southern Africa was still under external, colonial rule, and racism was systematic. There was no democracy, or representative government or majority elections, and access to education, jobs and arable farmland was restricted by race. The majority population was not allowed to vote, and women were legally minors who could not make agreements by themselves under law. We have come a long way.

That generation of young people born in southern Africa in the mid 20th century, in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s took the decision to go out and fight for their country, for equality and majority rule, and access to land and education. They were supported by African leaders who formed the Organization of African Unity, now the African Union, and its Liberation Committee.

Their challenges were about political independence, human rights and dignity, and they eventually overcame those challenges through their courage and determination and dedication, until all countries in southern Africa won back the right to govern themselves and allow their children (you) to grow in freedom, with new opportunities.

Their challenges were for African freedom, to win back the land and the right to participate, to vote, and to study. The brutality and lack of human rights associated with the colonial period are difficult to understand for the children of the 21st century in southern Africa today whose challenges are economic, related to wellbeing and motivation, transportation, infrastructure, technology, social media, music videos, cities and rural places, instant communication... and those national boundaries that separate us from friends and family in what is said to be another country.

*Elders see and keep silent, but to see and talk
are signs of the young... African proverb*

My generation, your generation

When we started discussing this subject, I became annoyed at first, because we elders were talking to youth about their history and how youths like themselves crossed borders to fight for their land just two generations ago, and how those youth of yesteryear liberated us from colonial domination to enjoy the freedoms of today; and the youth of today didn't really know what we were talking about because it was outside their experience and learning, and neither schools nor parents offered them this information, so they were talking to us about "xenophobia, xenophobia" until we got tired of hearing about that. We were all talking to each other about discrimination and exclusion, but we were using different words and experiences that the other didn't understand...

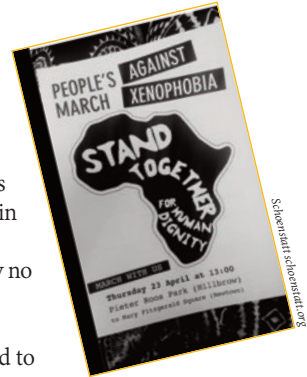


So we talked and talked, talked at some length about people crossing borders in the colonial period, the liberation struggle and the current barriers erected now. These discussions succeeded in connecting the circle from the struggle against colonialism and for independence, land, education, dignity and freedom to the current struggle for the economy, jobs, education, land, business opportunities, trade, tourism, and movement of people across borders. It became clear to all of us that while political independence has been won, the current challenges have economic roots and are no longer based on discrimination by skin colour but by national boundaries within Africa.

Brothers and sisters across an artificial boundary no

longer feel part of the same family.

These boundaries were drawn on a map, in Europe, 1885, and imposed to secure control over the colonies and the mineral, agricultural and human resources. The advent of colonialism made Africa to be perceived as a mere portion which would be easily shared among the “great powers”. Hence, the artificial boundaries remain a factor, a scar which is slowly being cured through regional integration, towards African unity.



#ALutaContinua

Interview with Cheryl, a young lady of 24 years

Q What do you know about history?

Cheryl I have learnt a lot in the past week. I have been reading but before that I think I would just have to say that I knew nothing. I learnt of South African history but it wasn't through the subject of history itself. It was through social studies and arts and culture. So the only history that I really can say I only know is apartheid. So yah, I think that is what I know the most, about history of apartheid.

Q What does a *luta continua* mean to you?

Cheryl Now I got the meaning after watching the video of Samora Machel that day. I just used to hear the struggle must continue, the struggle must continue, but it wasn't deep. It was not about people fighting against oppression, people fighting against colonization. It wasn't anything deep like that. I didn't know the deeper meaning to it.

Q And what should we do about that?

Cheryl Unity, because that is what he did, and what they were trying to achieve was achieved. I feel like we need to unite as young people because he was young at that time. I think the young people are the people who actually have the power and the energy to do something about things that are separating us.

Q How can they be mobilised to do that and what can you do about that?

Cheryl Social media. I can just make a post right now. If all the youth could find out the information that I found out in the past week, I think their perspectives will change about a lot of things. A lot of people feel like it's better to be on a pedestal by pushing someone else down. So that is an idea that needs to be taken out of our generation.

"History is ... a dialogue between the present and the past."

Ubuntu/Hunhu/Utu

The term emphasizes the importance of a group or community, and finds a clear expression in the Nguni phrase *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (a person is a person through other people). This is a common philosophy associated with African languages and culture, the soul and identity of African people and an aesthetic basis of African identity and humanness.

Ubu-ntu Hu-nhu Bumuntu Vumuntu Gimuntu Motho Umuntu Utu

The spirit of *Ubuntu* which characterises the languages and culture of Africa is deemed to be the foundation of a consciousness of a common destiny and common values.

We hear the echo of **Patrice Lumumba**, courageous son of The Congo:

“I want my children, whom I leave behind and perhaps will never see again, to be told that the future of the Congo is beautiful and that their country expects them, as it expects every Congolese, to fulfil the sacred task of rebuilding our independence, our sovereignty... African unity and solidarity are no longer dreams. They must be expressed in decisions.”

Letter to Pauline Lumumba, December 1960. ... “Africa will write its own history and, both north and south of the Sahara it will be a history full of glory and dignity.”



Patrice Lumumba

National Archives, The Netherlands

The Angolan nationalist and survivor of the February 4 struggle, **José Pedro Van Duném**, urges the young people to preserve and feel inspired by the ideals that guided the Angolan people in the liberation struggle, which culminated in the achievement of the national independence.

February 4, 1961 marked the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola, ending with the proclamation of the national independence on November 11, 1975.



José Pedro Van Duném

Angop

Hon. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah. “I am really encouraging the young people that we must be focused. That is very, very important. You do not do things for any appreciation. You do things because you believe it is the right thing to do.

When I participated in the liberation struggle through Swapo the aim was to liberate the country and even when I went into exile the aim was to liberate the country. So I am so happy, I am satisfied that Namibia is today independent ... And the people of Namibia can now decide on their own destiny.”



Hon. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah

Namipa

Josiah Magama Tongogara, Commander of ZANLA liberation forces: “We used to throw stones at each other in Salisbury (Harare). We cannot pass this on to our kids. We are going away and we must leave a stable Zimbabwe to the new generation. ... Let's have a really united Zimbabwe. I don't want to see my kids throwing stones over these minor divisions. I think they will laugh at me because I did.”



Josiah Magama Tongogara

JMT Legacy Foundation

Haven of Peace _____ Dar es Salaam

Dar es Salaam was the place that young people wanted to go to... north to Dar es Salaam “the haven of peace”, in Tanganyika, the place of freedom and unity – *uhuru na umoja* in the lyrical language of KiSwahili, itself a language of unity as it grew from the roots of several other languages.

Independent since 9 December 1961, but not really, because all of the countries around it were still under foreign rule by European powers and settlers, as colonies, thus “colonial” rule.

In those first months of tentative freedom, Julius Nyerere was 39 years.

His name Kambarage means the “the spirit that brings rain” because heavy rain fell when he was born. His name Nyerere was given to his father Burito, who was the Zanaki chief, born in the year the caterpillars came. Nyerere the younger got himself baptized as Julius while still at school where students had to take European names for baptism. He had been reading Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, which he later translated into KiSwahili.

Julius Kambarage Nyerere chaired the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), becoming Prime Minister at Independence, and President a year later, in December 1962. During 1962, while he mobilized throughout the country discussing the changes brought by Independence, his deputy Rashidi Mfaume Kawawa served as Prime Minister. The land of Mt Kilimanjaro, which was ruled by Germany and later Britain for 80 years, fiercely resisted by the local African communities, was now to be governed again by Africans. Julius Nyerere was the first Tanzanian to attend a British university (Edinburgh), graduating in 1952 with a Masters degree in Economics and History.

Nyerere, who was known as *Mwalimu*, the teacher, had made an eloquent and passionate statement to the Legislative Council in 1959, two years before independence, when he said,



National Archives, The Netherlands



Tanganyika 9 December 1961 Union with Zanzibar 26 April 1964



“We, the people of Tanganyika, would like to light a candle and put it on top of Mount Kilimanjaro which would shine beyond our borders giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate, and dignity where before there was only humiliation.”

This was his commitment that independent Tanganyika (later united with Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania) would fully support the liberation of African countries from colonialism and apartheid.

He believed that, without the freedom of the continent, his own country would not be free. It is said that he “carried the torch that liberated Africa”.



Mwenge wa Uhuru, the Torch of Freedom was placed on the peak of Mount Kilimanjaro on Independence Day as a symbol of freedom. A Torch is carried around the country annually in the Uhuru Torch Race, with messages of peace and unity.



So the youth from southern Africa wanted to go there to see what independence looked like, and to breathe the freedom and escape the racially oppressive and discriminatory rule in the colonies where they could not vote or enter parliament or have access to land, and where their parents had been chased off their land, alienated from leadership, and social and cultural relations and education.

Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (1957), with the Emperor of Ethiopia and other leaders of 32 independent African countries, formed the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and accepted the invitation of Emperor Haile Selassie to host the OAU in Addis Ababa. Ethiopia was a symbol of freedom for Africans globally as it remained uncolonized in two invasions, after men and women defeated the Italian army in the Battle of Adwa in 1896, resulting in a treaty that acknowledged its sovereignty. The OAU members wanted the entire continent of Africa to be free of colonial rule and apartheid, and they established the OAU Liberation Committee to achieve that goal.



"Africa must unite. We have before us not only an opportunity but an historic duty." Kwame Nkrumah 24 May 1963

When deeds speak, words are nothing... African proverb

A journey from the west _____

Peter Katjavivi tells the story of his journey into exile in Tanganyika in 1962, at age 21, from Namibia (then known as South West Africa) through three countries still under colonial rule before reaching one that was independent, and how he was deported from Plumtree in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), released in Gaborone in Bechuanaland (Botswana), and made his way to Francistown before travelling across the Zambezi on the Kazungula ferry to Livingstone and Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) with two young men from the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, while many others were turned back, and how he finally reached the safety of independent Tanganyika.

“We were taken to a safe house belonging to one of the leaders of UNIP, the party of Kenneth Kaunda. That’s how the three of us ended up making our way from Livingstone to Lusaka, we used to stay in UNIP headquarters, then after a few days we were taken to the house belonging to the UNIP secretary responsible for youth. We spent another two nights there. They were basically timing us when to put us in the car and take us to the bus stop to take the bus that commuted between Lusaka and a place in Tanganyika called Mbeya. So we made that journey.

“We were taken up to the border of Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika and then we were told to get out of the bus and walk through the border and made to wait for the bus on the other side, and the bus came and took us. I will tell you, with these two ANC friends of mine, our tears started to fall when we saw Tanganyika’s flag. Our tears rolled, and they started singing a song. I’m still looking for that song because it was an expression, it was like a dream that we had finally made it.

“This is now December, I think something like 7 December. I think the long journey was basically almost half way through, almost 80 percent through, and for the first time we see a flag of an independent African country. Tanganyika was now independent, this is now 1962 December. Tanganyika become independent in December 1961, this was just one year after independence. So we arrived in Mbeya town.

“At the bus stop, there were ANC people, particularly nurses who were donated by the ANC to the independent Tanganyika. They were key people in as far as health service was concerned, located in the key centres of the country, and those who were stationed in Mbeya hospital came to meet us at the bus stop. We were put on another bus that took us all the way to Dar es Salaam. Upon arrival I think it was around 9 December and who was at



the bus stop to receive us, Oliver Tambo and James Hadebe. Hadebe was the head of ANC in Dar es Salaam. They took us to the ANC house.

“I think I was with the ANC for a couple of days and then the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) leaders came to collect me, took me to the SWAPO house. So we arrived in Dar es Salaam. It is like you are dizzy, you want to say am I really here, finally??

“There were so much expectations of having made it as far as Dar es Salaam. There is excitement but at the same time there was a lot of questioning what next, and how I am going to survive, and what to do in order to succeed at what you are looking for. But the excitement of meeting new people, some of them are new, from home, it was just overwhelming. This is now December, I think 9 December 1962, exactly one year after independence.”

You do not run into mountains, but people yes... African proverb



A Luta Continua! The struggle continues...

Cheryl, 24

Q And what did you think when you saw Samora talking?

Cheryl I thought he is a powerful man, I thought the experience was intense for him to have thought that way about something he kept on chanting. I was like, well this is actually deeper than what I thought. People’s lives were changed, people’s everything was changed. Like people’s way of living, people’s hopes were shattered. It was like an eye-opener for me if I can say.

There is a part where he says the struggle against tribalism, the struggle against lack of education, against gender discrimination, something. It was deep, but for me he was speaking into the future. This is stuff which had not yet happened but it is happening now.

So I was like whoooo, yah. That was like a shock for me. I was just like, he had some sort of prophetic passion for me because he was like, the struggle continues, he didn’t say until when, it’s going to continue. He was speaking saying because we have gained our independence, everybody else who hasn’t, their struggle is our struggle. So I think that is what I got from that, he is speaking into the future.

All the struggles that he mentioned, all of them are still valid now. I think the struggle is still continuing. I don’t know how the line is going to change to the struggle is over.

