

# Forging Freedom

Landmarks in A Century of Struggle 1906 - 2006



• Chief Bhambatha  
The Anti Poll Tax  
Revolt -1906

• Gandhi and the  
Birth of Satyagraha -1906

• Black Mine  
Workers Strike -1946

• The Women's Anti  
Pass March to The  
Union Buildings -1956

• The Treason Trial -1956

• Soweto the Student Revolt -1976

• Death of Samora Michel - 1986

• The Birth of the  
New Constitution -1996





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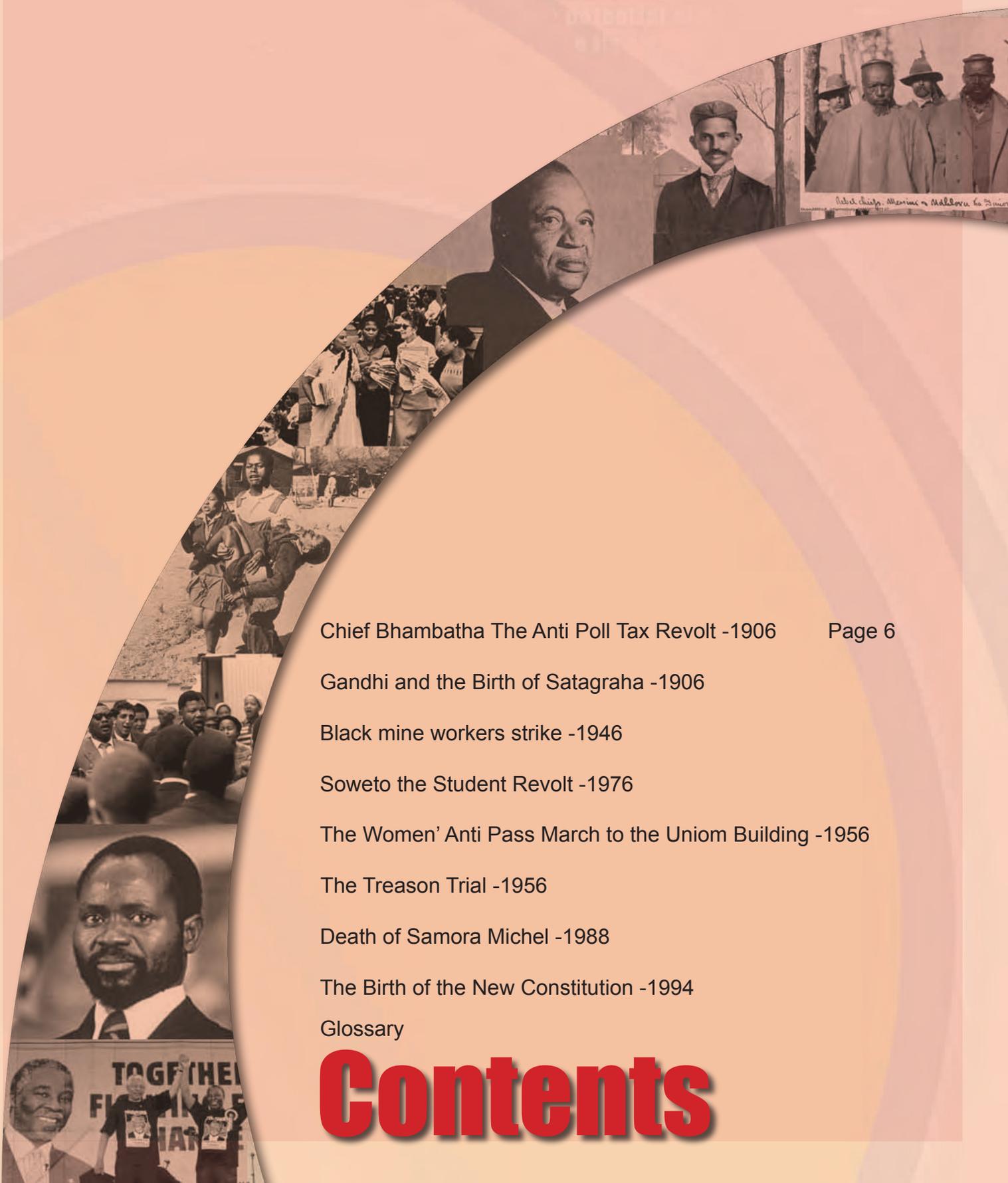
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...the people of South Africa,  
recognize the injustices of our past;  
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;  
Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and  
Realise that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.  
...our freely elected representatives, admit their responsibilities to  
...public so as to  
...and establish a society based on democratic values, consent  
...society in which everyone is equal before the law,  
...potential of  
...a



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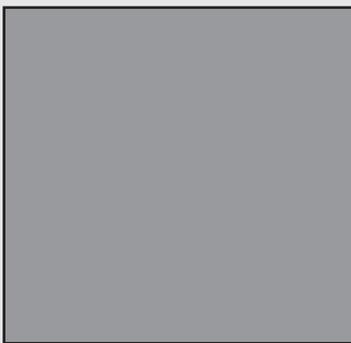
Glossary

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Demonstration against passes, outside the City Hall, Johannesburg, 1957. Photograph: University of the Western Cape Robben

## Ministers Introduction and forward



850  
Words

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# Chief Bambatha

## The Anti Poll Tax Revolt -1906

In mid 1906, the Natal colonialist in the face of rising Zulu resentment against the imposition of a Hut Tax unleashed one of the most brutal and bloody armed campaign to suppression the challenge to British colonial rule. The protest and subsequent armed rebellion against the tax has become popularly know as the Bambatha Rebellion after Chief Bambatha kaMancinza, head of the Zondi, a Zulu clan that lived in the Mpanza Valley in the Greytown district.

Chief Bambatha, with the support of other chiefs in the area, refused to accept a new tax that was being implemented by the colonial administration. Together with a small group of supporters, he launched a series of attacks against the colonial forces, using the Nkandla Forest as a base. The campaign, later known as the Bambatha Rebellion, culminated in a pitched battle against the colonial forces at Mome Gorge, where Bambatha and his followers were finally defeated.

In general terms, the Rebellion was a response to the harsh policies that the Zulu population was subjected to by the colonial administration in Natal, as well as a number of other contributing factors.

### Events leading to the Rebellion

In 1887 Zululand was annexed by the colony of Natal and the Zulu were gradually stripped of most of their arable land. There was widespread poverty, made worse by a series of natural disasters. In 1903 an epidemic of East Coast fever decimated the cattle, there were swarms of locusts and enormous damage was caused by a severe hailstorm in 1905. All these factors led it a serious economic depression. Africans had to pay a Hut Tax and a Dog Tax, and were subjected to a system of forced labour called isibalo, which caused widespread hardship and resentment.

White farmers occupied more and more land, establishing farms and sugar plantations. After the South African War there was a shortage of agricultural labour. Rather than work for the white farmers, the black workforce was increasingly attracted to the gold mines of the Witwatersrand, where they could earn better wages

In 1905, in an attempt to increase the supply of labour and force more black men into becoming agricultural labourers, the Natal government under Charles Smythe, imposed a Poll Tax of £1 on all men over the age of 18. To pay the tax, African men would have to work for cash. Gandhi captured the proletarianisation process in his book, Satyagraha in South Africa,



Bambatha with his brothers and two wives who were

*“ In order to increase the Negro’s wants or to teach him the value of labour a hut tax have been imposed on him. If these imposts were not levied, this race of agriculturists living on their farms would not enter mines hundreds of feet deep in order to extract gold or diamonds, and if their labour were not available for the mines, gold as well as diamonds would remain in the bowels of the earth. Like, the Europeans would find it difficult to get any servants, if no such tax was*



left in the care of king Dinuzulu during the rebellion. This later led to him being found guilty of treason

*imposed.”*

Chiefs and their subjects were required to report to the offices of their respective resident magistrates to pay the Poll Tax on 1 January 1906. However, while some chiefs ordered their subjects to pay, many people opted for passive resistance and simply refused.

### **The Rebellion begins**

The first sign of open resistance against payment of the tax came when a magistrate called A.W. Leslie went to collect taxes from the Hlongwa and Cele clans in the Silverstream district. The Hlongwas refused to pay. They were taken to the Kranskop Court, where they were each sentenced to a term of imprisonment and 25 lashes. On 20 January a

white farmer from Camperdown was murdered after he took his labourers to Pietermaritzburg to pay their taxes.

Another incident occurred on 7 February in the Mgeni district, where a small group of protesters known as *Ibandla Lika Musi* resisted Chief Mveli's efforts to take members of the Fungi clan to the magistrate's office to pay taxes. Mveli reported the matter to the magistrate and police were dispatched to investigate. On 8 February, two police officers were killed trying to arrest Mlongo, the leader of the resisters.

There were other instances of protest and resistance, and the white settlers demanded that the colonial government take action to deal with it. In February martial law was introduced in Natal and the militia was mobilised under Colonel Duncan Mackenzie to restore order. Troops were sent to Mgeni. They brutally crushed the resistance, burning down homesteads and seizing livestock. After this incident the Natal government demobilised its forces, mistakenly believing that it had beaten the Zulu population into submission.

Chief Bambatha kaMancinza, leader of the Zondi clan, was initially willing to pay the tax but held back when



Col Royston, Chief of the Staff, questioning the Indunas as to what part their men took in the recent disturbances

he discovered that his subjects were refusing to pay. He excused himself, saying that he was ill and promising to report to the magistrate at a later date. On 11 March, when Bambatha did not appear, the magistrate sent Major W.J. Clark of the Natal Police with 170 policemen to arrest him.

