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**Ellis, Stephen. 2013. External Mission. The ANC in Exile, 1960–1990. Oxford University Press.**

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growing Islamism in the region, feminism or “savage” capitalism. Germano Almeida, a famous writer, argues that it’s not the state that should be reformed but the people. José Manuel Pires from the Santo Antão Island claims that spiritual failures are the biggest evil. Finally, the skilled Prime Minister José M. Neves stresses the most important values like tolerance, non-violence, responsibility, industry and productivity as indispensable conditions for the good evolution and effective self-organization of the nation.

Such a collection of opinions, assessments and estimations reflects perfectly how profound the Cape Verdean democracy and responsible citizenship is. Those who want to understand the soul and surprising openness as well as the positive development of this small West African nation should get acquainted with this chorus of mature and loud voices of its citizens who are looking for the most reasonable ways to their beneficial future cooperation with the African and global community.

Jan Klíma

**Ellis, Stephen. 2013. *External Mission. The ANC in Exile, 1960–1990*. Oxford University Press, 288 pages.**

The author is one of many scholars who are interested in the modern history of South Africa and the struggle against white rule and apartheid. Among those authors there is a great divergence in the substance of the role of some organisations, leaders and other factors in the struggle. Over time, more and more new facts arise, many published and unpublished records or memories are at the disposal of historians or politologists worldwide. When Stephen Ellis published his paper ‘The Genesis of the ANC’s Armed Struggle in South Africa, 1948–1961’ in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37, 4 (2011), p. 657–76, many historians accepted or rejected it. So he chose to write a book on the topic. As the title of his new book shows, he has enlarged the period of the history of the African National Congress (ANC) and includes much more about its military wing the Spear of the Nation, (*Umkhonto we Sizwe*, MK), and describes its support from outside, mainly from the former Soviet Union and China.

He divided the book into eight chapters: in the first one 'Call to Arms', he describes (what he assumes to be until today an unknown fact for most black Africans) that „leaders of the South African Communist Party (SACP) met the Chinese ruler, Mao Zedong, on 3 November 1960, to discuss taking up arms. A few weeks later, the SACP formally voted to prepare a campaign of violence“. This historical fact was also, as Ellis writes, unknown to one of the heads of the ANC, Oliver Tambo. In those days, the initiative for armed struggle was in the hands of the SACP's members who had simultaneously received a good welcome from the Soviet Union, mainly the Comintern. Among those communists were also some members of the ANC as is seen from Ellis writing: „The CPSA general secretary, Moses Kotane, who had been trained in Moscow, was already a member of the national executive of the ANC, in those days a genteel lobbying group with no ideology beyond a commitment to speak for black Africans of all political persuasions... He encouraged communists to join the ANC. He and other SACP leaders saw entry into the ANC not only as a way for some of its members to take cover against the anti-communist measures they grimly anticipated, but also as a way of countering the influence of Trotskyist rivals already situated within the ANC.“ (University of Cape Town Archives, BC1081, Simons papers, file O.5: Motshabi to Slovo, 5 November 1985), p. 11/12. (All paging as in: *External mission*, www.aluka.org.)

Other chapters deal with the first operations of the MK and its difficulties abroad and then during its first infiltrations to South Africa. There is a map of camps and bases in Zambia, Angola, Tanzania and Mozambique. The author describes very openly problems among commanders and ethnics in those camps including sexual abuse and other atrocities only partially known up to now, p. 37-39.

One of the most discussed questions among historians up to now is Nelson Mandela's potential membership in the SACP. There are great disagreements on the matter as we can see in new historical works, for example in Filatova's and Davidson's *The Hidden Thread. Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era* (Johannesburg & Cape Town, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2013). Ellis is convinced of this fact despite Mandela's repeated refusal of it. As we know from his autobiography, he writes he was never a member of SACP or a Marxist. Ellis to the contrary affirms on page 21 that Mandela was a member of the Party's Central

Committee (according to Joe Matthews). The most interesting thing is, that he has this information from one Irina Filatova's interview quoted in Apollon Davidson and Irina Filatova, *Rossia I Yuzhnaia Africa: navedeniie mostov. Russia and South Africa: Building Bridges*. (Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 2012, p. 220–21, p. 21 and footnote No. 82).

It seems, such polemics are meaningless. From my point of view, such disputes are useless as we know not only from the modern history of South Africa but also from the current political situation there, that members of the ANC and the SACP were and are still today very close to one another. Many politicians are members of both parties or, if not, they have the same political opinions. Remember that all elections in the New South Africa have been won by the so called „Tripartite“ (the ANC, the CPSA and trade unions - COSATU). We mustn't forget also the role of Nelson Mandela after his release from prison and mainly after he became the first black president, became an icon of democratic government in South Africa. On the other side, we can regard the current political situation there as a threat to its former democratic development, seeing many ideological arsenals from a former communist ideology.

Due to the complex and rich description of the past of South Africa and the role of the ANC during the last five decades in Stephen Ellis's book, new views are open for the readers. It depends on them to read it in the right way. The author brings many new notes from the archives to give reasons for his contentions on the close political and mainly ideological meanings among members of the ANC and communists. One such document is part of one former security police agent's testimony: „In his debriefing, Williamson explained that, contrary to an opinion frequently heard among South African government supporters, there was no fundamental divide in the ANC between communists and non-communists or nationalists.“ A police report written on the basis of information supplied by Williamson stated accurately enough that 'the SACP is part and parcel of the ANC and cannot be differentiated from the ANC because of its power and control ...', p. 114.

The book features many other interesting appraisals for the years after 1994 including views on Thabo Mbeki and his ability to benefit from his long communist membership and, on the other side, his ability

to rule the state under one of the best democratic constitutions. Ellis refers to the role of communist heritage in the modern history of South Africa incessantly. His book is obsessed with this ominous fact and is the crucial problem with all his work.

Otakar Hulec

**Fiala, Vlastimil. 2011. *Politické stranictví v lusofonních zemích (Mosambik)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomoucense, 224 pages.**

The book under review - Political Party Systems in Lusophone Countries (Mozambique) - is another major step in the realization of the project "Political Parties of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania". It widens the focus and develops the preceding works (Vlastimil Fiala et al. 2011. Teoretické a metodologické problémy výzkumu politických stran Afriky, Asie, Latinské Ameriky a Oceánie. Hradec Králové-Brno-Ústí n. Orli.: OFTIS) as well as a special study Vlastimil Fiala. 2010. Politické stranictví v afrických lusofonních zemích (Ostrov sv. Tomáše a Princův ostrov). Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého.

In the introduction the reader is introduced to the specific character of Mozambique and the principal sources of political history of this large African country are assessed. The core of the work is a logically composed account comprising of four chapters. The Domestic Development of Mozambique (p 15-62) deals with Mozambique's more recent history, up to 2010. The Development of the Party System (p. 63-120) describes the beginnings of land nationalisation, but since the foundation of FRELIMO the author naturally concentrates more on this party. Only in the period of independence did an opposition party emerge, the RENAMO, while a wider party range was only possible after Mozambique's democratisation during the Second Republic, from 1992. This recent period enables the author to evaluate the motivation and vitality of each party with a national or regional programme, their grouping or coalition cooperation in parliamentary or municipal elections. An in-depth politological analysis is found in the third main part named The Mozambique Party System (p. 121-174). There the author analyzes the socio-political make-up of the party system in Mozambique, the influence of the electoral system on the party