*A pilot who sees into the distance does not let the ship capsize.
Ancient Egyptian*

A journey from the east



Machel family archives

A young man by name of Samora Moises Machel made the journey to Tanganyika a few months later, in 1963, at age 30, crossing from Mozambique through Swaziland and dashing across apartheid South Africa to Botswana from where he arranged transport to go and join the new, united liberation movement, the Mozambique Liberation Front, FRELIMO, formed in Dar es Salaam the previous year, on 25 June 1962.



"Josina you are not dead because we have assumed your responsibilities and they live in us. ... The flowers which fall from the tree are to prepare the land for new and more beautiful flowers to bloom in the next season." Poem by Samora Machel

Josina Muthemba Machel was a Frelimo leader who died age 25 on 7 April 1971, now Women's Day

Today, Mozambican women speak and are heard. Now there are women members of Central Committee, women guerrillas, women technicians. M dos Santos 1974



mozambiquehistory.net

Marcelino dos Santos, a founder of Frelimo who gave intellectual direction to practical action, drafted the founding statutes, served as Vice President 1971-1977, and later transformed the legal framework of the country from post-liberation to nation-state as President of the National Assembly 1987-1995

Samora Machel (front), Domingos Uasse and Bonifácio Gruveta crossing the Rovuma River from Tanzania to Mozambique.



miandica.blogspot.com



miandica.blogspot.com

Alberto Joaquim Chipande in the liberated zones. He fired the first shots of the war at Chai, Cabo Delgado, on 25 September 1964, now a public holiday in Mozambique. The first volume of his memoirs is titled, *Como Eu Vivo a Minha História* (How I Live My History). *Noticias*

Joaquim Alberto Chissano leading a Frelimo unit in the bush. At age 35 he served as Prime Minister during the transition to Independence and later as the second President of Mozambique (1986-2005).



miandica.blogspot.com

Grandfather's Sad Song

I looked at my grandfather
And my innocent eyes
Swam with tears

My grandfather did not stop singing

He went on:

"Now we are free people
Thanks to the courage
Of the best sons
Of Mozambique."

José Cumaio, 15,
Josina Machel Secondary School, Maputo
Breakfast of Sjoboks, Lukas Mkuti (ed), 1987



25 June 1975

Samora Machel became the first President of independent Mozambique on 25 June 1975, after the founding President of Frelimo, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane had given his life in Dar es Salaam when he opened a parcel bomb sent by the colonial authorities in 1969 on 3 February, now Heroes Day in Mozambique.



Mondlane received a parcel bomb at an office in Dar es Salaam, in a book that exploded when he opened it.



Anders Johansson

Iconic photo of Eduardo Mondlane, the founding President of Frelimo, with Samora Machel, who later became the second President of Frelimo and first President of Mozambique. The photo was taken in the interior of Mozambique, in the liberated zone, in February 1968 by the Swedish journalist of *Dagens Nyheter*, Anders Johansson, a member of the Swedish South Africa Committee.



SADC

Mozambique was then an “overseas territory” of Portugal, called Portuguese East Africa, and a strong ally of apartheid South Africa. Following the transition in Portugal on 25 April 1974 (Carnation Revolution) which resulted from the pressure of the liberation wars in Africa, talks between the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) and Portugal were arranged through the host

President Kaunda to take place in Zambia, between the Portuguese Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA) and the Frelimo leadership. They agreed on a transition from September 1974 leading to independence in June 1975. President Kaunda (right) shown later with President Machel.

“We have always attached such great importance to education because, in the first place, it is essential for the development of our struggle since the involvement and support of the population increases as their understanding of the situation grows,” Eduardo Mondlane said.

“In the second place, a future independent Mozambique will be in very grave need of educated citizens to lead the way in development.”

“Ahead of us we see bitter hardships, but we also see our children running free.”

The mobilizing salute of President Samora continued to ring out across the region, even after Independence was achieved, inspiring others to continue until victory, while providing refuge and support. ...

“A Luta Continua! The struggle continues...”

Against what? Against what must the struggle continue?

Against tribalism. And what else must we struggle against?

Against ignorance, against illiteracy, against exploitation, against superstition, misery, hunger, lack of clothing.... The struggle continues so that someday we will all be equal.”

Samora Machel died on 19 October 1986 in a plane crash just inside apartheid South Africa after the presidential plane was lured off course, apparently by a false beacon deliberately positioned by South Africa to achieve that result.



24 October 1964

Tiende Pamodzi

Music has been a life-long passion for Kenneth Kaunda from the time he was a teenager in Chinsali when he discovered the guitar and he occasionally picks up his guitar to sing. On his lonely assignments to mobilize support for independence, the lanky young man sporting a Zonk-haircut would ride long distances with a guitar slung across his shoulder. He would hold meetings and sing to his audience his own compositions.



When he ascended to power, it was a common feature to see him strum his guitar, singing a patriotic song or a love song dedicated to his wife, late Betty Kaunda.

Tiyende Pamodzi ndim'tima umo means, "Let us have one heart, one spirit, we work together so that we can develop. If you have different opinions you can't achieve the right goals."



The late Zambian leader described his philosophy as "humanism", a people-centred approach rooted in *ubuntu*. The leadership and people of independent Zambia welcomed refugees and exiles from neighbouring countries, and young people seeking education or military training to liberate their countries, notably from Angola, Namibia and apartheid South Africa, and also from Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The leadership and cadres of all the liberation movements in southern Africa passed through Zambia or lived there, and some went for military training, although that normally took place across Zambia's borders in Tanzania or Mozambique due to the vulnerability of the country's common border with Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) until 1980.



The cadres of all liberation movements in southern Africa sought refuge in Zambia during the liberation period in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s.

Kaunda welcomed visitors and supporters from the diaspora, especially those who were engaged in similar initiatives and "like-minded" leaders and organizations from around the world.

The Founding President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, with American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, who was assassinated in the United States in 1968.



Life magazine

When Kaunda was agitating for independence of Zambia, which he won on 24 October 1964, Martin Luther King was organizing the March on Washington on 28 August 1963, calling for the right to vote and an end to racial segregation in the US. King's speech in Washington, "I have a Dream", vibrated through southern Africa, where a similar dream was being pursued.



Kaunda with President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement, who had a similar dream at global level.

"I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character."



The Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TAZARA), a weapon of freedom ...

"So, this railway exists because of the hard physical labour, the ingenuity, and the willingness of the Chinese people to share what little they have. And, it has all been done as between equals: we in Tanzania and Zambia have been left with our dignity; and, with a deep sense of brotherly obligation. China has shown us the real meaning of revolutionary commitment and international solidarity. ... For this railway has three major contributions to make to Africans, and the Third World development.

"First, it provides a vital route to the sea for Zambia, through its North-Eastern areas; and it links important and underdeveloped parts of Tanzania, including the whole Rufiji Basin Valley, with Dar es Salaam port and the rest of the country.

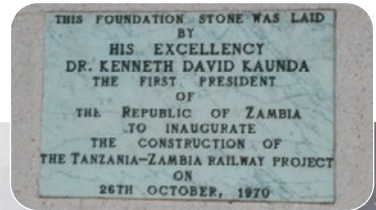
"Secondly, this railway will make a vital contribution to African unity. It will greatly facilitate trade between our two countries, and eventually, between Eastern and Southern Africa as a whole. It will, therefore, strengthen the policy of promoting inter-Third World trade, and increase our freedom from neo-colonial exploitation.

"Thirdly, the railway will be simultaneously, and automatically, helping the peoples of this part of Africa to play their part in the struggle for African liberation. For, it will strengthen our two countries; and both Tanzania and Zambia are committed to using their strength in support of total liberation of our continent. The struggle for freedom in Southern Africa has been going for a long time.

"Five countries used to be involved; two of them are now free, three are still to be freed. For no part of Africa can be left under the control of the colonialists or racists. The struggle must be waged by whatever means necessary for victory. We would prefer to win freedom by peaceful means; but, when it is not possible, Africa is committed to giving full support to an armed struggle by the peoples of the oppressed territories. ...

"This railway, whose completion we are celebrating today, is not unconnected with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa; it is a weapon of freedom, for Zambia and for Tanzania, and therefore, for Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa."

14 July 1976. Julius Nyerere speaking at the official handover of the railway to Tanzania and Zambia, at Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia. The railway runs between Kapiri Mposhi, in Zambia's mineral belt and the port of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania.





18 April 1980

Kenneth Kaunda

"It has happened, what seemed impossible has happened. This is a momentous and joyous occasion."

Samora Machel

"Today, we from Mozambique are here to celebrate independence. We have come to say to the people of Zimbabwe, now we are independent. Mozambique was not independent because Zimbabwe was still under domination."

"Viva Independência do Zimbabwe"

Election victory 1980

At 8 pm on 4 March after the results of the independence elections were announced, Mugabe addressed the nation in a masterly display of statesmanship. He spoke of turning swords into ploughshares to rebuild the war-torn nation, of the need for reconciliation and not recrimination, and he assured the whites that they would have a place in the country — as Zimbabweans. He spoke of a coalition with ZAPU and the inclusion of "members of other communities whom the constitution has denied the right of featuring as our candidates" in the racially separated poll. ...

This speech, clearly articulating the way forward, did much to allay their fears, and Mugabe, whom few of them had ever seen before, came across as a very able, intelligent and articulate leader, qualities they had never been allowed to know he possessed.

"Let us deepen our sense of belonging," he concluded, "and engender a common interest that knows no race, colour or creed. Let us truly become Zimbabweans with a single loyalty. Long live our freedom!"

The Struggle for Zimbabwe, 1981

African leaders and organizations, as well as institutions and individuals from elsewhere in the world who supported the independence movement and liberation struggle, arrived to celebrate with Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries, the Front Line States. Among them was the reggae icon from Jamaica, Bob Marley, who composed a special song titled *Zimbabwe*.

Julius Nyerere

"Ever since we have arrived we have been greeted extremely kindly by the people of Zimbabwe. They sing, they dance and they say thank you to me because of what they believe Tanzania did for Zimbabwe. We are now all Zimbabweans and all Africans and we hope you will work together for the good of Zimbabwe and for the strength of Africa."



Dr Kenneth Kaunda, first President of Zambia with Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania and President Samora Machel of Mozambique, which hosted Zimbabweans, both military and civilian; Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe with Nyerere and Kaunda. Mugabe became President in 1987 when the structure of governance was changed to an executive presidency.



Zimbabwe Linkway in Berlin



Bob Marley

ZIMBABWE

*"Every man gotta right to decide his own destiny
And in this judgment there is no partiality...
Natty dub it inna Zimbabwe,
Set it up inna Zimbabwe
Africans a liberate Zimbabwe..."*



The British flag is raised on the *kopje* (Harare Hill) overlooking Fort Salisbury on 13 September 1890.



"The Shona prophet, Chaminuka, saw a vision of white beings he described as "men without knees". They would, he said, invade Zimbabwe from the south and govern the country.... Chaminuka was proved right, and after fierce war white immigrants poured into the country. ...and took half of the country's land, all there was of healthy highveld land. The barren half they left to the millions of Africans to share. I first heard of the people's anguish through songs by bitter old men who sat around village fires in Mashonland and Manicaland where I spent part of my youth. One song was struck to my mind all my life. It said, "First there was forced labour, followed by houses in rows, then came roads, our cattle a-gone (finished)." Musosa Kazembe, DRUM magazine

...On 26 June 1890, an invasion force of 300 policemen recruited by Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company and almost 200 'pioneers' crossed the Macloutsie River from Bechuanaland (now Botswana) to colonize Mashonaland. The 'pioneers' had been selected from 2,000 applicants in South Africa for their ability to ride and shoot as well as their technical skills. They included mechanics, farmers, butchers, bakers and a large group of prospectors lured by stories of the vast goldfields.

They were armed with rifles, revolvers, machineguns and artillery. They wore military uniforms, army boots and hats. The wagon-train guide had promised them 15 claims each in the goldfields and 3,000 acres of prime farmland — a total of almost 1,500,000 acres. Their objective was Mount Hampden, and they claimed possession of the land in the name of Queen Victoria. That this was an invasion is not in dispute. Until 1961, when it became known as *Pioneer Day*, 12 September was annually commemorated as *Occupation Day*.

The first settlers who arrived in the eastern Melssetter area in 1893 listed the extensive range of African agricultural products. 'Mealies, poko corn, kaffir corn, millet, groundnuts, beans (five sorts), eggs, fruit, cabbages, sweet potatoes, peas, pumpkins of sorts, watermelons, cucumbers, chillies, tobacco, bananas and lemons, and these all grown to perfection,' one wrote. An early settler in western Mashonaland described the successful and varied agriculture of Chief Mashayamombe's people: 'The path wound through fields of mealies, kaffir corn, rukweza, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, peanuts and then across rice beds in the marshes.' Cattle and goats were herded.