To avoid arrest, Bambatha fled the Mpanza Valley with his family and sought refuge with King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo in Zululand. Although Dinuzulu did not support the rebellion openly, he provided tacit support by

harbouring Bambatha and his family.

On his return from Zululand, accompanied by Chief Chakijana kaGezindaba, Bambatha found that the colonial government had replaced him with his uncle, Magwababa. After ousting Magwababa, the outraged Bambatha and a group of his supporters retreated to the Nandla Forest. They were given refuge by 96-year-old Sigananda Shezi of the Ncube, a clan of iron-workers and assegai-makers. Instead of handing Bambatha over to the authorities as he was instructed,



## King Dinuzulu 1868 – 1913

Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo succeeded Cetshwayo who was the King of the Zulu nation in 1884. On 14 May 1887, the British annexed Zululand and the Zulu Reserve, extending the Native Law of Natal to the whole country. The Governor of Natal was to rule by proclamation; but it was clear that Dinuzulu regarded his status under the protectorate as unchanged. Dinuzulu ignored the magistrates who summoned him and fined him for continuing to administer the affairs of the nation as if his authority was supreme.

In June 1888 Dinuzulu openly rebelled against the Zibhebhu and defeated them at Nongoma. Pursued by British troops, he escaped to the Transvaal where he evaded capture for three months. In 1889, a court found Dinuzulu and his two uncles, Ndabuko and Shingana, guilty of high treason and exiled them to the island of St Helena. Dinuzulu was later released and installed as 'Government Induna' in 1898.

During 1906, Dinuzulu became implicated in the rebellion of a minor chief, Bambatha. He was arrested in 1909 and accused of harbouring rebels. Dinuzulu was sentenced to four years imprisonment.

General Louis Botha believed that Dinuzulu did not have a fair trial and ordered his release when he became Prime Minister of South Africa in 1910.

Sigananda decided to join Bambatha and the two leaders combined their forces to launch a series of guerrilla attacks. They were later joined by other chiefs and hundreds of young warriors. As the revolt gained momentum, the government stepped up its repressive measures, but these proved counter-productive as more and more clans joined the rebellion.

On 5 May over a thousand of Bambatha's warriors attacked the colonial forces as they were descending a steep ridge. Mackenzie tracked the rebels to the Mome George, where he was able to encircle Bambatha and his army and defeat them. Bambatha's men were armed mainly with traditional short spears and shields, while Mackenzie's men had firearms.

Bambatha was captured and killed during the battle at Mome Gorge on 10 June, while Siganda and his men surrendered. Bambatha was decapitated and his head displayed as a trophy by the colonial troops.

The rebellion came to an end. By 1907 the Natal government was able to collect tax without encountering any form of protest.

### The aftermath

The Bambatha Rebellion claimed the lives of 4000 Zulu and 30 white people and cost the colonial government £740,000. Some of the Zulu died fighting on the side of the Natal government. More than 7,000 people were imprisoned and 4,000 were flogged. Chiefs who had supported the rebels were arrested and charged with high treason. They were initially sentenced to death, but their sentences were later commuted to life imprisonment on the island of St. Helena. In 1910 they were granted amnesty and resumed their roles as chiefs.

King Dinizulu was arrested near

## Chief Bambatha of AmaZondi

1865 - 1906

Chief of the AmaZondi Chieftaincy and leader of the Bambatha Rebellion of 1906



Chief Bhambada was born in Mpanza near the town of Greytown, Natal Colony. Bambatha became his father's successor, following his death, at the age of 25. He was occasionally in trouble with the law. After the introduction of the Natal Poll Tax, the Natal

government suspected that he had joined other Chiefs in the region who had voiced their discontent and rejection of the tax. On 11 March 1906, Chief Bhambada fled to Zululand and on his return, he learned that he was deposed and replaced with his uncle, Magwabagwaba. He took refuge at Nkandla forest and launched the rebellion from there. The rebellion was crushed in June 1906 and a government spy who had managed to infiltrate his forces reportedly killed Chief Bambatha in the forest. However, some of his loyal supporters maintained that he escaped to Mozambique and lived in hiding there until his natural death around the 1920s. However, the Natal forces asserted that the man killed in Nkandla Forest was him and the head shown to the public was also his. DNA Laboratory tests conducted from DNA extracted from a lock of hair found in one of the Natal officers' belonging failed to conclusively prove whether the hair belonged to Chief Bambatha.

### Chronology

1905	September	The Colonial Administration in Natal introduces the Poll Tax.
1906	1 January	The poll tax is paid for the first time.
1906	20 January	A white farmer is murdered in Pietermaritburg.
1906	6 February	Chief Mveli of the Fungi clan takes his followers to pay the Poll tax.
1906	10 February	Two White police officers are killed near Richmond.
1906	11 March	Chief Bambatha flees to Zululand to seek refuge with King Dinizulu.
1906	4 April	Bambatha gathers together his warriors and attacked a police patrol, killing four white men at Ambush Rock, on the road to Dundee, outside Greytown.
1906	May	Chief Mehlokazulu and his Qungebe clan joins the rebels.
1906	10 June	Chief Bambatha is killed and his men defeated at the Nkandla forest.
1906	18 June	Chief Messeni and Ndlovu kaThimuni continue with a revolt at the Maphumulo district.
1907	December	King Dinizulu of the Zulu royal house is charged with twenty-three counts of treason.
1909	March	Dinizulu is sentenced to five years imprisonment and fined 100.
1910		Dinizulu is released and exiled to Rustenburg, Transvaal.



### **Inkosi Sigananda Shezi. 1810-**

Inkosi Sigananda was a son of chief Zokufa. Inkosi Sigananda was recruited as a warrior at the very young age and saw a great deal of military action in his lifetime. He witnessed the death of Piet Retief at the Mgungundhlovu in 1838. Sigananda fought against the British in the Zulu War of 1879 and also fought with Usuthu during the great Thukela Battle on 2 December 1856. He fled to Natal to seek refuge in the clan of Mancinza, who was the father of Inkosi Bambatha. In 1871 He got an invitation from King Cetshwayo to come and live in KwaZulu, which Sigananda accepted. He fought for King Cetshwayo during the Zulu War, seeing KwaZulu restored in January of 1883.

In 1906 he joined Chief Bambatha and other chiefs in the rebellion against the imposition of the Poll Tax by the colonial government. During the rebellion, Sigananda's kraal was burned and his stronghold attacked by Zululand police. Many people fled their homes in fear. Bhambatha was killed, and Sigananda and Mangati became fugitives, successfully evading the government's troops for some time. Yet, knowing the loss would be too great for the fight to continue, Inkosi Sigananda surrendered and was immediately placed in prison. During his 38 day imprisonment, Inkosi Sigananda seemed in good health and quite communicative. Yet his body was unable to adapt to the changed circumstances of prison.

## **Classroom activities**

Learning Outcome: Learners are able to identify bias and stereotypes; communicate knowledge and understanding by constructing own interpretation of the struggle in South Africa.

### **Questions**

1. Do you think the Bambatha Rebellion had a significant impact to the liberation movements after their banning in the 1960s?
2. Explain, briefly what led to the introduction of the Poll Tax and the results therefore?
3. Was Chief Bambatha ready to lead the Rebellion when it first broke out?
4. Do you think the resultant action by the Natal government to cut-off Chief Bambatha's head was justified? Why do you say so?
5. Briefly explain the role of Black volunteers in the Rebellion.
6. What's the difference between the Treason Trial in which Dinizulu was charged with, and that one of 1956?
7. Why was Chief Dinizulu released so sudden and where did he go after that?
8. Do you think the European system of governance had a significant bearing on the role of traditional leaders in South Africa? Why do you say so?



Nongoma. His trial took place in Greytown. Although he was defended by William Philip Schreiner, a top lawyer from the Cape Colony, Dinizulu was convicted of treason and sentenced to four years imprisonment. Upon his release he was banished to Rustenburg in the Transvaal, where he later died.

The Bambatha Rebellion was the last armed resistance against white rule in before the formation of the Union

of South Africa in 1910. The Zulu population of Natal were pushed deeper into poverty and pushed into become a source of cheap labour for the new capitalist state and in particular for the mining and agricultural sector. However, with the failure of the Rebellion, and the political exclusion of Africans, Coloured and Indians from the new Union constitution, forced the new urban European educated and

traditional African leadership to establish the first national political formation the South African Native Congress, from which to challenge white rule. Bambatha became a source of pride and inspiration to both nationalists and socialist anti-apartheid activists and movements over the years.




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## Glossary

- Commute** – Change a person prison term to a less severe term
- Decapitate** – Cut off somebody's head
- Decimate** – Destroy completely
- Demobilise** – Disband troops/ release from military services
- Oust** – Drive out/ Throw out
- Outrage** – Annoyance/Anger
- Plunge** – Sink
- Resentment** – Disappointment/Unhappy about something one thinks is unfair
- Retreat** – Move back
- Tacit** – Unspoken/ concealed, especially of support

# Gandhi and the Birth of



1913- 29 October 1913-Gandhi led 200 striking miners of the Natal collieries from Newcastle towards the Transvaal in protest against the Asiatic Poll Tax.

The concept of Satyagraha or passive resistance was born out of the immigrant South African Indian communities struggle to enjoy the same rights as the white citizens of the British Empire.

It was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the young English trained Barrister, who formulated a unique world view and method of non violent resistance in his twenty one years as political activists and leader of the Indian Community in South Africa. The Gandhian concept of Satyagraha had

a profound influence on the anti colonial and anti apartheid struggle.

Gandhi's unique philosophical outlook, boundless energy, dogged tenacity and courage as a political leader propelled him into one of the most prominent anti colonial political activists of his time and one of the most memorable figures in human history.