Thus, the truth is that when the settlers arrived in 1890 a politically and economically developed system existed. The settlers had mainly come for the gold and over the next 20 years much of their food was supplied by the African economy. When the settlers could not find the gold that Africans had been mining for hundreds of years, they turned to farming, in the process destroying the African economic system and forcing Africans into reserves as they expropriated the land, creating a reservoir of cheap labour for the farms, mines and developing urban centres. *The Struggle for Zimbabwe*, 1981

The African resistance to losing the land and freedom continued in all parts of the country through the 1890s, led by the chiefs and communities, supported by traditional structures such as spirit mediums, including Nehanda Charwe Nyakasikana, the medium of a powerful and respected ancestral spirit. In the local culture, people believe mortals are guided by their ancestors, and these ancestors speak through spirit mediums to protect and provide inspiration, courage, value systems and a sense of obligation.



Chimure



Pfumbiro



National Archives, The Netherlands



Leaders Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe and the memorial to the young people who fought and won back their country. The spirit medium of Mbuya Nehanda was one of the most mystical and influential figures of the First and Second Chimurenga, who before her execution by the colonial authorities in 1898, made her famous statement, "My bones will rise." Resistance continued and grew until Independence was regained 90 years after occupation.

Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo, Father Zimbabwe

"The most important change in this country is that of our people recognizing themselves as one. We have been divided into racial groups, white people, black people...Once you change this and you make our people feel that they are one, then all those things that were divided along those lines could be solved."

Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Founding President

"Everybody must be accorded full political rights, whether he be white or black, educated or uneducated, rich or poor, and this is exactly why we are at the moment struggling to earn for our people 'one man one vote'."

Josiah Magama Tongogara

"My grievances were more based on the question of the oppression which I had seen from my own parents or my own people, particularly in the deprivation of land. I used to listen to my parents talking about it. And also, even my elder brother, failed to get a place in school, and then the land. These were primarily the factors that motivated me."

"We do not intend to finish in a matter of two, three, four or five years ...this is a protracted struggle. The type of war we fight depends on changes of tactics and we've changed our tactics. We will combine both — where they meet us and intercept us, we will stand and fight; where they don't see us, we will go to our own areas and infiltrate ourselves into the population and organize our masses."

Both armies in the Zimbabwe liberation movement, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army, changed their tactics in the 1970s, finding that the Zambezi River crossing from Zambia presented difficulties. The river was a natural barrier, giving an advantage to the defender and, even if it was crossed safely, few people lived in the area on the Rhodesian side to give food, shelter and information to the guerrillas. There was a shortage of water, it was excessively hot and, finally, the Rhodesian forces, who saw the main threat as coming from Zambia, had created a *cordon sanitaire* with camps along their bank of the river.

Tongogara said these difficulties led to the conclusion that they must try to get through Mozambique. "We discovered that we were doing a very good job inside, according to that time, it was the beginning, but the rear was weaker than the front, despite the hardships of the front. We could not continue like that and win."

ZANLA was operating in the north-east of the country and FRELIMO was moving south across the Zambezi River to conduct operations in Tete province of Mozambique, and they confronted joint operations of Portuguese and Rhodesian forces. So discussions took place between the two parties in Lusaka, led by Herbert Chitepo and Samora Machel. They agreed that ZANLA could work with Frelimo and operate from Mozambique. ZPRA continued to operate from independent Zambia, and later Angola, and both had representatives and transit routes through Botswana.

Tongogara said later that Machel told them, "Some of us, when we look at the situation in Mozambique, realize if we liberate Mozambique tomorrow that will not be the end. The liberation of Mozambique without the liberation of Zimbabwe is meaningless."



Samora Machel, Robert Mugabe

They were committed to unity, spoke about unity and created structures for unity

Herbert Chitepo and Jason “JZ” Moyo directed the liberation war from Lusaka, on military and diplomatic fronts, and they were both targeted by the Rhodesian security forces. Both were assassinated in Lusaka, Chitepo on 18 March 1975 and Moyo on 22 January 1977, the former in a car bomb, and the latter in a package sent to his office. After independence, Rhodesian special forces admitted to both murders, saying they had tapped into Moyo’s telephone conversations and intercepted a package that he was expecting. For Chitepo, they attached explosives to his car, and described the operation and subsequent campaign of fake news targeting his colleagues, as their most successful operation of the war.



The operational commanders were Rodgers Alfred Nikita Mangena (left) and Josiah Magama Tongogara, shown middle as commander of the war and at right reflecting on the negotiations for independence at Lancaster House in London in 1979. Both men died before independence, Mangena by a landmine in southern Zambia on 28 June 1978, and Tongogara in a vehicle accident in central Mozambique on 26 December 1979, rushing to tell his commanders about the ceasefire.



The first group of youth with military training to cross the Zambezi River from Zambia into Southern Rhodesia walked across the bridge at Chirundu where they were mistaken for school-boys by border officials. The group commanded by Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa arrived in time for the first ZANU Congress in Gweru in May 1964, as representatives of the youth league for Lusaka branch, but few people knew they were trained guerrillas. Mnangagwa was arrested a year later after placing explosives on a train in Masvingo, jailed and sentenced to death. The prison chaplain, Father Emmanuel Ribeiro, rescued him from death row, declaring that he was too young for execution. After eight years in prison, where he continued his studies, he was deported to Zambia and completed his law degree at the University of Zambia. He then went to Mozambique to re-join the war, becoming head of civil and military security. After independence in 1980 he was given the task of unifying the armies of the liberation movement (ZANLA and ZPRA) with the Rhodesian army, as Chairman of the Military High Command. He served in various cabinet posts and in 2017 he took the oath of office as the second President of Zimbabwe.



ED Mnangagwa

Women had multiple roles in the National Liberation Movements, including as trained military cadres alongside men. Women also carried weapons and ammunition over long distances as couriers, worked as intelligence officers, cooked and carried food, and trained as police officers. Some women looked after children, theirs and others. Women and men nursed the wounded and sick. In all of the national liberation movements in southern Africa, most of the command positions were held by men, but not all. There were some women commanders. The multiple roles of women came into play just as it did after the war, and still does now. So it is important that these different roles are documented alongside the multiple and often different roles played by men. The point is the importance of giving these roles their proper value in the telling of his story and her story.



Oppah 'Chamu' Muchinguri-Kashiri



Monica 'Chido' Mutsvangwa

"1975, 25 June, FRELIMO got its independence, and that actually gave us that strength to say – If the Mozambicans can do it, then we can do it. It was a spirit which came through the young people of this country. We were so determined.... I call ourselves the Samora Machel generation.... I am tied inextricably to this great country by the blood of the gallant sons and daughters of both Mozambique and Zimbabwe who gave life and limb for the liberation of our country." Hon. Monica Mutsvangwa, speaking in Maputo as Vice President of SADC Parliamentary Forum

Where there is a purpose, there is no failure...
Follow the river and find the sea.
Swahili proverbs



11 November 1975

Angola is one of the largest and potentially one of the wealthiest countries in Africa, but its people came to independence after suffering from one of the longest and most debilitating of all forms of European colonialism. Geographically Angola serves as a transit route for mineral exports from, to the east, landlocked Zambia, and, to the north, the Democratic Republic of Congo, which has very limited access to the Atlantic through a shipping channel within Angolan territorial waters. Angola had its first colonial settlement in 1575 (independence came 400 years later), but for centuries was mainly of interest to Europe as a source of slaves, or as a dumping ground for exiled criminals. ...Diamond extraction, initiated in 1913, became of commercial importance after 1920, and petroleum extraction, beginning at low level in 1956, had by 1973 overtaken coffee as the main source of foreign revenue. Wolfers, M. 1981 *People's Republic of Angola*

The patience of Angolans was wearing thin by the 1960s and some leaders were already in exile. The MPLA President, Dr Agostinho Neto was in prison in Portugal. On 4 February 1961, opponents of colonialism were broken out of prison in Luanda, and that day is marked as the start of the liberation war, which eventually brought independence on 11 November 1975.



Poetry by Agostinho Neto, *Sacred Hope*
published by Angolan Writers Union
Illustrations by António P. Domingues



"I am Theory, the Narrator of this story about the liberation war in Mayombe forest of Angola. I was born in Gabela, in coffee country. From the land I received the dark colour of coffee, from my mother's side, mixed with off-white from my father, a Portuguese trader. I carry in me the irreconcilable and that is my driving force. In a Universe of yes or no, white or black, I represent the maybe" ... From the classic story of *Mayombe* by Artur Pestana "Pepetela", published by Angolan Writers Union 1980

The ANC and The MPLA Oliver Tambo

"The heroic anti-colonial struggles of the peoples of Africa for national independence, including, in particular, the armed struggles of the people of Algeria, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique, culminated in the epoch-making collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The earth-shaking victories of Frelimo and the MPLA brought southern Africa to the crossroads. ..."

Oliver Tambo Speaks, at MPLA Congress in Luanda 1977

Agostinho Neto

Beyond Poetry

There on the horizon
fire
and dark silhouettes of the baobabs
arms raised
In the air the green smell of burnt palms

African poetry

On the highway
the line of *Bailundo* porters
groaning under the weight of cassava flour
In the room
the mulatto girl with gentle eyes
retouching her face with rouge and powder
The woman under ample cloths sways her hips
In the bed the sleepless man thinking
of buying knives and forks to eat at table

Havemos de voltar

Às casas, às nossas lavras
às praias, aos nossos campos
havemos de voltar

Às nossas terras
vermelhas do café
brancas de algodão
verdes dos milharais
havemos de voltar

Às nossas minas de diamantes
ouro, cobre, de petróleo
havemos de voltar

Aos nossos rios, nossos lagos
às montanhas, às florestas
havemos de voltar

À frescura da mulemba
às nossas tradições
aos ritmos e às fogueiras
havemos de voltar

À marimba e ao quissange
ao nosso carnaval
havemos de voltar

A bela pátria angolana
nossa terra, nossa mãe
havemos de voltar

Havemos de voltar
À Angola libertada
Angola independente

In the sky the reflected fire
And silhouettes of black men dancing the *batuque*
arms raised
In the air the hot melody of the marimbas

African poetry

And on the highway the porters
in the room the mulatto girl
in the bed the sleepless man

Braziers consuming
consuming
the hot earth of horizons on fire.

Bailundo: A part of Huambo Province and the name given to its inhabitants

Note Added: Table manners and the use of knives and forks was a benchmark used by colonial authorities in Angola and Mozambique to determine if a local person was sufficiently civilized to join the society and have special privileges, therefore to become *assimilado*, assimilated.

We shall return

To the houses, to our crops
to the beaches, to our fields
we shall return.

To our lands red with coffee
white with cotton
green with maize fields
we shall return
To our mines of diamonds
Gold, copper, oil
we shall return

To our rivers, our lakes
to the mountains the forests
we shall return

To the shade of the *mulemba*
to our traditions
to the rhythms and bonfires
we shall return

To the marimba and the *quissange*
to our carnival
we shall return

To our beautiful Angolan homeland
our land, our mother
we shall return

We shall return
to liberated Angola
independent Angola

Aljube prison in Lisbon
October 1960

"Unity is necessary in all these countries. It has been proved in the case of the Portuguese colonies. Where there has been unity the advance to independence has been easier. Where there has not been unity as in the case of Angola the advance to independence is being unnecessarily delayed and I hope our friends in Rhodesia have learnt the lesson correctly and that they will maintain and strengthen the unity."

– Julius Nyerere

From *Sacred Hope* – Poems by Agostinho Neto, published by the Angolan Writers Union, 1986
Translated to English by Marga Holness. Original paintings by António Domingues in the author's private collection

Apartheid South Africa invaded southern Angola in 1975 August, prior to independence in November, and remained until the formal peace agreement when South African troops and administration were withdrawn from neighbouring Namibia in 1989. During that period, there were airstrikes targeting the Angolan army, SWAPO fighters, and refugee camps, including direct South African military attacks.

Angolan independence did not bring peace, as part of the country was controlled by other groups that were well-armed by apartheid South Africa, which also occupied an area in the south of the country, said to be a 50-km strip along the border for defence purposes, but intended to weaken Angola and attack the SWAPO liberation fighters from South West Africa (now Namibia) which was occupied by South Africa.

Among the atrocities was the raid by South African apartheid forces on a camp for Namibian refugees at Cassinga in Huila Province on 4 May 1978. It was one of the largest airborne operations by the South African Defence Force (SADF) which dropped almost 400 paratroops near the town and bombed camps and bases nearby, followed by a ground attack. More than 600 Namibians were massacred by SADF troops, including a large number of women and children, and hundreds were injured. A UN mission visited Cassinga and described the attack as “criminal in legal terms and savage in moral terms”. A few weeks later, 600 Namibian children, mainly survivors of Cassinga, arrived in Cuba to study. 4

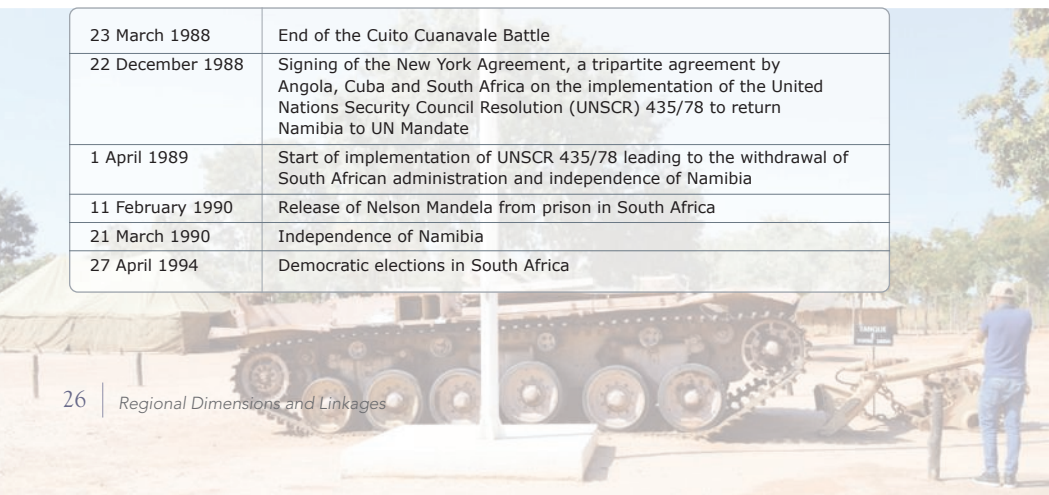
May is Cassinga Day in Namibia, a public holiday to reflect on those who gave their lives for independence.