Gandhi's experience in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899/1902 and the 1906 Bambatha rebellion was the turning

point in his life. He sided with the British during these conflicts. He quickly saw that British colonialism would not hesitate to use brutal force to savagely crush any armed opposition to its rule.

In 1906, in the face of an exceptionally humiliating law enacted to enforce the registration of Indians in the Transvaal, Gandhi found he had reached a dead-end; The colonial government in Pretoria, supported by the dominant European community,

# Satyagrahi -1906



against the legal restrictions on Indians and the tax. The march was the climax of the Passive Resistance campaign.

was adamant; the Government of India was indifferent and the imperial government in London was reluctant to intervene. Something more than partitioning and quiet persuasion was needed.

It was on the 11 September 1906 at a mass meeting held at the Empire Theatre in Johannesburg that the Indian community undertook a solemn oath to defy the law. While this date is recognized as the day when the concept of Satyagraha was born. It was a year later, after Gandhi had exhausted all

the political avenues, that the Indian and Chinese community embarked on the actual passive resistance campaign, under Gandhi's leadership.

Gandhi maintained that when faced with a powerful enemy, the use of passive resistance and the demonstration to the authorities that people were prepared to undergo great hardships and voluntary imprisonment would eventually force the enemy to have a change of heart.

Gandhi argued that for Satyagraha to succeed the resisters had to relinquish their wealth and possessions and give him/herself to the struggle for truth i.e. the resister should undergo a spiritual change. Gandhi was in no doubt about one thing: the campaign method was to be conducted without hatred and without violence.

It was Gandhi's genius as a strategist and his personal courage that transformed what had been an individual ethic into a tool for social

and political action. Gandhi said of *Satyagraha*: ‘I coined the word “*Satyagraha*” in South Africa in order to give a name to the power with which the Indians there fought for a full 8 years (1906 - 1914). I spoke of “*satyagraha*” in order to force a wedge between this power and the movement which was referred to in Great Britain and South Africa as “*passive resistance*”.’

While it can be said that very few of his closest and most dedicated followers wholeheartedly adopted and lived by Gandhi’s philosophy of *Satyagraha*, it was Gandhi and his follower’s courage and sacrifices that won them the support of millions especially in the struggle for India’s independence.

### The Passive Resistance Campaign

#### *Satyagrahi* and the Black Act

When Gandhi first arrived in South Africa in 1893, he experienced the naked and harsh racist attitude of the white colonialists against Black people and a virulent anti-Indian attitude. Natal was given self-government and immediately passed legislation that would contain ‘the Indian merchant menace’. Two bills were passed in the following two years that severely restricted the rights of Indians:

- o The Immigration Law Amendment Bill stated that all indentured Indians had to return to India at the end of a five-year indenture period, or had to be re-indentured for a further

two years if they wanted to remain in the colony. In addition ex-indentured immigrants who choose to remain in the colony had to pay an annual tax of £3. This bill came



Gandhi dressed as a *Satyagrahi*

#### A definition and three principles of *satyagraha*

The derivations of the word also sum up the three principles upon which the concept of *satyagraha* is based:

- **satya:** truth, implying openness, honesty and fairness
- **ahimsa:** refusal to inflict injury upon others
- **tapasya:** willingness for self-sacrifice.

into law in 1895.

- o The Franchise Amendment Bill was also passed in 1894. It was designed to limit the franchise to Indians who already had the vote. Although there were only 300 of them in comparison with 10 000 white voters, this bill caused outrage among the small Indian trader community.

The publication of the Franchise Amendment Bill was one of the defining moments in Gandhi’s life. He called a meeting including most of the leading members of the Indian community which led to the formation of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) on the 22 August 1894 and to the beginning of Gandhi’s political career. Between 1894 and 1906 Gandhi and the Indian community mounted numerous campaigns to protest their right to live and trade in South Africa.

In August 1906 the British administration in the Transvaal passed the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, which triggered the first direct mass action or passive resistance campaign. The new law, which became known as *the black act*, stated that every Indian man, woman and child older than 8 years had to register with a government official called the registrar of Asiatics. Indians who did not register by a certain date would no longer be allowed to stay in the Transvaal. The law required Indian people to have their fingerprints taken in order to be issued with their registration certificates. The certificate had to be carried at all times and be produced



MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg, PH2000/334

on demand to any policeman who asked to see them. An Indian who could not produce a certificate could be fined and sent to prison.

Gandhi moved to the Transvaal and set up an office in Johannesburg. He wasted no time in mounting a campaign to oppose the new law. He referred especially to the insulting law demanding that Indians give prints of their ten fingers, as if they were criminals.

Gandhi contacted Mr Leung Quinn, the leader of the Chinese community, to discuss the new laws. The majority of the Chinese people in South

Black Act, no matter the consequences and government threats. This vow was later known as the Satyagraha Oath, and it marked the beginning of the eight-year-long Satyagraha Campaign.

The Transvaal government realised that it was not going to be easy to

*'Every Indian knows what the Black Act is and what it implies. I have listened to Mr Hosken attentively, and so have you. His speech has only confirmed me in my resolution. We know how powerful the Transvaal Government is. But it cannot do anything more than enact such a law. It will cast us into prison, confiscate our property, deport us or hang us.'* Mr. Cachalia gave everyone a chance to absorb his words before he continued, *'All this we will bear cheerfully, but we cannot simply put up with this law. I swear in the name of God that I will be hanged but I will not submit to this law, and I hope that everyone present will do likewise.'*



Gandhi and residents of tolstoy farm.

Africa were brought as indentured labourers to work on the Transvaal gold mines and the Black Act therefore applied to them too.

Within a few days, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September thousands of Indian's attended the meeting held at the Empire Theatre and vowed not to submit to the

impose these harsh laws. General Smuts, the Prime Minister, sent a representative, William Hosken, to say that the Government would not change the laws. But, if the people obeyed these laws, General Smuts would be prepared to make minor changes. Hosken delivered his message at a mass meeting. After his address, Ahmad Cachalia, stood up and addressed the meeting;

Cachalia was not afraid to go to jail, and he inspired those who shared his views. With a sense of spiritual commitment, many of the Indians and Chinese entered on the Passive Resistance Campaign in 1907. The Campaign was fought on many levels. Pickets were organised outside the government's Asiatic Stairs offices;



Gandhi and the Birth of Satyagrahi

and people were discouraged from registering during temple sermons in mosques and churches.

The Campaign was initially known as the Passive Resistance Campaign, but many people felt this name was inappropriate as the campaign was anything but passive. They were actively resisting oppression, even if they were doing so in a non-violent way. Gandhi ran a competition asking people to give the campaign a name and the term *Satyagraha*, was chosen. This was the name given to the campaign from 1907 onwards. By the closing date of registration in terms of the Black Act, only 511 Indians had registered out of the total Indian population of over 13 000 in the Transvaal. The community regarded the 511 as traitors. Some of those who had registered felt bad about what they had done and tore up their permits. Mr Querei, a Chinese man who had registered, felt so ashamed at the thought of letting down his community that he committed suicide.

The Smuts Government had expected resistance to their unjust Asiatic Laws, but they had not expected the fervor of Gandhi's campaign. They imprisoned Gandhi and hundreds of other people. They also deported Satyagrahis to India, including people who had been born in South Africa.

Eventually, Smuts was forced to negotiate. In 1908, while Gandhi and many of the other campaign leaders were in prison, Smuts sent Albert Cartwright, the editor of the Johannesburg newspaper *The Transvaal*

*Leader*, to speak to them. He delivered a letter proposing that Indians register voluntarily and participate in deciding on the details that should be entered upon registration. If Indians agreed to register voluntarily, Smuts promised to repeal the Black Act.

Gandhi discusses the terms of the settlement with fellow-prisoners Leung Quinn (from the Chinese Association) and Thumbi Naidoo (from the Transvaal British Indian Association). They made some amendments and signed the proposal.

On 30 January 1908 Gandhi was escorted from prison to Pretoria to meet Smuts. They agreed that Indians would register voluntarily, that negotiations would be validated and that the Asiatic Registration Act would be repealed. Smuts also said that Gandhi was free to go home and promised to release all the other campaigners the next day. Gandhi was given a first-class train ticket to Johannesburg.

On his arrival in Johannesburg, Gandhi went to see Yusuf Mian, the Chairman of the Transvaal Indian Association, later called the Transvaal Indian Congress. Gandhi and Mian called a midnight meeting at the Hamidia Mosque to discuss Smuts' terms. Despite the late notice of the meeting, nearly a thousand people attended. Gandhi explained the terms of the agreement to the people and encouraged them to register voluntarily. Many people were not happy about registering, as they had made a vow and did not want to break it.

Mir Alam was among the group who refused to register. He felt that Gandhi had betrayed the cause of the campaign by accepting the proposal. On 10 February, while Gandhi was on his way to register, he was attacked and injured by Alam and some of his friends. Recuperating at the home of his

friend and first biographer, Rev Doke, he stuck by his decision to trust Smuts and registered from his bed.

Smuts did not repeal the Black Act as he had promised. His breaking of the agreement, angered the Indian community and Gandhi sent a letter to Parliament, reminding Smuts on the terms of their agreement. In the letter, Gandhi warned that if Smuts did not repeal the Act as promised.



Gandhi recovering from an assault by dissident members of the passive resistance movement at Rev. Doke's home.

the Indians would burn their registration certificates.

Gandhi gave Smuts until 16 August 1908 to respond. On this day, the Indian community held a meeting on the grounds of the Hamidia Mosque in Johannesburg. A three-legged pot stood in the corner of the grounds, waiting to be used to burn the registration certificates, if necessary. A telegram arrived from Smuts, saying that the government could not concede to the request of the community.