The South African Defence Force stretched itself one step too far in defence of their apartheid system of racial segregation, when they conducted raids and attacks further into the country in 1987 against the well-trained and armed Angolan army and SWAPO liberation fighters, strengthened by Cuban revolutionary forces, some of whom lost their lives and are considered heroes in Africa due to their support for liberation. Apartheid South Africa was confronted in southern Angola and their advance was halted in a major military confrontation that lasted for several months, culminating eventually in the decisive clash at Cuito Cuanavale in March 1988.

The defeat of the South African apartheid forces at Cuito Cuanavale led to negotiations involving the United Nations, Angola, Namibia, Cuba and South Africa, among others, which eventually resulted in a South African withdrawal from Namibia, which returned to UN mandate for a transitional period leading to elections for a Constituent Assembly, and Independence two years later, on 21 March 1990. This was followed by democratic elections in South Africa four years later, on 27 April 1994.

CHRONOLOGY CUITO CUANAVALÉ

23 March 1988	End of the Cuito Cuanavale Battle
22 December 1988	Signing of the New York Agreement, a tripartite agreement by Angola, Cuba and South Africa on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 435/78 to return Namibia to UN Mandate
1 April 1989	Start of implementation of UNSCR 435/78 leading to the withdrawal of South African administration and independence of Namibia
11 February 1990	Release of Nelson Mandela from prison in South Africa
21 March 1990	Independence of Namibia
27 April 1994	Democratic elections in South Africa



March 23 Southern Africa Liberation Day

The small town of Cuito Cuanavale in the province of Cuando Cubango in the southern part of Angola was the epicentre of one the fiercest conventional battles in Africa.

From November 1987 to March 1988, thousands of combatants from the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) supported by the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and the Cuban Revolutionary Forces fought to defend the country and defeat the armed forces of the Apartheid regime of South Africa.

This battle at Cuito Cuanavale is written large in history as the “war to end all wars” after which South Africa began its retreat from apartheid and the region, and two years later released Nelson Mandela from prison.

23 March is therefore the date selected by the 16 Member States of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to commemorate Southern Africa Liberation Day.

The first celebration was held on 23 March 2019 at Cuito Cuanavale, where a museum has been established and military hardware remains.

The victory at Cuito Cuanavale changed the face of southern Africa and was the last major battle for liberation, soon followed by successful negotiations for the independence of Namibia (1990) and end of the apartheid administration in South Africa (1994), enabling the region to advance to regional development and integration.

The date marks the last battle in southern Angola, at Cuito Cuanavale in 1988.

In addition to the Southern Africa Liberation Day, the 38th SADC Summit, hosted by Namibia in 2018, approved the establishment of a regional working group of curriculum experts to determine the requirements for teaching Southern African Liberation History and its inclusion in the school syllabus of SADC Member States.

SADC leaders also put in place a mechanism to honour the Founders of SADC.



Southern African Development Community



21 March 1990

"The securing of Namibia's independence was not without cost. We had dearly paid for it in sweat, tears, blood and lives."
Founding President Sam Nujoma

"We have no alternative but to rise in arms and bring about our own liberation. We are our own liberators."

Peter Nanyemba made that statement on behalf of SWAPO in June 1966 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania where he was the Chief Representative for East Africa, announcing the commencement of the war for independence. That marked a strategic shift from reliance on the politics of protests and petitioning as the main form of anti-colonial struggle, although these continued in tandem. On 26 August 1966 (now Heroes Day), this became reality on the ground when the first shots were fired at Omugulu-gOmbashin the Omusati Region of northern Namibia, illuminating the road Namibians had to march, resulting in independence 24 years later, on 21 March 1990, supported by the people of Namibia and Africa.

Between those dates, a lot of other activities were undertaken to support the objective, at home through trade unions and churches, and through international solidarity until the case of Namibia was made a global issue through the United Nations, allies and support groups.

Samuel Shafishuna Nujoma was a founder member and the first president of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). He left the country in 1960 at age 30 travelling by road, train and plane to Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and elsewhere, not knowing that it would be another 30 years before his formal return on 14 September 1989, before independence in March 1990. He played the leading role as head of the national liberation movement in campaigning for Namibia's independence from apartheid South African rule. SWAPO established the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) in 1962 and launched the liberation war in 1966 after the United Nations withdrew the mandate for South Africa to govern the country, lasting until 1989 and elections. He served as Founding President from 1990, and was elected to a further two terms in 1995 and 2000 before stepping down. He was followed by President Hifikepunye Pohamba who served the next two terms from 2005 to 2015.

The role and contribution of the Church and Labour Unions

The churches and labour unions acted as a support system during the liberation struggle. While labour unions were founded by workers to organise themselves in order to fight back against exploitation, the church focused on education. Not many books were available, so the messages of the Bible influenced the values of the people. The church educated all age groups and offered scholarships in the absence of tertiary education, provided the necessary safe space for NLM discussions and disseminated information about liberation. Churches and individuals campaigned for national freedom, nationally and internationally, lobbied for humanitarian safety and started petitions; while the labour unions mobilised parties and political meetings, motivated people to join liberation movements and ultimately became the platform for criticism against the apartheid regime.

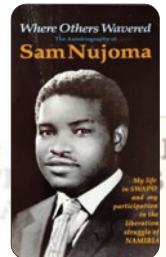
Bishop Dr Shekutaamba V.V. Nambala

International solidarity

While Russia, China, Yugoslavia and others provided weapons and military training to the liberation movement as well as refuge and education, a successful international solidarity campaign was run from offices in the United States and Europe including Britain, Sweden, Norway, Finland, East and West Germany, Netherlands and Denmark, and in collaboration with the established structures of the anti-apartheid movement. They lobbied their governments, briefed the media and produced information to mobilize public opinion.



PLAN combatants march past PLAN Commander-in-Chief, Dr Sam Nujoma. At left is the late Peter Nanyemba, then SWAPO Secretary of Defence.



Ndemufayo/Ndemufaio is honoured as a hero in both Namibia and Angola*

*with a difference in spelling

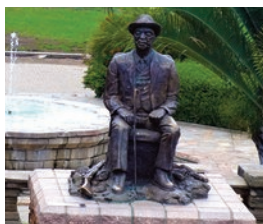
As the Ovakwanyama king, Mandume ya Ndemufayo fought two colonial powers between 1911 and 1917 -- the Portuguese onslaught in Angola and the British-South African regime in Namibia.

The Kwanyama kingdom was split at the 1884 Berlin conference in Europe, into Portuguese West Africa and German South West Africa. Born a decade later in 1894 and installed as the Ovakwanyama king in 1911 at age 17, Ndemufayo grew up during a time of significant upheaval due to the presence of European merchants and missionaries. His life was short but he gave it in the fight for freedom. He died on 6 February 1917 in battle with South African forces who had occupied a portion of his kingdom.

He had expelled Portuguese traders from Kwanyama territory, allowed women to own cattle, and decreed harsh penalties for the crime of rape. No European colonizer challenged the well-armed Ovambo kingdoms until 1915 after the start of World War I in Europe coincided with a massive local drought. He moved his capital south after heavy losses in holding off a Portuguese attack, but then confronted South African forces in battle after refusing to submit to their control. His leadership, courage and tragic death remain vivid in the oral and written history of Namibia. He was one of nine national heroes identified for the inauguration of the Heroes Acre in 2002.



Mandume ya Ndemufayo



Monument to Chief Kutako
outside Parliament in Windhoek

Chief Hosea Kutako

The Herero Chief, Hosea Komombumbi Kutako... participated in the anti-colonial wars of 1904 as one of the leading commanders. He also played a historic and significant role in petitioning the United Nations with Rev. Michael Scott in 1946, demanding the placement of then South West Africa under UN trusteeship....

"In this way, he played a major role in Namibia's struggle for freedom and independence. To his revolutionary spirit and his visionary memory we humbly offer our honour and respect."

Founding President Sam Nujoma, inaugurating Heroes Acre, 2002

Scars of genocide

The United Nations Genocide Convention defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group."

That happened in Namibia in 1904-1908, when leaders of the resistance to German occupation rebelled and fought to defend their territory, under Samuel Maherero and Kaptein Hendrik Witbooi, known as the "captain who disappears into the grass" because of his guerrilla tactics. The German military station at Waterberg was occupied by Herero mounted infantry and guerrilla forces, but colonial forces fought back using breech-loading artillery and belt-fed Maxim machineguns at the Battle of Waterberg. General Von Trotha, who had served in German East Africa (Tanganyika), issued an extermination order to shoot every Herero, whether armed or unarmed, including men, women and children. The surviving population, weakened by an outbreak of rinderpest that decimated cattle and thus the local economy and food security, were forced into the Omaheke desert and any who tried to return to their land were killed or put into concentration camps. Most of the Herero population died (75-80 percent) and half the Nama population. Witbooi was killed in action and Maherero took part of the remaining population into exile. Soon afterwards, diamonds were discovered in the territory.

A UN report in 1985 identified this as an attempt at extermination, and therefore genocide. Skulls and other remains that were taken to Germany as trophies and for experimentation began to be returned to Namibia in 2011 after intense lobbying, and most recently in 2018, when a Namibian delegation formally received the remains during a church ceremony in Germany, including 19 skulls, a scalp and bones. Heads and human trophies were also taken from Tanzania, South Africa and Zimbabwe to Germany and Britain, and repatriation discussions are still in progress.



Two youths hold candles next to two skulls displayed during a handover ceremony in Germany in 2018.



IRICO

The UN Institute for Namibia, known as UNIN, was established in Lusaka, Zambia in 1975 to train young Namibians who could take up administrative positions at independence, and develop a policy framework for independent Namibia. The Founding Director of UNIN was Dr. Hage G. Geingob, who served for the duration of the institute from 1975-1989. Dr. Geingob was a member of the Central Committee and Politburo of SWAPO, chosen to head SWAPO's campaign for the pre-independence elections, as Director of Elections, so he returned home on 18 June 1989 after 27 years in exile. Following election victory, he was elected Chairman of the Constituent Assembly to formulate the new Constitution of Namibia, which was adopted on 9 February 1990, leading to independence on 21 March 1990. As the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Namibia, he introduced a modern management approach to government. Dr. Geingob was elected President of SWAPO in 2014, and he was sworn in as President of Namibia on 21 March 2015.

The Head of Teacher Training and Assistant Director of UNIN was the young, well-educated Dr Mosé Penaani Tjitendero, who joined the struggle in exile in Tanzania in 1964 and much later he became the first Speaker of the National Assembly of independent Namibia (1990-2005), reforming the parliamentary system into a transparent and effective forum for legislation and debate. He provided inspiration beyond borders as the visionary activist for the establishment of the SADC Parliamentary Forum, hosted by Namibia.

They were ably supported by an experienced Tanzanian legal practitioner, Mark Bomani, who was the first Attorney General of Tanzania (1965-1976) and was seconded to serve as the Senior Legal Adviser at UNIN (1976-1990), working to develop a legal system for the country, independent of South Africa.



IRICO

Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah joined SWAPO in 1966, and when she left Namibia for exile in 1974 she was a regional chair of the Youth League. She represented the party from 1976 in key posts for the liberation war – in Zambia as Chief Representative, and in Tanzania as Chief Representative for Eastern Africa and the OAU Liberation Committee (1980-1986). She served as a member of Parliament and Cabinet from Independence, in various ministerial posts, and as Minister of International Relations and Deputy Prime Minister. She is the first woman to be elected Vice President of SWAPO, at the 2017 party Congress.



IRICO

UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR 435)

Theo-Ben Gurirab, freedom fighter, diplomat, politician, teacher, comrade, father, grandfather, and one of the founding fathers of the Republic of Namibia. He never saw himself as a hero, but as a patriot who did his best for his country and continent. Yet he stood as a colossus of freedom, astride the world, that small boy who used to run around the hills in rural Namibia, where he started school before moving on to become President of the UN General Assembly, which represents the world.

During the period when he was SWAPO's top diplomat at the United Nations, from 1972 to 1986, SWAPO's political and diplomatic status grew from that of a petitioner on the sidelines of diplomacy to a mainstream negotiator in the international arena.