The certificates were burnt and the Satyagraha Campaign



started again. Mir Alam, who had assaulted Gandhi, publicly apologised for the attack and threw his original registration certificate into the fire while the crowd cheered him. The newspapers gave vivid descriptions of the bonfire, in which more than 2 000 certificates were burnt.

### **The Satyagraha Campaign and the Transvaal Immigration Restriction Act**

In 1907 the Government passed another law which placed restrictions on Indians entering the Transvaal from any of the other provinces. Indians from all over the country were affected by this law.

A Satyagrahi called Sorabji Adajania informed the Government that he intended to break this law and entered the Transvaal without a permit. He was arrested and brought to court on 8 July 1908. The case was dismissed because Sorabji had not been properly summoned to court. However, Sorabji was ordered to appear in court again on 10 July and warned to leave the Transvaal. He refused to do so and on 20 July was sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour.

The following month, Sheth Daud Mahomed, the president of the Natal Indian Congress, followed Sorabji's brave act of defiance. Together with a group of Satyagrahis, he, too, entered the Transvaal without a certificate. They were arrested on 18 August 1908.

These incidents encouraged more and more Satyagrahis' to defy the discriminatory laws. A delegation was sent to Britain to seek the help of the British government in resolving the situation. Nothing came of this, and the Passive Resisters continued with their campaign.

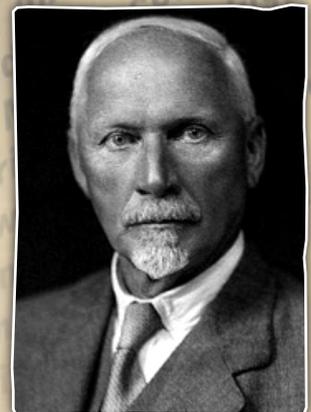
### **The Campaign starts to lose momentum**

The Satyagrahis had pledged to fight until "victory or death", and both sides were determined to stick to their positions. In June 1909 Gandhi left for London. The Indians in the Transvaal were unhappy about the settlement he had made with Smuts, and when he returned to South Africa in December 1909, Gandhi found that his fellow members of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) were openly opposing him.

The Campaign started to lose momentum, although Smuts' government was receiving bad press in Britain and pressure was mounting on him to make changes. The Satyagrahis were beginning to tire after the long struggle and disillusionment was setting in. The families of Satyagrahis were supported by cash donations, which were running out.

Many of these families, including Gandhi's own family, lived on the Phoenix Settlement which Gandhi had established in 1904. The Phoenix Settlement was based on ideals that were unique for those times: a free community built on communal living, that was also multiracial, multi-cultural and there were no class-distinctions.

### **General JC Smuts:**



Jan Smuts was not only a statesman and a soldier, but also a naturalist and philosopher. He was born near Riebeeck West in the Cape in 1870 and left South Africa to read law at Cambridge University. He returned in 1895 and became a supporter of the Rhodes-Hofmeyr partnership. He was very disappointed with the Jameson Raid and became a republican and an Afrikaner nationalist. He also gave up his private law practice and became State Attorney and advisor to the Executive Council in Paul Kruger's government at the age of 28. Smuts was a man of daunting intellect and among his friends were Winston Churchill and Mohandas Gandhi. By 1907 he was appointed Minister of Education and colonial secretary in the Botha government in the Transvaal Colony. Jan Smuts was largely responsible for the drafting of the Union of South Africa's constitution as a delegate to the National Convention. He was also Minister of Interior, Defence and Mines in the first Union Cabinet. Due to his reconciliatory attitude towards the English he was unpopular with his kinsmen. During the post-war (world war two) years he was involved in the formation of the United Nations. In South Africa support for the NP under D F Malan gained support and in 1948 the United Party was defeated. Jan Smuts died in Irene, near Pretoria, in 1950.



## Herman Kallenbach:

Kallenbach was the owner of Tolstoy Farm and was a prosperous German Architect in Johannesburg. He became a devoted friend and co-worker of Gandhi's and he placed his Tolstoy Farm at the disposal of Satyagrahis. He participated in the Satyagrahis *great march* and confronted white protesters. He accompanied Gandhi to India and many years later he visited Gandhi in Sevagram Ashram. He Finally settled in Israel.

## Tolstoy Farm

Gandhi spoke to his friend and close confident the German born Jewish architect, Herman Kallenbach, about the possibility of building a place like the Phoenix Settlement in the Transvaal. Kallenbach bought a farm

of about 1 100 acres and gave it to the Satyagrahis to use. Kallenbach helped to build houses on the farm to accommodate 60 men and 10 women. He also built a house for himself, a workshop for carpentry and shoemaking, and a building which was used as a school.

Gandhi went to stay on the farm with his family. He named the settlement Tolstoy Farm, after the great Russian writer, Leo Tolstoy, who had inspired his philosophy of non-violence and communal living. Work was distributed evenly amongst the members of the community, and a very important rule was that men and women should be treated equally.

It was here that Gandhi changed his way of dressing from a suit and tie to a working man's trousers and shirt, similar to a prisoner's clothes.

The school on the farm taught history, geography, writing, arithmetic, prayers, religious songs, and storytelling. Stories were told to develop close contact between the children and to build a spirit of friendship.

From Tolstoy Farm, the Satyagrahis continued to defy the restrictive laws on a small scale: they sold fruit and vegetables without licenses to do so, and many crossed the border from

Natal into the Transvaal without permits.

In 1912, Gokhale, the leading Indian nationalist leader, visited South Africa. He toured the country with Gandhi him, talking to the Indian people and listening to their stories about their struggles. Gokhale also met some South African government officials who told Gokhale that they were prepared to abolish the Black Act and the £3 Tax and to make other concessions for Indians.

'As soon as the Government makes these changes, you must come back to India,' Gokhale said to Gandhi. 'We have problems in India and we need your help there.'

Gandhi laughed at this. He told Gokhale how untrustworthy the Smuts government was and said that that political change might take a while.

## Women and the Satyagraha Campaign

In March of 1913 the Campaign got the impetus it needed to resume. In a judgement of the Supreme Court, Judge Searle refused to recognise Hindu and Muslim marriages. Angered by this,

## Chronology

1905		The Immigration Restriction Act of 1905 is passed in the Transvaal. The Act provides for the Government's control of the entry of Indians into the Transvaal through a special permit system.
1906		Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, No 29 of 1906 (The Black Act) is proclaimed in the Transvaal and subjects all Indians to compulsory registration and identification by means of fingerprints. Registration Certificates (Passes) are to be carried at all times and must be produced on request to a police officer under penalty of a fine or imprisonment.
1906	1 January	A poll tax of £3 is enforced on Indians 18 years and over living in Natal.
1906	February - June	The <u>Bambatha rebellion</u> erupts in Natal in protest against the so-called "hut tax" levied by the Natal Government. The Natal Indian Congress (NIC), under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, decides on 24 April 1906 to establish an ambulance corps to assist the British in the campaign to put down the rebellion.
1906	11 September	First Satyagraha campaign began with a mass meeting at the Empire Theatre in Johannesburg in protest against proposed Asiatic Laws. Two of the resolutions adopted at the meeting respectively calls for a deputation to be sent to England and for non-violent or passive resistance (Satyagraha)
1907		The South African Indian Committee, comprising of the Natal Indian Patriotic Union and the Natal Indian Congress, is established. At this time, both organisations are critical of Mahatma Gandhi.
1907	11 March	Indians hold a mass meeting at the Gaiety Theatre, protesting against the discriminatory treatment of Indians.
1907	22 March	The Black act is passed by the Transvaal Parliament. All male Asians are to be registered and finger printed and are required to carry registration certificates (passes) at all times, which have to be shown to the police on demand.
1907	29 March	Indians hold a mass protest meeting at the Gaiety Hall in Johannesburg against the "Black Act" and offer to register voluntarily if the Act is withdrawn.
1907	4 April	Mahatma Gandhi leads a deputation to the Transvaal Colonial Secretary, General J.C. Smuts and presents him with the resolutions adopted at the Indian mass meeting held on 29 March 1907 in Johannesburg.
1907	1 July	The black act, comes into operation. The first permit office is opened in the Transvaal and Indians are notified that they have to register within three months.

Indian women joined the Campaign for the first time. The participation of women passive resisters and their role in the Satyagraha Campaign of 1913 – 1914 is one of the most important features of the campaign.

Gandhi corresponded with the Ministry of Interior and warned that - passive resistance, which would embrace the whole of South Africa, including women, would resume – if the government refused to amend the, the black act and the Marriage Laws. The

inclusion of the demand to repeal the £3 law was the subsequent inclusion of the Indian cold miners grievances were the two issues transformed the passive resistance campaign into a mass based movement. Drawing on the majority of Indians who were Tamil speaking.

One of the most prominent female protesters was Gandhi's wife, Kasturba Gandhi. She declared that she 'would go to prison rather than be declared an unlawful wife'.

Gandhi was delighted with the women's participation in the struggle for justice. He realised that women had responsibilities that men did not have, as they were expected to take care of the home and children. Gandhi felt that married couples should share these responsibilities. He pledged to his wife that he and the other men would take care of the children and all the household chores if the women went to prison as a result of protesting.

On the first day of the new Campaign

## Chronology

1907	9 July	The Transvaal British Indian Association petitions the Transvaal Parliament on the Transvaal Immigration Restriction Bill.
1907	28 July	An Indian mass meeting held at the Hamidia Islamic Society Hall in Johannesburg protests against the Transvaal Immigration Restriction Bill and declares a day of hartal in the Transvaal.
1907	31 July	An open air Indian mass protest meeting is held in Pretoria against the black act. The meeting decides on passive resistance (Satyagraha) against the Act – to go to prison rather than to register, and, later, to hawk without licences.
1907	11 November	Ramsundar Pandit of Germiston becomes the first passive resister to be arrested for failing to register in terms of the black act. Mahatma Gandhi defends Pandit in court free of charge.
1907	30 November	Only 511 Indians out of the total Indian population of over 13 000 register by the closing date of registration in terms of the black act.
1908	1 January	The black act resistance, enters into force. A mass meeting is held at Surti Mosque in Fordsburg, Johannesburg.
1908	4 January	The Transvaal British Indian Association informs the Transvaal Government that, if Indians are not issued trading licences because they have not registered in terms of the black act, they will trade without licences. The Transvaal Colonial Secretary, General J.C. Smuts, declares that the Asiatic Registration Act will not be repealed and refuses to meet with Mahatma Gandhi.
1908	10 January	Mahatma Gandhi is sentenced to two months' imprisonment for violating a court order to leave the Transvaal after being charged with picketing. (his first imprisonment).
1908	28 January	Albert Cartwright brings the compromise terms with regards to the black act, from the Transvaal Colonial Secretary, General J.C. Smuts, to Mahatma Gandhi in prison. Gandhi discusses the terms of the settlement with fellow prisoners Leung Quinn (from the Chinese Association) and Thambi Naidoo (from the Transvaal British Indian Association). They make some amendments and then sign the proposal.
1908	30 January	The Transvaal Colonial Secretary, General J.C. Smuts, accepts the compromise with regards to the black act. Gandhi is released and taken to Johannesburg, where he addresses a midnight meeting at the Hamidia Mosque to explain the terms of the settlement.
1908	10 February	Voluntary registration by Asiatics commences as agreed under the Gandhi-Smuts agreement. Mahatma Gandhi is assaulted by Mir Alam Khan, an Indian extremist, for reaching settlement with Smuts.
1908	9 May	By the last day of voluntary registration of Asiatics, as agreed under the Gandhi-Smuts agreement, 8700 Indians have registered and 6000 were accepted by the Transvaal Government.
1908	27 June	A well-educated Parsee, Sorabji Shapurji Adajania tests the Transvaal Immigration Restriction Act, Act No. 15 of 1907, by entering the Transvaal from Natal without a permit. He was imprisoned on the 8 <sup>th</sup> of July
1908	31 June	The Transvaal Colonial Secretary, General J.C. Smuts, states that the repeal of the black act is preposterous and Mahatma Gandhi accuses the Transvaal Government of "foul play".
1908	2 July	Mahatma Gandhi warns the Transvaal Colonial Secretary, General J.C. Smuts, that the voluntary registration certificates (passes), which Indians had applied for under the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, will be burnt.
1908	20 July	A mass campaign of satyagraha begins in protest of the black act, the Transvaal Immigration Restriction Act, Act No. 15 of 1907, and the Transvaal Municipal Consolidation Bill. Satyagrahis are imprisoned for unlicensed trading.
1908	1 August	The Chinese Association officially joins the satyagraha campaign against anti-Asiatic legislation in the Transvaal.
1908	16 August	After Smuts refusal, the second satyagraha campaign began with bonfire of registration certificates. More than 2000 registration certificates (passes) are burned during an Indian mass meeting at the Hamidia Mosque in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, in reaction to the Transvaal Colonial Secretary, General J.C. Smuts' alleged breach of the Gandhi-Smuts agreement and continued refusal to repeal the black act. The Committee of European (White) Sympathisers is formed with William Hosken as Chairperson.
1908	18 August	Mahatma Gandhi meets with the Transvaal Prime Minister, General Louis Botha, the Transvaal Colonial Secretary, General J.C. Smuts, and members of the Progressive Party to discuss the Indian question.

15 September 1913, Gandhi, together with other men, took over the kitchens at the Phoenix settlement. They prepared meals, did the washing and scrubbed the floors. They then accompanied the Satyagrahi women to the Durban railway station, where the women began the first part of their journey by train to the Transvaal.

This was a criminal offence for which they could be jailed for up to six months. The group of 16 Satyagrahis, four women and 12 men (Parsee Rustomjee among them), were led by Kasturba. When Kasturba's group of protesters arrived at Volksrust station in the Transvaal, they were ordered

patience and decided to deport them. The police took the group to a bridge on the border between Natal and the Transvaal and pushed the protesters across it. The group promptly marched back into the Transvaal, where, this time, they were arrested.

On 23 September they were tried and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. For six days they were held in Volksrust before being transferred to the Pietermaritzburg prison in Natal.

This act of protest by a relatively small group of Satyagrahis marked the

lovingly called by Gandhi as the 'brave Transvaal Sisters', left for Vereeniging along with Kallenbach on 2 October 1913. They crossed the Free State Border but were not arrested and proceeded to cross the Natal border. The Plan was to get to Newcastle to encourage the indentured mine workers to go on strike. No-one expected the massive support that these women would get from the miners.

Thumbi Naidoo and Bhawani Dayal reached Newcastle first, On 13 October 1913, a new campaign was initiated in Newcastle, Natal, in protest of the £3 Tax imposed on ex-indentured Indians.



off the train as they did not have permits. They refused to get off, saying that they were prepared to go to jail.

The government knew that, by arresting these women, the Satyagraha Campaign would get a lot of publicity, so for several days they left them alone in Volksrust. But by Sunday 21 September the police had lost their

beginning of another huge campaign. A few weeks after the arrest, they were joined by another group of women who lived in the Transvaal. These Indian ladies included Thambi Naidoo's wife, her mother and sister, 16-year-old Valliama Munuswami Mudliar. Most of the women were residents on Tolstoy Farm.

The Johannesburg group of women,

On the 15 October the 'brave Transvaal Sisters' reached the coal mines near Newcastle. They addressed the miners. The women's courage and fiery speeches won over the miners and they decided to down tools and join to women on the long marched to Newcastle. The campaigners also gained the support of railway workers and on 16 October 1913, a strike began.



## Ahmad Muhammad Cachalia: Political Activist

AM Cachalia joined the Satyagraha struggle in the Transvaal. He was an extremely wealthy man and was used to a life of luxury and comfort, yet he was one of the strongest supporters of the Satyagraha Campaign. He was not afraid to go to jail. Cachalia was imprisoned repeatedly during the struggle, and as a result of his activism, he became insolvent when his white creditors made a concerted run on him to punish him for his role in the Indian resistance.

Many people in the Indian Community admired and respected Cachalia's courage, and Gandhi himself described Mr Cachalia as one of the most steadfast and courageous people he had met.

He succeeded Essop Mia as the Chairperson of the British Indian Association in September of 1910. His son Ali lived at Tolstoy Farm with Gandhi.

The manager of the mine set his dogs on the protesters and the mine management set on the strikers with whips and bayonets, seriously injuring many men, women and children.

Thumbi Naidoo and Bhawani Dayal, and the 'brave Transvaal Sisters', were all arrested for their involvement in enticing the strike. By the middle of October 35 all the satyagrahi's were in prison. The news of the violent response to the strike and of the disgraceful treatment of the prisoner's spread across the country and Indian workers came out on strike right across Natal. The 16 year old Valliamma R. Munusami died of a fever which she

surprise by the massive support and he began making preparing for a huge March from Natal into the Transvaal border. The march would take place in eight stages. Preparations for food and sleeping places were made at each of the stopping points.

The big march officially began on 6 November 1913 at 6.30 in the morning. 2037 men, 127 women and 57 children made up the long and determined line of marchers. During the march Gandhi was arrested and let out on bail three times, but the march continued. Later, P.K. Naidoo and other leaders were also arrested, but still the people

I have received promotion in rank, as magistrates take the trouble to arrest me instead of mere police officials.' In court, he found that five other marchers had also been arrested. They were kept in prison but Gandhi was released on bail of 50 pounds.

Gandhi joined the march again, but before they reached Balfour he was re-arrested, this time by the chief immigration officer. The workers continued the march. They arrived in Balfour, to find that there were three trains waiting to deport them back to Natal. They were given two choices: either get on the trains or



contracted while in prison and she was given a martyr's funeral and Gandhi declared her as the first women martyr of the satyagraha movement.

The coal miner's strike soon became a general strike. By the end of October the number striker's had swelled from 5000 to 6000. Gandhi was taken by

marched on.

In Standerton they stopped to rest and to eat. Gandhi was handing out food when a magistrate came and stood quietly at his side until he had finished. He told Gandhi that he had come to arrest him. Gandhi turned to him calmly and said, 'It would seem

go to prison. They chose prison. In prison Gandhi, met a Satyagrahi called Harbatsingh, who was 75 years old. Gandhi was very moved by his courage. 'You should be at home, old man,' Gandhi said kindly.

'Hah!' said Baba Harbatsingh, 'Sit at home when you, your wife and even



## Valliamma R Munuswami

The Participation of Women passive resisters was a key element of the Satyagraha Campaign of 1913-1914. Angered by the judgement in the Supreme Court in March 1913 in which Judge Searle refused to recognise Hindu and Muslim marriages, Indian women joined the Campaign for the first time.

Valliamma came to symbolise the courage of these women who cast aside their traditional seclusion and braved arrest and imprisonment. Valliamma's parents owned a fruit shop in Doornfontein, Johannesburg. At the age of 16, she was among a group of women who travelled from mine to mine in Newcastle, Natal, urging indentured workers to strike. In 1913 Valliamma was one of the hundreds of female volunteers who joined the final Satyagraha campaign led by Gandhi in South Africa in 1913. Along with many others she suffered imprisonment. She was released from the Pietermaritzburg Prison suffering from a fatal fever. She died soon afterwards on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1914.

your sons are in prison for us! I would rather die in prison than sit at home.'