The protracted negotiations that produced UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), containing an internationally accepted plan to bring independence to Namibia, was a stellar achievement of his political and diplomatic career.

As the first Foreign Minister (1990-2002) and second Prime Minister (2002-2005) of independent Namibia, and the second Speaker of the National Assembly (2005-2015), he pledged to “safeguard the Republic of Namibia, the People, the Constitution, and our nationhood for the benefit of the children of the land and all posterity.”

When Gurirab died in 2018 at age 80, the UN Secretary-General, António Guterres, expressed profound gratitude for the wide range of contributions, saying he can be honoured by advocating the values that defined his life – self-determination, human rights, freedom and justice.



IRICO



Tanzanian passport issued to Sam Nujoma during liberation war.

“Toivo ya Toivo was more than a Namibian hero”

by Simon Allison, *Mail and Guardian* 15 June 2017

In South Africa, we too easily forget that our troubled history is not, and has never been, confined within the borders of the republic. All our neighbours, in their own way, played their part in South Africa's liberation struggle, and all, to various degrees, suffered from their proximity to the apartheid regime. But none more so than Namibia.

Since the end of World War I, Namibia (then called South West Africa) was, in effect, ruled from Pretoria, which sought to recreate there the same racist policies enacted at home — and crushed any resistance with the same brutality meted out to opposition in South Africa.

That's how Andimba Herman Toivo ya Toivo ended up on Robben Island. He was, with Sam Nujoma, a co-founding member of the South-West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) and a fierce, uncompromising advocate for independence.

“We are Namibians, and not South Africans,” he told the Supreme Court during his trial in Pretoria in 1967-1968, his political activity earning him a charge under the Terrorism Act. “We do not now, and will not in the future, recognise your right to govern us, to make laws for us in which we have no say, to treat our country as if it were your property and us as if you were our masters.”

Ya Toivo's independent streak manifested itself in prison, where he vehemently refused to co-operate with prison warders, even if it meant fewer privileges.

“Andimba was not concerned about that. He didn't care to be promoted and he wouldn't co-operate with the authorities at all in almost everything,” remembered Nelson Mandela, who spent a decade with him in the same section in Robben Island prison.

Ya Toivo refused to complain about poor conditions and abuse, unwilling to acknowledge in any way the authority of an illegitimate government.

When his sentence was commuted, in 1984, he refused to leave his cell while other Namibians were still behind bars. Prison guards eventually tricked him out of the cell, and locked the door to make sure he couldn't return.

Ya Toivo lived to see his independence dream come true and took on several Cabinet positions before retiring from politics in 2006. His death, last week at the age of 92, was mourned across Namibia.

South Africa too should remember a liberation hero whose struggle was so intimately linked to our own.



Samuel Shafiishuna Nujoma and Andimba Toivo ya Toivo on his return to Namibia

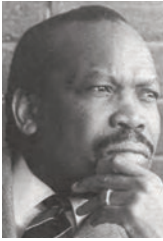
Founding President Samuel Shafiishuna Nujoma and Andimba Toivo ya Toivo on his return to Namibia

Sam Nujoma, Founding President of Namibia

“African states must cooperate and coordinate all efforts into consolidating independence and strengthening unity and that Africa's vast resources will be used by the Africans to secure progress and economic self-determination for the continent.”



30 September 1966



Chief Seretse Khama, Founding President of Botswana

"It has always been my belief that Bechuanaland, small country though it may be has a role to play in southern Africa and in the unnecessary conflict between black and white. The proposals I have put forward are in the establishing of a non-racial society in which each individual will have an equal right of expression and of opportunity, no matter what is the race or colour."

The countries on the frontline with apartheid South Africa were vulnerable to its pressures, both economic and military. Botswana imported most of its food and other supplies from South Africa, and could not close its border or cut its ties. In addition, families are shared across borders with South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Despite its vulnerability, the founding father, President Seretse Khama, was a firm supporter of the liberation of southern Africa, and the participants as well as refugees and exiles passed through. Some liberation movements had discreet offices and camps in Botswana.

At the meetings of the Front Line States, the Chairman, *Mwalimu* Nyerere, always referred to his colleague respectfully as "Chief", and he always credited him as the initiator of the Front Line States although this initiative could not be driven by Botswana due to its vulnerable geographical position next to apartheid South Africa. At one time, President Khama considered the possibility of asking China to build a railway from Francistown to Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia to link up with the freedom railway, the TAZARA, but he was persuaded by officials that this may be regarded by South Africa as a hostile act!

A major challenge was the Soweto generation when students poured out of South Africa in 1976 and 1977 and, being mainly city kids from the townships who thrived on action, they flooded the streets and the night life of Gaborone, until this was eventually brought under control by the ANC, mainly by moving them on to Tanzania, Nigeria and other countries for education or training. However, Botswana was vulnerable to attack, and as apartheid began to feel threatened in South Africa, they raided and destroyed the ANC safe houses in Botswana, killing the inhabitants.

To Thami Mnyele...
...you deserve a poem of the will of man
the nation of anthems of steel
or pictures of the war of victories
i owe you the immortality
the breath of heroes
let Gaborone be the badge
the mint of posterity...
— Zinjiva Nkondo —

ANC, *Rixaka* 2, 1966

Two Kingdoms in the struggle

King Sobhuza II of the Kingdom of Eswatini (Swaziland) and King Moshoeshoe II of the Kingdom of Lesotho allowed their countries to be used as transit and refuge, especially for the ANC of South Africa. Both kings were anti-apartheid and active supporters of liberation but denied this publicly due to the vulnerability and proximity of their countries to South Africa. Exiles from other countries in the region joined the University of Lesotho and established the Institute of Southern African Studies.



Swaziland 6 September 1968

King Sobhuza II Paramount Chief and King of Swaziland for 82 years was awarded honours by South Africa for "exceptional contribution" to the struggle against apartheid through supporting the liberation movement. He welcomed South African ANC to use Manzini as a base of operations in the 1980s.



Lesotho 4 October 1966

King Moshoeshoe II was the Paramount Chief and King of Lesotho. He contributed immensely to the struggle against apartheid through supporting the liberation movement and thus attracting economic and military pressure on his country. Due to trade restrictions and other economic pressures, he initiated a campaign against sanctions imposed by South Africa on its neighbours.



National Archives, Netherlands



Freedom Day 27 April 1994

Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela established a law firm called Mandela and Tambo, the first black firm of attorneys in South Africa, established 1952 and operating from Chancellor House, the building that housed the ANC headquarters, now a museum and archive.

UNC - Robben Island Museum Archives



The story of the South African struggle for liberation from apartheid, supported by neighbouring countries, Africa and eventually most of the world, fills many volumes of books. These are a few of the highlights.

Apartheid is an Afrikaans word meaning “apartness”, and was introduced in South Africa in 1948 after the National Party won parliamentary elections in which only whites were allowed to vote or stand for election. Apartheid laws forced different racial groups to live separately, and grossly unequally, making all social integration illegal, including marriage between racial groups. During apartheid, to have a friendship with someone of a different race caused suspicion or arrest, and the majority of the population suffered oppression, restriction and discrimination as well as loss of land and property, human rights, families and lives. Apartheid may have appeared similar to the policy of segregation applied by the colonial governments that existed before the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. However, the apartheid system formalised segregation as part of the law, cruelly and forcibly separated people, and had a fearsome state apparatus to punish those who disagreed.

As happened with other parts of Africa, South Africa was allocated to a colonial power in Europe in 1885 and remained under British control, although many of the European settlers were Dutch farmers, who considered themselves Africans and became known as Afrikaners or Boers. So the white population was divided, with English-speakers controlling the economy and generally feeling superior to the Boer farmers, while both mistrusted the other group of “Africans, Coloureds and Asians”.

The African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) was established in 1944, four years before the National Party came to power, by Anton Lambete who was the first President, Ashley Mda, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela. Their objective was to mobilise people to work against the seemingly indestructible system, and change it.

The Youth League was formed as a structure of the African National Congress (ANC), the oldest formal liberation movement, established on 8 January 1912, led by John Dube and later by Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo who was the longest serving President (1967-1991), and Nelson Mandela. The ANC was founded at the Waaihoek Wesleyan Church in Bloemfontein, by Dube, Josiah Gumede, Pixley ka Isaka Seme and Sol Plaatje, and was then called the South African Native National Congress (SANNC).

Women had to struggle for their space in the liberation movement and for a long time women were not full members, but joined the Bantu Women's League under the leadership of Charlotte Maxeke. Women were accepted as ANC members at the 1943 conference and the ANC Women's League was formed soon after.



Nelson and Winnie Mandela



Charlotte Mannya Maxeke



Walter Sisulu



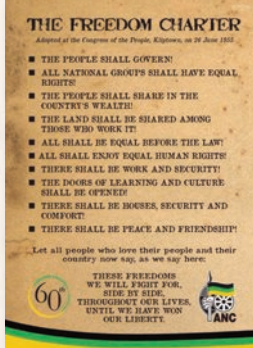
Oliver Reginald (OR) Tambo



Chief Albert Luthuli



Youth in the Liberation Struggle and Beyond



Main headings of the Charter



#ancylw82



Charter memorial in Kliptown, Soweto

After the Defiance Campaign of 1952, which women and youth played an active role in organizing, the work started to develop the Freedom Charter as a response to an increasingly repressive system. The ANC sent 50,000 volunteers into the townships and the countryside to collect "freedom demands" from the people of South Africa. The Women's League and the Youth League both played an active role in collecting the views of their members and supporters. The results were synthesized into a document under the headings shown above, and officially adopted on 26 June 1955 at a gathering known as the Congress of the People, in Kliptown, Soweto.

The Freedom Charter was a statement of core principles of the South African Congress Alliance, which consisted of the ANC and its allies: the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Congress. It is characterized by its opening demand, "The People Shall Govern!" The document was a major break with the past traditions of the struggle; no longer a civil rights movement seeking to be accommodated in the existing structures of society, but a call for a fundamental restructuring of all aspects of South African society, notable for its commitment to a non-racial South Africa.

The Freedom Charter, which was a very radical and subversive document in its time, continued to circulate underground and inspired a generation of young militants, within and outside the country. When the ANC came to power after democratic elections in 1994, the new Constitution of South Africa included rights expressed in the Freedom Charter.

August 9 (now National Women's Day) is the date in 1956 when more than 20,000 South African women of all races marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the harsh racial laws of the apartheid regime that were aimed at tightening control over the movement of black women in urban areas by requiring them to carry passes. The march was organized by the Federation of South African Women and the ANC Women's League, following its first national conference the previous year. Women travelled from all over the country by train rather than bus, to avoid police roadblocks. They stood in complete silence for a long period, before starting to sing, and after presenting their petition with 100,000 signatures, they dispersed.

Oliver Reginald (OR) Tambo, one of founders of the ANC Youth League, emerged to become acting secretary-general of the ANC in 1954 after Walter Sisulu was banned, and from 1958 he was deputy President of ANC. He was assigned to leave the country in 1960 and relocate to Europe to mobilize international support when the ANC, PAC and SACP were banned after Sharpeville, and most neighbouring countries which later provided refuge to ANC were still under colonial rule. He was appointed ANC President in 1967 after the death of Chief Luthuli.

Police opened fire on a peaceful anti-pass march organized by the Pan Africanist Congress, resulting in the Sharpeville Massacre. The PAC Founder and President, Robert Sobukwe, was sentenced to prison subject to annual renewal, and then restriction and house arrest.

Murder at Sharpeville Police Station on 21 March 1960.
Deaths 69. Injuries 180. Men, women and children.



Godfrey Rubens (painter and photographer)

Umkhonto we Sizwe Spear of the Nation



Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) was launched as the armed wing of the ANC on 16 December 1961, after the leadership decided to change tactics, as campaigns of passive resistance and “non-violence” were met with violence, and parties such as the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) were banned. Women remained in the underground in Soweto and elsewhere, and continued the struggle at home to organize under heavy security restrictions. MK comprised mainly men in the early days, but later when military training took place in the region, women were included. The campaign of sabotage began at home with state structures as the target, framed by a policy decision that sabotage should not cause loss of life.

The Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) invited the ANC to attend its conference in Addis Ababa in February 1962, and that provided an opportunity to arrange political and economic support and military training for MK in Ethiopia and other countries, and to meet other liberation movements. Nelson Mandela was assigned to go and meet with the External Mission headed by Oliver Tambo in exile, and discuss the strategic shift.

Mandela kept a handwritten journal during the 1962 mission, now lodged at the National Archives of South Africa and published online by SA History Online. The journey begins with his first entry on 3 January 1962 and his last in Ethiopia on 13 July 1962 shortly before his return to South Africa. It offers a reflection into an era of newly independent African states and those still engaged in seeking independence by various means. The alignment of forces against colonialism and apartheid South Africa emerges as one of the main themes in Mandela’s writings.

On a personal level, this was Mandela’s first journey beyond the borders of his own country. On 11 January 1962 he entered British-controlled Bechuanaland and from there he flew to Tanganyika and on to Addis Ababa for the PAFMECSA conference which he addressed, with OR Tambo, as part of the ANC delegation.