Harbarsingh died in a Durban jail on 5 January 1914.

By the end of November the Indian strike had spread to all parts of Natal. No less than 25000 Indians actively participated in it with many casualties. By the end of November, produce markets in Durban and Pietermaritzburg had come to a standstill, sugar mills were closed and hotels, restaurants and homes were without domestic workers. In India, reports of the arrest of Gandhi and the brutality of the police caused an uproar.

Eventually, in response to pressure from the British government, the Minister of Justice, Jan Smuts, decided to set up a commission to investigate the grievances of Indians in South Africa. The commission's report led to an agreement between Gandhi and Smuts in early 1914. Gandhi agreed that the Satyagraha Campaign would stop and the government agreed to abolish the £3 Tax, recognise Indian marriages, abolish the Black Act and to allow Indians to move freely into the Transvaal.

Indians considered the Gandhi-Smuts agreement of 1914 an important victory, even though it did not mean an end to all the oppressive laws against them. It had been made possible by the bravery of thousands of people who, led by Gandhi, had made many sacrifices to achieve it.

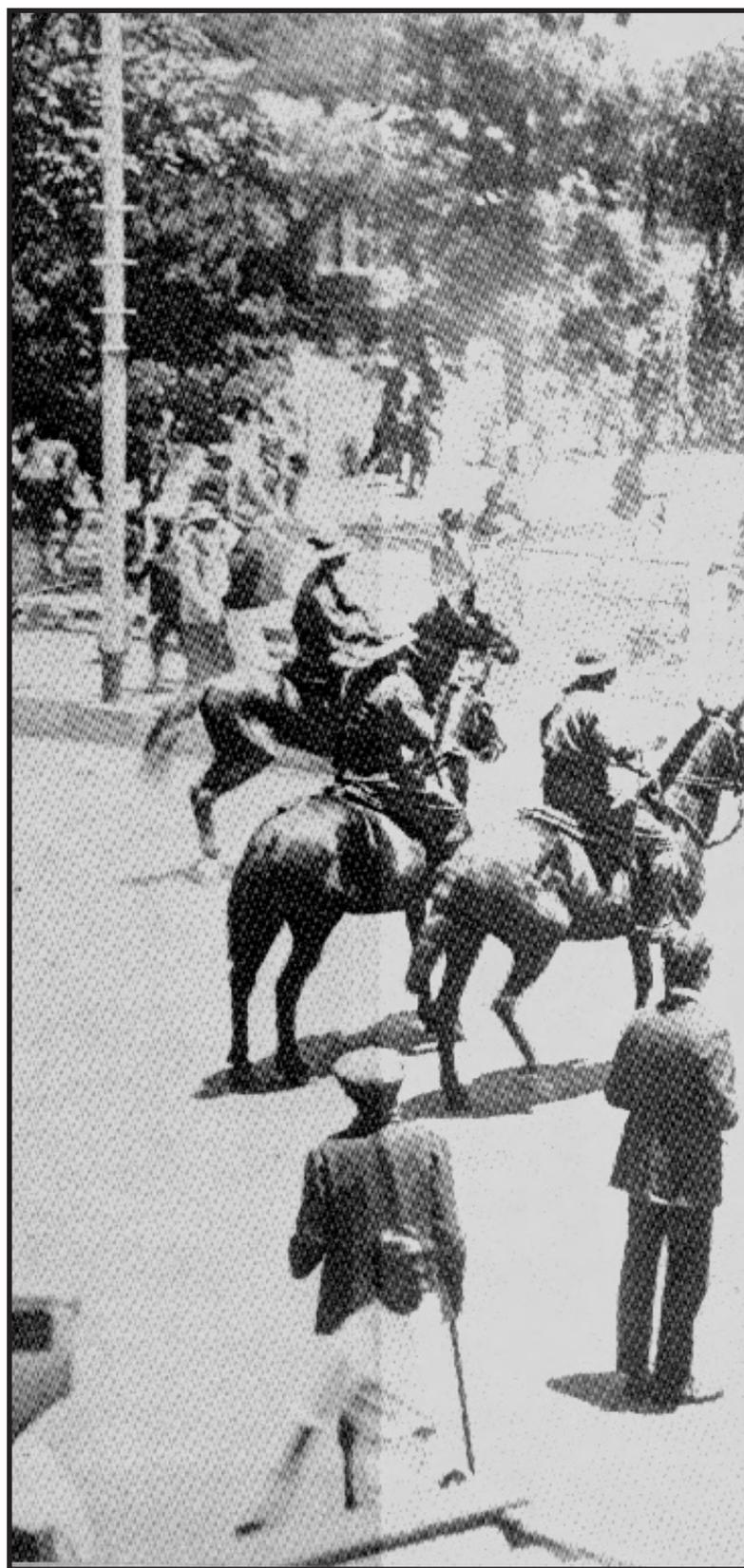
### **Gandhi, Dadoo, Luthuli and Mandela**

The Satyagraha Campaign, led by Gandhi on South African soil, influenced the thinking of leaders of all the oppressed people in the country. African people emulated the Indian passive resisters. In 1913 women in the Free State mounted a similar campaign against the carrying of passes and that same year African mine workers in the Transvaal went on strike.

In 1946 the South African Indian Congress mounted a massive passive resistance campaign. 1710 served prison terms of these 279 were women. The resisters served between 20 days to seven months in prison.

While the 1946 passive resistance campaign did not achieve any real change, it proved that a well organised political organisation that had leaders who were prepared to sacrifice and were capable of leading a non-violent struggle could raise the level of political mobilization and continue to challenge the state.

The 1946 passive resistance campaign and the Mine workers strike was a major catalyst for the African National Congress and militants in the white and coloured communities to rethink their strategies and to embark on joint direct action.



At the end of 1949, the ANC went through a transformation similar to that of the Indian Congresses in 1945 - 46. The ANC Youth League led by Mandela, Sisulu and Tambo, assumed leadership of the parent organisation and secured the adoption of a militant Programme of Action. As Nelson Mandela explained in his autobiography: '... we thought the time had come for mass action along the lines of Gandhi's non-violent protests in India and the 1946 passive resistance campaign... The ANC's leaders, we said, had to be willing to violate the law and, if necessary, go to prison for their beliefs as Gandhi had.'



After the massacre of peaceful African demonstrators in Johannesburg on May Day 1950, the ANC and SAIC, together with the Communist Party, organised the national stay-away on 26 June, in protest against new, repressive legislation and in mourning for those who had lost their lives in the struggle for liberation. This united action by the African and Indian Congresses was followed by further discussions, leading to the great Campaign of Defiance against Unjust Laws in 1952, a non-violent campaign in which over 8,000 people of all races went to prison.

The formation of the Congress Alliance and the experience of the Defiance Campaign, the Freedom Charter campaign, the 1956 Women's Anti Pass March to the Union Buildings was the 1960 ANC and PAC Anti Pass campaigns led to the heightening of non-violent confrontation between the government and the liberation movements.

The era of Non violent mass action came to an end on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1960 when thousands of people had

gathered at Sharpeville to burn their pass and voluntarily go to prison. The police firing at the passive resisters led to the death of 69 people plus the subsequent banning of organisations and the detention of imprisonment and shook the confidence of the liberation movements and those who continued to adhere to passive resistance as a strategy for change.

With the banning of the ANC and PAC and after the Sharpeville massacre and the formation of armed groups by the ANC, SACP, PAC, and other left wing groupings the use of passive resistance as a weapon of struggle was abandoned. It was only revived with the formation of the UDF and the Mass Democratic Movement do we see the reemergence of mass non violent action.

The Passive Resistance as a method of struggle was one of the legacy that the Gandhi's 1906 – 1913 passive resistance campaign deeply imprinted on the South African liberation movement. It can be argued that the legacy of passive resistance had a profound effect on how the ANC conducted its armed struggle, it took great care to avoid loss of life. Non-violent resistance continued in new forms despite intense repression.

The influence of Gandhi may also be discerned in the spirit of reconciliation that followed the release of Mandela in 1990 and the establishment of a democratic government 1994. The ideas of Mahatma Gandhi were tested and enriched in South Africa's struggle for liberation.



## Classroom activities

**Learning outcome:** Learn how to research and use outside resources. Strengthen their ability to define and use make use of new terms/words. Essay writing ability. Increase the ability of comparison.

1. How does Passive Resistance or the concepts of the Satyagraha Campaign differ from armed resistance? What makes Passive Resistance such a powerful means of protest?
2. What is a Martyr and why were Valliama R Munuswami and Swami Nagappen Padayachee considered to be martyrs?
3. There were two laws that the South African Indian Community were protesting against in the Campaign prior to 1913. Describe and name these laws and write a paragraph on why you believe that these laws were so humiliating.
4. There is a picture in this section of the booklet of Gandhi 'recovering' at Rev Doke's house. What was he recovering from? What caused this event?
5. What helped the Satyagraha Campaign gain much needed momentum once more in 1913.
6. Gandhi's treatment of women can be described as extremely forward thinking for the times. Discuss whether you agree or disagree with this statement.
7. What was the aim of the Campaign led by Gandhi's wife Kasturbai and how did they achieve it.
8. Write an essay on the final stage of the Campaign (the coal miner's strike) And how it progressed and eventually led to the Gandhi-Smuts agreement.

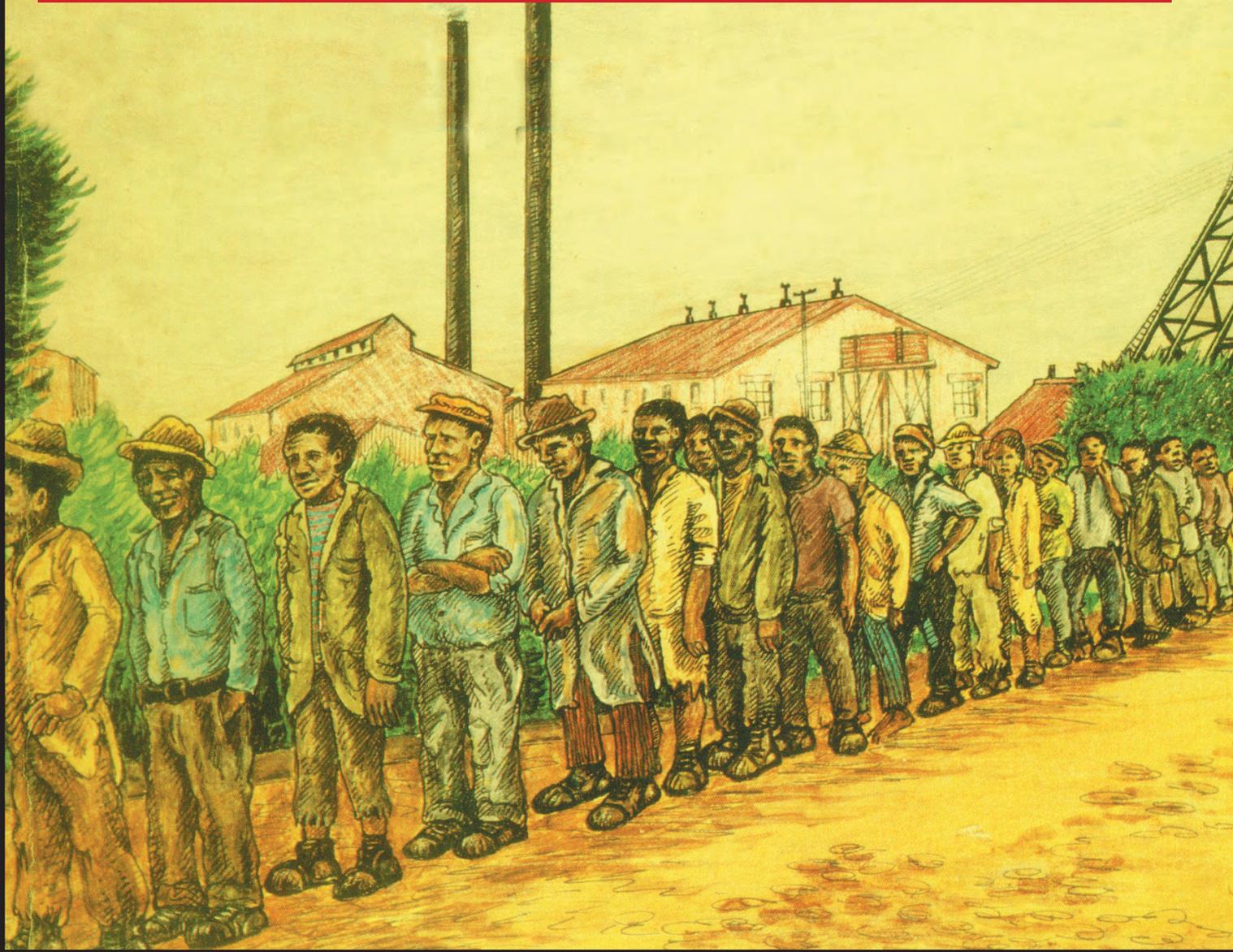
## Glossary

<b>Barrister</b>	- A lawyer admitted to plead at the bar in the superior courts
<b>passive resistance</b>	- Resistance by nonviolent methods to a government, an occupying power, or specific laws, as refusing to comply, demonstrating in protest, or fasting.
<b>Amendment</b>	- The process of formally altering or adding to a document or record. A statement of such an alteration or addition: <i>The 19th Amendment to the Constitution gave women the right to vote.</i>
<b>Campaign</b>	- A series of organised activities that are all meant to achieve a certain goal
<b>Anglo</b>	- England; English "Anglo-Boer " means war between England or the English and the Boers.
<b>Colony</b>	- A country that is controlled by another country. After 1910, South Africa was a British dominion and (part of the British Commonwealth) until 1961. It then became an independent republic and was called the Republic of South Africa.
<b>Bill</b>	- A design for a new law that the government wants to bring in. When Parliament and the Constitutional Court approve a bill, it becomes a law.
<b>Colonialism</b>	- A system in which a state claims sovereignty over territory and people outside its own boundaries, often to facilitate economic domination over their resources, labour, and markets.
<b>Imperialism</b>	- Imperial government: Regarding or associated with supreme ruler or empire. A policy of acquiring independent states and bringing them under control. A policy of extending a country's influence through trade, diplomacy etc.
<b>Federation</b>	- A union of several states or provinces.
<b>Repeal</b>	- To revoke or rescind, especially by an official or formal act.
<b>Defiance</b>	- Open disobedience.
<b>Deport</b>	- To expel from a country



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# Black mine workers strike -1946



In 1946, two years before the National Party (NP) came to power, tens of thousands of African mine-workers came out on the streets to embark on a week of industrial action. They were responding to a call by the five-year-old African Mine Workers' Union, under the presidency of JB Marks, to protest about poor working and living conditions in the mine compounds.

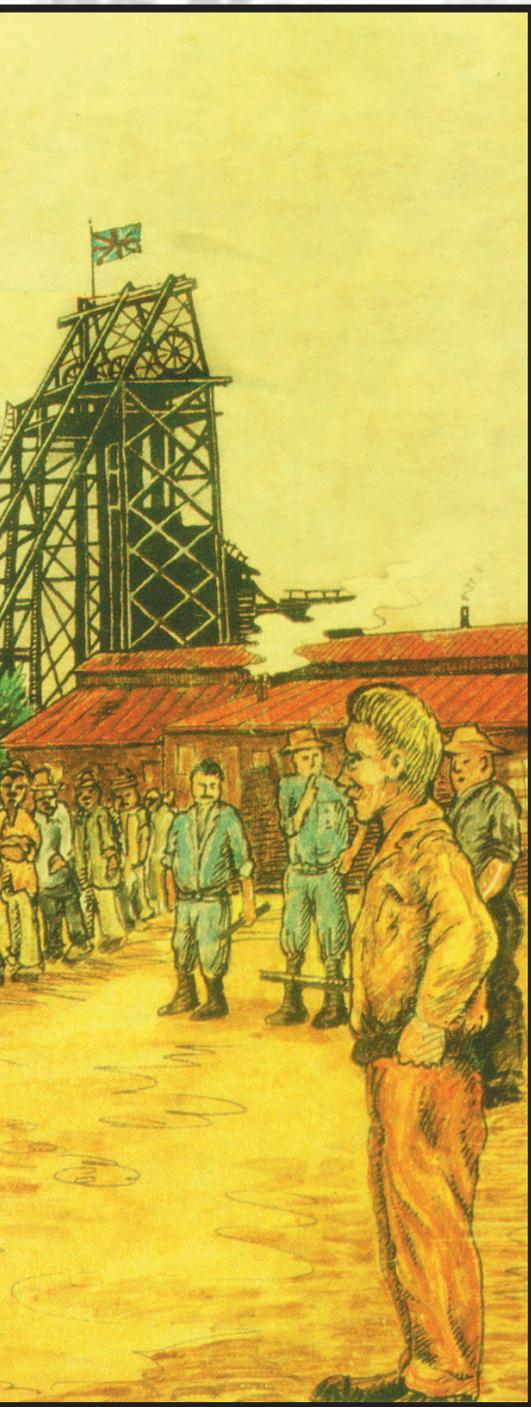
Conditions in the compounds caused a great deal of suffering amongst the workers, as did their extremely low wages. The government employed brutal methods to crush the strike, but the workers were inspired to prolong their defiance, in the desperate hope of changing their situation.

The political atmosphere of the time also influenced the strike profoundly. World War II had just ended and, internationally, there was a renewed consciousness of freedom and democratic rights. The atmosphere therefore felt conducive for the mine workers to express their frustrations by striking. Union leaders engaged the employers on several occasions, with no success until the decision to go on strike was taken.

## Events leading up to the strike

The Formation of the African Mine Workers' Union (AMWU)

Since African mine workers were not unionised, leaders from two main liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) undertook to mobilise mine workers and form a trade union that would take care of their interests. Gaur Radebe and Edwin Mofutsanyana, members of both the ANC and the CPSA, spearheaded the process. In August 1941 the ANC Transvaal Provincial Committee convened a conference to deliberate on the formation of the new union. The conference was well attended, with 80 delegates from 41 organisations resolving to mobilise mineworkers into



The AMWU experienced a quick rise in its membership. In 1944 it had about 4000 members. The Union embarked on an aggressive campaign to highlight the hardships experienced by African Mine workers.

When the AMWU was formed in 1941 there was a huge disparity in wages between Black and White mine workers. African workers were taking home R70 per annum, while their White counterparts received R848.

The Chamber of Mines (CM), the employer's organisation, was extremely hostile towards the new union. The CM refused to acknowledge the existence of the AMWU or to meet its representatives. In spite of the challenges and frustrations posed by the CM and by the authorities, African mine workers persisted in highlighting their hardships.

In order to curb looming unrest, the government set up a Commission of Inquiry in 1943, with Judge Lansdowne as chairperson, to investigate working conditions on the mines. AA Moore, the President of the mostly white Trades and Labour Council, was also a member of the Commission. The AMWU presented the case of African workers and their demand for a living wage. Interestingly, the CM failed to refute the workers claims, but stood by its policy of hiring cheap labour.