Mandela wrote a substantial amount of detail in his journal that dealt with military matters, and this stands as a poignant record relevant to the memory and archive of that era. In matters military, Ethiopia was the first point of contact. Mandela’s notes reflect whom he met with and where, and how tangible military support was going to be raised and provided.

Linking up with Algeria’s National Liberation Front (FLN) in Morocco proved a key experience. It was at Zegangan Training Base in former Spanish Morocco that Mandela first fired military weapons. Strategically, the FLN imparted much knowledge from their lived experience, and specifically that the purpose of armed struggle should not be about overthrowing the apartheid government by force. Rather it should be about using this tactic to unleash broader political forces, thus forcing them to the negotiating table.

From Morocco, Mandela travelled to Mali, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ghana, where he raised funds and garnered support. He visited London for ten days returning to Addis Ababa on 26 June 1962 to undergo six months of military training. This was cut short during July 1962 when the ANC requested his urgent return to South Africa. After diarising his training, his skill at arms and the strategic and tactical principles that he acquired on the live firing ranges and the classrooms of the Ethiopian Army, his journal ends. www.sahistory.org.za

Mandela, whose original name was Rolihlahla, literally “pulling the branch of a tree” or “troublemaker”, says in his book *Long Walk to Freedom* that he was inspired by the Algerian revolution (1954-1962), as the closest model to South Africa’s at the time, as the FLN faced a large white settler community that ruled the indigenous majority.”

He said that, in addition to military advice, he was told, “Don’t neglect the political side of the war while organizing the armed forces, especially when international opinion is sometimes worth more than a fleet of jetfighters.” Algeria, Ethiopia and other African countries provided weapons and training, passports and other tools to MK.

Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe had also slipped out of the country without travel documents a decade earlier to spend five months visiting countries in eastern Europe, Russia and the People’s Republic of China just four years after its liberation in 1949.

“I then truly realised that I was in a country ruled by Africans. For the first time in my life, I was a free man ... I felt the burden of oppression lifting from my shoulders ...”
Mandela on arriving in Tanganyika in early 1962





...I am prepared to die



Liliesleaf Trust

"... I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all people will live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live for and to see realized. But, My Lord, if it needs to be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Mandela at Rivonia Trial, 1964

Walter Sisulu was ANC Secretary-General 1949-1954, and succeeded by Tambo, Nokwe and Alfred Nzo. He was caught at Liliesleaf, spent 26 years at Robben Island, and was elected ANC deputy President 1991 - 1994. His wife Albertina who was an activist in her own right, was harassed and arrested for organizing opposition to apartheid, and her home was a sanctuary for freedom.



Liliesleaf Farm, widely regarded as the birthplace of MK, was a meeting place and safe house for ANC and SACP from 1961 until it was raided in mid-1963 by heavily armed police who arrested the leadership. Many had been acquitted of treason charges, but they were charged again for sabotage in what became known as the Rivonia Trial. Eight were convicted a year later — Mandela, Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Denis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Motsoaledi — and sent to Robben Island except Goldberg, who was confined to a cell at Pretoria Central Prison, thus illustrating that apartheid also applied to the prison system. All served some 25 years in prison until the last one, Mandela, was released after 27 years, 6 months and 5 days.

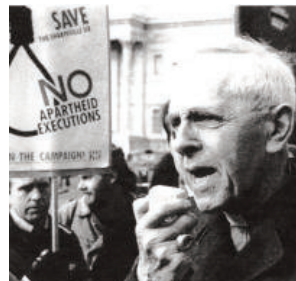


Freedom Statue, Lusaka, Zambia

Mobilization against apartheid spread through the country in the 1960s, buttressed by the leaders in prison and by the fact that Africans elsewhere had negotiated and won independence, such as Ghana and the Congo (DRC), Zambia, Malawi and Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Some men had returned from the war in Europe in the 1940s with different experiences, and as mining companies continued to recruit miners from neighbouring countries under various agreements, African experiences were shared. Land alienation continued as more land was taken from black communities for settlement of white farmers, and the system of separate education was further entrenched to build a separate society. Resistance grew, and another generation of leaders grew in mind, body and spirit to continue the work of those in prison.



Winnie Mandela



The Right Rev. Trevor Huddleston was an Anglican priest who ministered in Sophiatown and Orlando 1943-1956, and mobilized with Helen Joseph, Ruth First and others against the Group Areas Act (1950) and the forced removals of people. He later founded and served on the executive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain (1959-1994) that was at the centre of the international solidarity movement supporting the people of South Africa against apartheid.

The South African Council of Churches was founded during one of the darkest periods of South African history. The National Party had been in government for 20 years and its policy of apartheid was severely restricting the rights, association and movement of people. South Africa's churches had made little effort to stand together against the injustices of apartheid until the formation of the SACC. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission noted later, "Some of the major Christian churches gave their blessing to the system of apartheid. And many of its early proponents prided themselves in being Christians. Indeed, the system of apartheid was regarded as stemming from the mission of the church." At the inaugural meeting of the SACC in 1968, the *Message to the People of South Africa* declared that the unity of all people was the will of God and that "separation is the most complete refusal of the truth."

Outside the country, the vision of Pan-Africanism grew in a new generation, with Unity at its core, and 32 leaders of independent African countries met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to establish the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 25 May 1963, and set up their coordinating committee for the liberation of Africa, the OAU Liberation Committee, that provided materials and support for the next 30 years, hosted by Tanzania, until the remaining countries, including South Africa, won back their freedom.

Africa Day
25 May 1963



Mbuyisa Makhubu carries 12-year-old Hector Pieterse, one of the first children shot in the 1976 resistance to Bantu Education, commemorated annually in South Africa on 16 June as Youth Day. This iconic image of the fatally wounded student was taken by the late Sam Nzima in Orlando West, Soweto, near Phefeni High School. "They were all happy. They were carrying placards, not guns," recounted the photographer who was assigned by his newspaper *The World* to cover the protests. He is shown at right with his famous photograph which hangs at the Hector Pieterse Museum in Soweto as a contribution to intellectual, economic and heritage resources for the local economy. Hector's sister, Antoinette Sithole, who is shown at left in the pictures, continues to give tours at the museum and says that, 40 years later, visiting schoolchildren find the story of the uprising "unbelievable".



Sam Nzima, Hector Pieterse Museum

Inspiration to freedom reached another level in 1975 when Mozambique and Angola regained independence, and the leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), Samora Machel, was a particular icon in the townships of South Africa, with his black power salute of a raised fist, and his active slogan, *A luta continua*, The struggle continues. Mozambique was accessible to the South African liberation movements, direct or through Eswatini, and the flow quickened into the nearby capital, Maputo, with ANC eventually having offices there and infiltration routes, but with a bigger presence in Zambia and later in Angola which was a bit further removed, for security reasons.

But in Soweto, anger was already bubbling over the separate education system of "Bantu Education" and the spark was the authorities' attempt to introduce Afrikaans into secondary schools as the language of instruction. On 16 June 1976 between 3,000 and 10,000 students marched peacefully to demonstrate and protest against the directive. On their pathway they were met by heavily armed police who fired teargas and rubber bullets, and later live ammunition on demonstrating students. This resulted in a widespread revolt that turned into an uprising against the government. While the uprising began in Soweto, it spread across the country and continued. (www.sahistory.org.za)

Some students died, many were arrested, and others left. By September, the protests had spread across the country and students leaving into exile had arrived in neighbouring Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania. The steady rebuilding of internal structures was shown by Soweto and the sustained activity thereafter.

Interviewed in Dar es Salaam in September, Michael and Busani were among the thousands of South African students who arrived in Tanzania in 1976-77, and they spoke about what had happened:

"What started the rioting is introducing the Afrikaans language and being constrained to the African schools. Afrikaans was actually introduced as the language of instruction in 1972, but in 1976 this was extended to the African schools. It was first introduced at the Secondary School of Orlando West, and then they started introducing it to other schools day by day, this day to another school, this day to another school. So we decided that we must protest against Afrikaans, not protest it as a subject but it was introduced to be the medium of instruction. We tried to debate and discuss over this issue. We held some meetings and tried to decide how to denounce this policy."

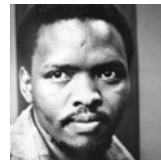
FREEDOM IS A STATE OF MIND

The rise of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the formation of South African Students Organization (SASO) raised the political consciousness of many students. The BCM was a grassroots anti-Apartheid activist movement that emerged in South Africa in the mid-1960s out of the political vacuum created by the jailing and banning of the ANC, PAC and SACP leadership after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, urging a defiant rejection of apartheid.

By the late 1960s, the majority of the Liberation Movement's leaders had been jailed, banned or exiled. In response to this, a new set of organizations emerged to fill the gap. United around "Black Consciousness," these organizations helped to educate and organise, particularly among the youth. Steve Biko, leader of the BCM, was a pivotal figure in mobilizing communities against apartheid, initially in Eastern Cape in his home community of King Williams

Town (Qonce), until he captured the mood of the youth across the country at a time of great discontentment, ultimately leading to the Soweto uprising and beyond by inspiring self-confidence, self-worth and courage in a generation who saw their parents robbed of their dignity, land, education and jobs, and mistreated as "boys" and "girls".

He was deemed a security threat to the apartheid state and was tortured in police custody, driven unconscious in the back of a truck from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria, and died of his injuries on 12 September 1977 in police custody. His death, and the circumstance of his death, inspired deep anger and loss, and inspired the youth to sustain their action. Biko's vision was restoring people to their true humanity and ensuring a life of dignity. sahistory.org.za; sbf.org.za; iol.za



Steve Biko



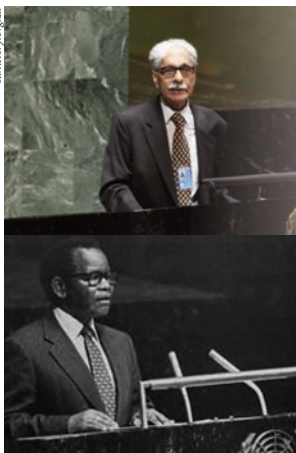
Steve Biko Foundation

UN Special Committee Against Apartheid...

UN Centre Against Apartheid

United Nations action legitimized, and was influenced by, the momentum of popular mobilization against apartheid. This action was stimulated by governments, organizations and individuals, and by UN officials such as E.S. Reddy and later Sean McBride, who were influential and dedicated to freedom, working to ensure that the UN helped to “build bridges between liberation movements and their supporters around the world.” E.S. Reddy from India worked at UN headquarters in New York for 35 years from 1949, and between 1963-1984 he was principal secretary of the Special Committee Against Apartheid and then Director of the Centre Against Apartheid. OR Tambo appreciated his “infectious devotion and commitment”, and Irish political activist Sean McBride, who worked as UN Commissioner for Namibia 1973-1977 with similar devotion and commitment, said, “There is no one at the UN who has done more to expose the injustices of apartheid and the illegality of the South African regime than ES Reddy...” UNGA later declared 21 March as *International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination*, as a result of Sharpeville. The UN response to Soweto was a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa imposed in November 1977.

sahistory.org.za



OR Tambo speaking at the UN General Assembly in New York which recognized ANC in 1974 as “a truly representative liberation movement”, thus increasing pressure on apartheid and fuelling an international campaign to Free Mandela. His message to the international community was clear – “What we want in Africa is that our Humanity be acknowledged.”

Global anti-apartheid

Part of Tambo’s Mission in Exile was to build the global anti-apartheid movement, which he did with others through networks of dedicated people in Europe and elsewhere who were inspired by the leadership of people such as Father Trevor Huddleston of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and Cannon John Collins of the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), the Holland Committee on Southern Africa, the Swedish South Africa Committee and the Africa Groups of Sweden, as well as progressive government leaders such as Olaf Palme of Sweden. One of Tambo’s first achievements was to help to force apartheid South Africa out of the Commonwealth in 1961 through a united front with other liberation movements from South Africa and Namibia.



Canon Collins

“World opinion and international action were extremely important for the morale of the freedom fighters of South Africa,” E.S. Reddy said when he traced the history in a public statement in 2012.

“The UN General Assembly decided to establish the Special Committee by Resolution 1761 on 6 November 1962. The next day, Nelson Mandela, speaking from the dock at his trial, said that South Africa’s efforts to keep the African people in perpetual subordination must and will fail, as South Africa was out of step with the rest of the civilized world as shown by the General Assembly resolution. ...

“Resolution 1761 had been adopted by 67 votes with 16 against and 23 abstentions. Not a single Western country voted for the resolution. The Special Committee and the Centre led the effort to secure widest support to the cause for which Mandela was to spend more than 27 years in prison.” sahistory.org.za

The Sixth Pan-African Congress

African leaders within and outside the continent convened in Tanzania in June 1974 to continue the series of international meetings initiated in 1900 when a Pan African Conference was organized in London by H.S. Williams, a lawyer from Trinidad in the Caribbean, to call for unification of markets and a new political landscape for Africa. W.E.B. Du Bois initiated five more conferences at various venues in Europe in 1919, 1921 and 1923, in New York City in 1927, and the fifth in 1945 in Britain, based on the conviction that people of African descent throughout the world constitute a common cultural and political community with a common history.

Du Bois is widely regarded as the most important black protest leader in the United States in the first half of the 20th century. Born in Massachusetts in the USA in 1868, he moved to Kwame Nkrumah’s Ghana after independence and died there in 1963 at age 95, having defined his era, saying, “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line.” The first four of his conferences, later called Congresses, discussed the decolonization of Africa and the West Indies, with participation mainly from elites who were able to travel. The 5th Pan-African Congress held in Manchester drew a new generation of working class and trade union delegates who called for immediate decolonization.

The 6th Pan-African Congress in 1974 in Tanzania was the first to be held in Africa and attended by representatives of independent African states, and was forward-looking, with three objectives: to increase support for the struggle in southern Africa; to address economic dependence and generate economic cooperation; and to fulfil the potential of political independence, including issues of unity.

“We believe that the future of Africans lies in the fullest utilization of our human resources instead of continued dependency on loans and gifts from abroad ...if we do not control the means of survival and production in the context of the 20th century, we will continue to be colonized.”

Tanganyika (later the United Republic of Tanzania) had been independent for only a few weeks when the ANC was allowed to establish transit centres for MK cadres returning from training in Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia. The first camps were established in 1962 at Kongwa, Mbeya, Bagamoyo and at Morogoro, which became the headquarters of ANC and MK. Zambia followed Tanganyika to independence in 1964 and the liberation movement shifted its headquarters south to Lusaka by the end of the decade, while retaining an office in Dar es Salaam to liaise with the OAU Liberation Committee. Both countries were newly independent and made sacrifices to their own development in the firm belief that no country in Africa could be free until all were free. They provided refuge and training, shelter and broadcasting facilities, and protection, while the Liberation Committee established in 1963 provided other material support from countries in Africa, Asia and eastern Europe. Solidarity groups in Europe and the US were active in supplying technical assistance, food, clothing and non-military goods. Substantial funds were raised by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the TANU Youth League who collected money, clothes and other materials, mobilizing people to donate one Tshilling each to support the liberation of neighbouring countries.

Botswana gained independence in 1966 and, despite its position among mainly hostile colonial neighbours, allowed transit routes to develop, although Chris Hani was arrested there after crossing from the joint ZAPU-ANC operations in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1967. Bechuanaland (Botswana) was a transit route even before independence, when still a British protectorate, through courageous people on the ground, including nationals of Botswana and South Africa. Oliver Tambo and Yusuf Dadoo used this route when they left South Africa in 1960, as Mandela and others did later. The Kazungula ferry crossing the Zambezi river to Zambia was known as the “freedom ferry”.

Independence of Mozambique and Angola in 1975 altered the balance of forces in southern Africa, giving the liberation movement better access to training camps and infiltration routes, while removing the “buffer zone” that gave the Apartheid regime protection from neighbours who supported ANC and from whose territory MK could cross into the country. The independence of Angola in 1975 under the MPLA paved way for other liberation movements to establish bases for military training, including ANC, ZAPU and SWAPO. The Central Operations Headquarters of MK was established in Angola in 1976, and a regional commander was appointed.

After Soweto, “Young people were coming out by the hundreds for military training,” OR Tambo said. “We didn’t have the facilities to have so many at the time but we had to organise ourselves and provide training.”

MAZIMBU was established near Morogoro on land provided by the Tanzanian government in 1977 to offer refuge, education and training to the youth who left South Africa in numbers at the time of Soweto and after, and to accommodate exiled families, providing nursery, primary and secondary schools for more than 1,000 children by 1991, producing their own food on 600 acres of productive farmland, with a furniture factory and a motor repair workshop. Dakawa Development Centre was another ANC settlement 1982-1992. External solidarity groups provided support, as did the people and government of Tanzania, and the Regional Commissioner for Morogoro, Anna Abdalla, was key in organising support, resolving conflicts, and ensuring the security and other needs of these camps.

THE SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE (SOMAFCO) was established at Mazimbu, named after a young man of 23 years who left South Africa after Soweto to join MK, and after training, returned a year later in a group carrying arms, ammunition, explosives and ANC pamphlets. He was arrested in a shoot-out with police in Johannesburg, and after an emotional six-month trial that captured international attention, he was executed on 6 April 1979. He became a symbol of freedom. In 1992, after the exiles returned to South Africa, the ANC closed SOMAFCO and the settlements were formally returned to Tanzania by OR Tambo. The Solomon Mahlangu College of Science and Education is now a college of the Sokoine University of Agriculture in Morogoro, with almost 2,000 students pursuing undergraduate and post-graduate studies.



“Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue the struggle. My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of Freedom. *A luta continua.*”





Exhibition at the National Museum of Tanzania honours Nyerere and Tanzania's role in the liberation of Africa. Blue shows Front Line States, Red shows Liberated States, 1979. Mozambique and Angola are shown as both Liberated and members of the FLS.

In April 1980, Zimbabwe achieved independence led by the national liberation movement and immediately opened access to the ANC, hosting offices and providing clandestine access routes to cross into South Africa. The ANC chief representative to Zimbabwe, Joe Nqabi, was assassinated in 1981, shot by South African agents in his driveway. Bombing of ANC offices followed. The new government of Zimbabwe pledged continuing support "for the just fight".

The nine majority-ruled states in the region formed the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in April 1980, the result of meetings over the previous three years in Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia. So the regional dynamic changed again in the 1980s after those three original Front Line States had been joined by Mozambique and Angola since 1975, and Zimbabwe in 1980, and for the formation of SADCC they invited Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi. Their founding statement, the Lusaka Declaration, was titled, *Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation*.



In the independence elections in Zimbabwe, the candidate supported by neighbouring apartheid South Africa did not perform well, thus dashing their expectation for a "constellation" of states in the region. South Africa and its allies defined the liberation movement as a "total onslaught" by communism and their response was a "total strategy" aimed at establishing apartheid South Africa as a regional superpower through disrupting development in neighbouring countries by economic, political and military actions in an undeclared war. This had started after the independence of Mozambique and Angola in 1975, and escalated through the 1980s until the battle at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola and the independence of Namibia marked the end of South African military dominance and perceptions of white invincibility.



Samora Machel

In the 1980s, apartheid South Africa invaded and attacked Angola and Swaziland; the capitals of Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia; backed dissident groups in Angola and Mozambique, and in Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Zambia; obstructed oil supplies to six countries; and attacked railways, disrupting transport routes of seven countries; and blockaded Lesotho, creating conditions for the coup in January 1986. The year 1986 was a whirlwind within and outside South Africa, with the escalation of action within and retaliation against the neighbours, reaching a climax with the death of Samora Machel on 19 October 1986 in a plane crash at Mbuzini in South Africa, widely believed to have been caused by a false beacon placed, guided and monitored by the apartheid security forces, as shown by considerable circumstantial evidence and emerging testimonies. But that didn't stop the struggle to end Apartheid.

The war inside South Africa has engulfed the whole Southern African region... Without removing apartheid there will be no peace in the region, and also for the whole world.

Rev. Frank Chikane, *South Africa's Destabilization of the Southern African Region*



Non-aggression pacts signed with Swaziland, Angola and Mozambique in the early 1980s were not implemented, leading to the decision by apartheid authorities, as South Africa became increasingly ungovernable, that Samora Machel, who was a hero in the townships, must be removed, permanently. South Africa had tried to assassinate him before and this was announced several times previously, showing the miscalculation that the death of any one person, including a President, could stop the liberation of Namibia and South Africa. Rather his death was an inspiration to greater action. The independence of the former Portuguese colonies had brought the battlefield closer to the heartland of white privilege. The Soweto uprising followed by the UN arms embargo and escalation of MK actions led to economic decline and flight of foreign capital, thus deepening the crisis of the regime.

Africa in the struggle for freedom in South Africa

In 1994 South Africa became the last country in southern Africa to be liberated from colonialism and apartheid. As in Tanzania and the rest of the region, the spirit of resistance extended from the days when previous generations fought for freedom and justice against the the colonizers who were taking their land. The war had been fought in the townships and streets of South Africa, and throughout the region.

Through economic and military action, the apartheid regime damaged the development of neighbouring countries, and took down illustrious sons and daughters, including Samora Machel and others. The region lost infrastructure at a cost of US\$60 billion in direct costs and lost development (1982-1988), from which the region is still recovering, and 1.5 million lives were lost, according to a UN study on *The Economic Cost of Frontline Resistance to Apartheid*.

At the United Nations this became a global battle against racism, hatred and exclusion. The cost of freedom was high. This makes it very painful when Africans are treated as aliens in South Africa.

South African DESTABILIZATION

The Economic Cost of Frontline Resistance to Apartheid



The State system of apartheid in South Africa ended through a series of direct negotiations between 1990 and 1993, following indirect contacts in the 1980s, initial meetings outside the country between the ANC and key business people in 1985, and the Kabwe conference in June which re-elected OR Tambo as President, elected Mandela as deputy President, and supported the move towards negotiations. PW Botha told his National Party conference in August that “today we are crossing the Rubicon”, meaning an insurmountable barrier, and “there is no going back”, but he failed to propose any changes to apartheid. The ANC responded from Lusaka that, “The armed struggle must and will be stepped up.” Botha resigned as State President in 1989, and was replaced by F.W. de Klerk, who negotiated with ANC and other representative groups to end the state system of apartheid.

Nelson Mandela had been moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town in 1982 and an indicator of progress was the small steps in slowly releasing the Rivonia prisoners and moving Mandela to Victor Verster Prison in Paarl in 1988 as negotiations continued.



Salim Ahmed

SALIM AHMED SALIM was the longest serving Secretary-General of the OAU, elected three times (1989-2001). He managed the continental support for the last stages of decolonization of Namibia and transition to a post-apartheid South Africa, and he managed the transformation of the OAU to the African Union, which was launched in Durban in 2002. He was conferred with the first AU Son of Africa award, together with Hashim Mbita, in 2014. He was the youngest Ambassador in the world when first appointed at age 22 years in 1964. He served in Egypt, India, China and Cuba, and at the United Nations in New York where he served for a decade as representative of

the United Republic of Tanzania. Elected President of the Security Council in 1976 and later President of the General Assembly in 1979, he was a leader of the Africa group at the UN that lobbied and won UN membership for the People's Republic of China in 1971. In Tanzania he later served as Minister of Defence, and of Foreign Affairs, and Prime Minister.

On 2 February 1990, de Klerk made a statement to Parliament announcing the unbanning of ANC, PAC, SACP and other anti-apartheid organizations, suspension of the death penalty, release of some political prisoners, and easing of restrictions on the media. Mandela was released from prison on 11 February 1990 to a vast and rapturous welcome by crowds gathered at the Cape Town City Hall. Mandela received his first South African passport a week later, and used it to visit the ANC executive in Zambia with Walter Sisulu and others. He went to Sweden to meet OR Tambo, but returned home ahead of schedule when talks with Pretoria were cancelled due to the killing of demonstrators in Sebokeng.

The first group of external leaders flew directly into South Africa from Zambia in April 1990, and contacts commenced at the official residence of the State President in Cape Town culminating in the Groote Schuur Minute setting out a common commitment to the resolution of violence and the process of negotiations. In August, de Klerk agreed to the Pretoria Minute after 14 hours of talks, and ANC agreed to suspend the armed struggle, but retained its underground network, Operation Vula, which had been established in 1988 to give strategic direction, put pressure on negotiations, and prepare if these broke down.

The ANC with the UDF and COSATU met with President de Klerk to discuss the violence, and ANC met with Inkatha Freedom Party in Durban issuing a communiqué that referred to a historic meeting. Before the end of the year, Oliver Tambo returned home, and the ANC held its first Consultative Conference in South Africa, declaring 1991 “a year of mass action.” Tambo had been President of ANC since 1963 and he stood down at this conference as he was now unwell, having put all of his energy into leadership in liberating the country. He was replaced as ANC President by Nelson Mandela, with Walter Sisulu as deputy.

These former Youth League leaders had grown into leaders of the international movement to end apartheid, from outside the country and from prison.

The OAU Ad-hoc Committee on Southern Africa met in Zimbabwe in August 1989 on the question of South Africa, and issued the Harare Declaration, which became a key milestone on the road to change. The Harare Declaration presented a Plan of Action agreed by all of Africa that included a Statement of Principles, and set out the Climate for Negotiations — release political prisoners, lift bans, remove troops from townships, end state of emergency and cease political executions. Thus Africa gave its full backing to the liberation movement to begin negotiations, starting with agreement on a mutually binding ceasefire, then the mechanism for drawing up a new Constitution. The document mandated the OAU Ad-hoc Committee on Southern Africa “assisted by the Frontline States, to remain seized of the issues of a political resolution”.

Harare Declaration: Declaration of the OAU Ad-hoc Committee on Southern Africa on the question of South Africa

21 August 1989 Harare, Zimbabwe

Preamble

1. The people of Africa, singly, collectively and acting through the OAU, are engaged in serious efforts to establish peace throughout the continent by ending all conflicts through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all.
2. We reaffirm our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exists, there can neither be peace nor justice.
3. Accordingly, we reiterate that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of our continent as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both essential and fundamental to the continent's development and progress.



Nelson and Winnie Mandela after his release from prison on 11 February 1990

Inside the country, 92 organizations united in their opposition to apartheid met in Durban in October 1991 to consolidate their negotiating position, and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) opened on 21 December 1991 at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg. A total of 228 delegates from 19 political parties pledged their commitment. Nelson Mandela, by then President of ANC, addressed the delegates, as did Chris Hani, General Secretary of SACP. Chief negotiator was Cyril Ramaphosa, who had been elected General Secretary of ANC in 1991, coming from the trade union movement. This was the team that led ANC through the negotiations to 1994, and Ramaphosa later chaired the Constitutional Assembly.

When we were struggling here, South Africa still under apartheid, and you being a destabiliser of your neighbours instead of working together with them to develop our continent, of course that was a different thing. It was a terrible thing. Here was a powerful South Africa, and this power was a curse to us. It was not a blessing for us. It was a menace to its neighbours, but that has changed. South Africa is democratic. South Africa is no longer trying to destroy the others. South Africa is now working with the others.... Mwalimu Nyerere to South African Parliament, Cape Town, 16 October 1997



De Klerk faced challenges when he briefed Parliament in February 1992, from nervous members of his party, and said he could prove that he had the confidence of the Afrikaner community and other supporters through a referendum, warning his constituency that a "No" vote would extend international isolation of the country. In the last whites-only referendum, on 17 March 1992, they voted "Yes".

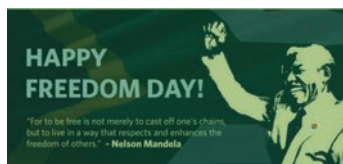
CODESA 2 opened on 15 May 1992, with two main sticking points – the disbanding of MK, and the role of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Most issues were resolved but they could not reach consensus, and declared a deadlock, causing dismay within and outside the country, political uncertainty and violence, and thus making it imperative to resume negotiations. Talks began a few months later in the Multi-Party Negotiation Process, with technical experts helping to resolve disagreements, and continued into 1993 before reaching an agreement that created conditions for democratic elections held in April 1994. This time the parties that boycotted CODESA (Conservative Party, PAC, Afrikaner Volksunie and the KwaZulu government), and the Inkatha Freedom Party that had pulled out, participated in the talks and the agreement.

This delicate period of negotiations almost crumbled with the killing of the former MK Chief of Staff, Martin "Chris" Thembisile Hani, a popular figure who led the SACP into the negotiations. He was assassinated in Boksburg on 10 April 1993. Two weeks later, during the early hours of the morning of 24 April 1993, OR Tambo passed away after a long illness. His epitaph reads, in his own words: *It is our responsibility to break down barriers of division and create a country where there will be neither Whites nor Blacks, just South Africans, free and united in diversity.*



Walvis Bay - return to Namibia. The reintegration of the port of Walvis Bay into Namibia in 1994, four years after independence, had been the subject of protracted negotiations. The Transfer of Walvis Bay to Namibia Act was passed by the Parliament of South Africa, the two countries signed a treaty, and South Africa formally transferred sovereignty of Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands to Namibia on 1 March 1994.

The first democratic elections were held on 27 April 1994, Mandela was sworn in as President on 10 May, and South Africa took its place at the annual OAU and SADC Summits a few weeks later. The SADCC formed in 1980 by nine independent countries, based on a vision of regional integration, was transformed into the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992 in Windhoek, after the independence of Namibia. Others joined later to make 16 SADC Member States. The security structure was retained, based on the Frontline States' initiative for rapid and flexible responses, and became the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, under the Secretariat, conceived in 1996, with its own strategic plan based on the perspective that peace and security are essential for economic development.



The Order of Mapungubwe in Platinum
Oliver Reginald Kaizana "OR" Tambo (Posthumous) Awarded for: His exceptional and outstanding leadership skills, in leading a militant struggle for freedom, for spearheading an international campaign to isolate apartheid, for being the glue that kept the African National Congress (ANC) together in exile, in the struggle for the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, free, just and democratic South Africa, which belongs to all who live in it.



Thabo Mbeki was elected as ANC deputy President in 1994, and later President, serving as deputy President of South Africa from 1994 and President 1999-2007. This is an excerpt from "I AM AN AFRICAN", his eloquent statement to the Constitutional Assembly at the adoption of the Constitution Bill on 8 May 1996, as recorded in Hansard. President Mandela later signed the first post-apartheid Constitution at Sharpeville, in honour of all people who lost their lives in the struggle against apartheid.



Thabo Mbeki

I AM AN AFRICAN

I owe my being to the hills and the valleys,
the mountains and the glades,
the rivers, the deserts, the trees, the flowers,
the seas and the ever-changing seasons
that define the face of our native land. ...

Because of that,
I am also able to state this fundamental truth that
I am born of a people who are heroes and heroines.
I am born of a people who would not tolerate oppression.
I am of a nation that would not allow that fear of death,
of torture, of imprisonment, of exile or persecution
should result in the perpetuation of injustice. ...

I am an African.
I am born of the people of the continent of Africa.
Africa reaffirms that she is continuing
her rise from the ashes.
Whatever the setbacks of the moment,
nothing can stop us now!
Whatever the difficulties, Africa shall be at peace!



The Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa from colonial rule and apartheid was one of the first acts of African leaders at the inaugural meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963. The Liberation Committee was officially dissolved 31 years later, after South Africa had taken its seat at the annual Summit of African leaders. The story of liberation is told in the official proceedings of the closure of the Liberation Committee that took place in Arusha, Tanzania on 15 August

1994. The report is dedicated to the "gallantry of Africa's freedom fighters, especially to the memory of those who did not live to see the dawn of this era in Africa. This is a tribute to their courage, a salute to the heroes and heroines of African liberation, including the numerous unknown combatants of the African Liberation Struggle."

The keynote address was delivered by Mwalimu Nyerere at the Special Session of the Liberation Committee, hosted by Tanzania since 1963, which now declared its Mission Accomplished.

"The Founding Fathers of the Organization of African Unity set themselves two objectives: the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and racial minority rule, on the one hand, and Africa's unity, on the other. ... By the act of winding up this committee we are celebrating the achievement of that objective. For when South Africa was admitted to the OAU membership and later, one of our generation of freedom fathers, President Nelson Mandela, took his seat at the Tunis summit in June 1994, to represent a non-racial, post-apartheid democratic South Africa, the first objective of the Founding Fathers had been achieved.

Our continent had been totally liberated from colonialism and racial minority rule."

The success of the Liberation Committee transformed the face of the continent, and now the focus could shift from political independence to socio-economic development.



Mwalimu Julius Nyerere

"We need unity. Without unity there is no future for our continent. We know it. We need unity for security and stability. We need it to make real that total political liberation of Africa which we are now celebrating. We need it to reduce our dependence on external powers. We need unity to be able to take our rightful place in the governance of the world - in order to be listened to, and be respected, not pitied or disregarded because we are weak and divided. We need unity to be able to contribute towards the increased wellbeing of the humanity we are part of."

J.K. Nyerere at closure of OAU Liberation Committee, 1994

Hashim Mbita was Executive Secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee 1972-1994. He stood tall, a hero of the liberation struggle in Africa, and he was deeply respected for his principles and dedication. His life and work touched all Africans, whether resident in Africa or out, and whether they know that or not. Brig-Gen Mbita was honoured by SADC, conferred with SADC's Sir Seretse Khama medal, and by the African Union with its first *Son of Africa* award, and many national awards from grateful, free and independent African countries. He resolved challenges for others and celebrated their achievements, but he never took any credit for himself. He said that he and his country were "just doing their duty".

The Liberation Committee consisted of Algeria, Ethiopia, Guinea, Congo (DRC), Nigeria, Senegal, Tanganyika, Egypt and Uganda, and was hosted by Tanganyika (Tanzania) with responsibility for harmonising assistance and managing the Special Fund. The first Executive Secretary was Sebastian Chale 1964-1968, and George Magombe 1968-1972. They worked closely with General Mrisho Sarakikya, the first Commander of the Tanzania People's Defence Force (TPDF) 1964-1974 for hosting and training the liberation cadres. At the OAU Headquarters in Ethiopia, the Deputy Secretary-General with administrative responsibility for the Liberation Committee when first established 1964-1974 was Mohamed Sahnoun, a young diplomat seconded by Algeria, which had just won independence and actively dedicated its experience and support to liberation of the continent.



Hashim Mbita



Mohamed Sahnoun



The Africa We Want

At the 50th anniversary of the African Union, in 2013, the African leaders issued their vision and plan for the continent — *Agenda 2063 The Africa We Want*. This vision contains seven aspirations aimed at African cooperation, development and unity, with plans and targets.

OUR ASPIRATIONS FOR THE AFRICA WE WANT – 1) A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development. 2) An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance. 3) An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law. 4) A peaceful and secure Africa. 5) *An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics*. 6) An Africa where development is people-driven, unleashing the potential of the women and youth. 7) Africa as a strong, united and influential global player and partner.

Disunity had resulted from the process of colonization, including the abduction of Africans from their Homeland to work as slaves for plantations in the Americas and elsewhere. Then, at the Berlin Conference in 1884-85 the European powers drew lines on a map of Africa and shared the pieces among themselves. "Apart from slavery, there is no single event in modern African history whose consequences have been so dire for the continent as the Berlin Conference of 1884-85." *New African*

Europe's "scramble" for African resources was formalized in 1885 during the meeting in Berlin to agree on which part each European power would occupy using heavy weapons, as they had mainly engaged with the coastal areas and trading ports. No delegates from Africa were invited to attend, yet it had dire and deep consequences for the continent into the present and future, more than any other global event, apart from the transatlantic slave trade that was just ending after 400 years and was brutal in the treatment and numbers of people taken from the continent, and the destructive impact leading to the devastation and depopulation of Africa, while contributing to the wealth and development of Europe and the Americas.

An end to the slave trade was achieved through African resistance and economic pressure in Europe as well as human rights campaigns, and a similar pattern was used 100 years later to remove apartheid, which was seen as modern-day slavery. But the continent was carved into more than 50 territories, which cut across nations, geography, languages, cultures, families, and other unifying factors, with different European languages imposed.

"The colonial powers superimposed their domains on the African continent. By the time Africa regained its independence in the 1960s, the realm had acquired a legacy of political fragmentation that could neither be eliminated nor made to operate satisfactorily," de Blij and Muller quoted by Osei Boateng in *New African*, March 2010

Africa is trying to address that challenge now through the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities such as the Southern African Development Community, East African Community, and others.



Mwalimu Nyerere. And still with History Today, inspiration can be drawn from the resolve of the OAU founders who had the vision of political liberation, and the vision of the SADC founders for economic liberation. Those who are old enough to remember will know what Mwalimu Nyerere meant when he said — **"It can be done, play your part"**. A new generation is learning why he said it.



Vennah, 26 years. I want to inspire the youth to fall in love with their history and I intend to do this by sharing through my social media, twitter handle and even engaging in discussions, bring up a topic, guys do you know that if you listen to this song it tells the whole history till the liberation struggle is won. Do you know that? They need to know this history, but there is not enough information about this. So we should just find a way to make the youth interested in our history because I believe there is much to tell.

Raymond, 25 years. The rise of liberation movements in the region can be perceived as a valuable component of the African culture since united in diversity, the people of Africa took advantage of it for a common vision and a common agenda to dismantle a common enemy and uphold their African identity. History shows that it is much more difficult to dominate and sustain domination over a people with a strong regard for their culture. This project is therefore what the youth of the region need to see. It contains a reflection of our roots and gives echoes of unity and oneness which existed in the past, hence enlightening the youth that we need to go back to our roots in order to realise a common future.



Cheryl, 22 years. I think people just really need to know more about their past and also if we could... you know how those compulsory subjects that we have to take like English, Maths, Literature something like that... If Africa's past or Africa's history could be incorporated into compulsory core subjects, I think that would be a mind changer. ...

YOUTH in the liberation struggle and beyond

The Africa We Want

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SARDC is a regional knowledge resource centre established in 1985 at the instigation of the Front Line States, to collect, analyse and share information across borders, and is now a well-established knowledge partner to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Member States on contemporary and historical issues. The Founding Patron of SARDC was Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, then Chairman of the FLS. The founding directors of SARDC and some of the Board members have personal knowledge of the liberation movement across the region, and have established a History Library at SARDC that contains publications and documents related to the liberation struggle, going back some 50 years, including SADCC, SADC, AU, OAU and the OAU Liberation Committee.

Some useful sources for this module

UNESCO General History of Africa, Volume I – IX; Southern African Liberation Struggles, SADC Hashim Mbita Project Vol. 1 – 9. SARDC History Archive and Portal, forthcoming on www.sardc.net and social media handle; New African magazine Archives online www.newafricanmagazine.com; South African History Online www.sahistory.org.za; ANC Archive www.ancarchive.org; South African History Archive www.saha.org.za; Mozambique History Net www.mozambiquehistory.net; Arquivo Historico de Moçambique; SWAPO Party Archives; Nordic Documentation on the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa www.liberationafrica.se; African Liberation Heritage Programme, Tanzania

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*Freedom and Unity
Uhuru na Umoja*

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