The report of the Commission, which was made public in April 1944, proved to be a shameful document. It accepted the argument advanced by the mine-owners and recommended the preservation of the system of cheap labour. It made a further claim that the miners' wages were not intended as living wages, but as supplementary income. Evidence put before the Commission of starvation in the Transkei and other reserves was ignored. The Commission's report was received with dismay and bitterness by the African workers.

Both the government and the mine owners rejected the Union's recommendations. These were

- an increase of five pence per shift for surface workers

and six pence per shift for underground workers, on the basic rate of 22 pence per shift, which had obtained for nearly a generation

- a cost of living allowance of 3 pence per shift
- a boot allowance of 36 pence for 30 shifts
- two weeks' paid leave per annum for permanent workers
- overtime wages of time and a half.

In contrast to the Commission's recommendations, the Prime Minister Field Marshal Smuts announced 4% increase for the surface workers and 5% for the underground workers. Smuts further announced that the government would carry the cost of the extra wages by lessening taxation on the mines. The CM also consented to overtime pay. All the other recommendations were dismissed.

Sensing that this would not be enough to minimise discontent among African workers, Smuts proclaimed War Measure No 1425. This precluded any gathering of more than twenty workers on mine premises without special permission. In December 1944, few months after the War Measure No 1425 was proclaimed, AMWU president JB Marks and other two officials were arrested for holding a meeting at the Durban Deep Compound on the Witwatersrand. Another two Union organizers, P Vundi and W Kanye, were arrested in Springs for the same offence. All the arrested men were found not guilty as they were never proved to have attended a meeting of more than twenty people.



a union. The conference also received sympathetic support from White unions. The paramount Chief of the Zulu's of Zululand also sent a message of encouragement.

A fifteen-member committee, comprising high-ranking ANC and CPSA members, was set up to fund-raise for the envisaged union and oversee its establishment. The result was a new union, the African Mine Workers Union (AMWU), with JB Marks of the CPSA as President and James Majoro of the Witwatersrand Native Mine-Clerks Association as Vice-President.



Despite these difficulties the AMWU support base continued to grow on many mines around Witwatersrand. Workers were showing signs of losing patience. On 19 May 1946, a conference of workers' representatives instructed AMWU National Executive Committee to approach the CM to present a demand for a minimum wage of 10 shillings a day, the withdrawal of War Measure No 1425 and improved rations. If these demands were not met, the workers would embark on

industrial action.

From May until July the Union attempted to get the CM to see reason. Despite continuous talks, the Union failed to secure any concessions. The only reply they got was an acknowledgement of the receipt of their demands.

The workers held a decisive conference on Sunday 4 August 1946, where more than a thousand delegates gathered

at the Newtown Market Square. The conference was also attended by political leaders, including the ANC General President, Albert Luthuli. The conference emerged with bold resolutions:

'Because of the intransigent attitude of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines towards the legitimate demands of the workers for a minimum wage of 10 shillings per day and better conditions of work, this meeting of African miners

### 1903 – 1972 John Beaver Marks



John Beaver (JB) Marks was born on 21 March 1903 in a small town in Western Transvaal known as Ventersdorp. He was politically inspired by his father who was a staunch supporter of the African National Congress (ANC). In 1928 he joined the ANC and became the President of the Transvaal Branch of the ANC. In 1942 he was elected the president of Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions and later in the same year he became the president of the African Mine Workers Union. In 1946 he led the union into a major African mineworkers strike ever witnessed in South Africa. In 1952 Marks was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, but he defiantly remained politically active. He assisted in the establishment of the South African Congress of Trade Union (SACTU) and continued to take part in the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

He left the country in 1963 after the ANC National Executive Committee ordered him to leave. He ended up in Tanzania after going through Bechuanaland.

resolves to embark upon a general strike of all Africans employed on the gold mines, as from August 12, 1946.'

Speaker after speaker ascended the podium and demanded an immediate action. One worker said:

'When I think of how we left our homes in the reserves, our children naked and starving, we have nothing more to say. Every man must agree to strike on 12 August. It is better to die than go back with empty hands.'

Immediately after the decision to strike was made, JB Marks emphasised the significance of the decision. He called upon workers to ready themselves for the possibility of harsh repression by the government.

'You are challenging the very basis of the cheap labour system,' he told them, 'and must be ready to sacrifice in the struggle for the right to live as human beings.'

The secretary of the Union, JJ Majoro, also announced to the gathering that 'their repeated efforts to secure improvements by means of negotiation had always ended in failure, owing to the refusal of the Chamber of Mines to recognise the existence of the Union.' There was little doubt, he warned, that the regime would attempt to suppress the strike by brute force.

### The Strike begins

The letter to the CM containing the Union's decision to go on strike, and requesting an audience, was ignored as usual. After a mass meeting was held on 4 August, the Union spread the news of the strike to all its contacts. On 12 August, tens of thousands of mine workers went out on strike to demand ten shillings a day. The Strike proved to be successful when it brought operations on almost all the gold mines on Witwatersrand to a halt.

The government and the mine owners, represented by the CM, agreed to use the police to try to calm the situation and get workers back to their shafts. The police behaved brutally, but despite severe beatings, the workers continued with the strike on August 13 and managed to put other mines

out of operation. The police opened fire on a peaceful procession of African workers who were marching from East Rand to Johannesburg, an incident that became known as Bloody Tuesday, in which a number of workers (How many?) were killed. At one mine, workers went down the mine and staged a sit-in until they were forced out by the police. 32 of the 45 mines on the Rand were affected. JB Marks and other executive members of the Union were arrested, leaving the strikers leaderless.



### Chronology

1941	August	The conference under the auspices of the African National Congress (ANC) is convened to inaugurate the African mine workers union
1943		Government set up the Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Judge Lansdown
1944	April	The report of the Commission, which was made public in April 1944, proved to be a shameful document
1946	14 April	2,000 delegates at the AMWU conference put adequate food and 10s per day as their main demands during the forthcoming strike.
1946	15 May	The AMWU demand arbitration and make a strike threat at the meeting attended by 500 miner workers.
1946	19 May	The AMWU calls a meeting at the Newtown Market Square to give report back on miners demands
1946	4 August	Over one thousand delegates assemble at the Newtown Market Square and make a decision to embark on strike
1946-	12 August	60 000 African mine workers in Witwatersrand respond positively to the call by the African Mine Workers Union to go on strike
1946	13 August	A peaceful procession by African workers from East Rand ends in a bath of blood.
1946	14 August	Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CONETO) decides to call general strike in Johannesburg.
1946	15 August	CONETO calls a mass meeting of workers at Newtown Market Square
1946	16 August	All striking workers are beaten back to their working places

Police brutality did not deter the mine workers, but brought workers and unions from other industries into the fray. At a CONETU conference, Ambrose Makiwane of the African Gas and Power Union announced the decision to call a general strike on Wednesday 14 August. However, the proposed general strike never bore the desired results because the Johannesburg City Council sent a deputation to plead with CONETU to maintain essential services, and because organisers failed to get the message to the targeted workers.

The follow-up mass meeting, called by the CONETU on 15 August, was dispersed by the police in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. A procession of women tobacco-workers who were marching to this meeting was attacked by the police and one pregnant worker was bayoneted.

The strike was also sabotaged by press propaganda. On Monday 12 August, the *Rand Daily Mail* published an edition with a headline declaring that the strike was 'a complete failure'. The report was an obvious lie as the strike had not even been commenced at that time. However, on the very same evening, *The Star* newspaper ran a different tale about the strike:

'Tens of thousands of workers were out on strike from the East to the West Rand; the Smuts regime had formed a special committee of Cabinet Ministers to "deal with" the situation; and thousands of police were being mobilised and drafted to the area.'

### The aftermath

By 16 August all workers on strike were beaten back to their work. All AMWU NEC members, the entire Central Committee of the CPSA and leaders of the ANC provincial and local structures, were arrested and charged with abortive treason and sedition. The offices of the unions in Durban, Cape Town, Kimberley, East London and Port Elizabeth were raided. The homes of the ANC, CPSA, Indian and Coloured Congress members and union leaders were also searched.

Though the strike was not successful, it caused considerable changes to the political landscape and to the attitudes and approaches of the liberation movements of the time. They abandoned the compromising, concession-begging and moderate approaches they had employed in dealing with the government. The South African Indian Congress delegation to the UN General Assembly, comprising H.A. Naidoo, Sorabjee Rustomjee and Senator H.M. Basner, seized the opportunity to describe the experiences of the mine workers to the UN member states. The delegation also included the ANC president Chief, Albert Luthuli.

Prime Minister Field Marshal Smuts finally succumbed to

pressure from the Native Representative Council and gave recognition to the African trade unions. Unfortunately, this recognition did not include the African mine workers. He referred their issues to the Inspectorate functioning under the Department of Native Affairs.

After considering this proposal, the Councillors stated:



*'It is asking for too much to expect the African people to believe that this new Inspectorate, whatever the grade of officers appointed, will make a better job of protecting the interests of the mine workers than the Inspectorate has done in the past. The African mine workers demand the right to protect themselves through the medium of their own recognised and registered organisations.'*

The political trial which was brought against arrested strike leaders was withdrawn in 1948 on the basis of flimsy evidence. The strike paved the way for subsequent campaigns, such as the 1950 May protest against the Suppression of Communism Act and the Defiance Campaign of 1952 against unjust laws.

Differing figures are given for the number of workers who participated in the strike. According to the government Director of Native Labour, 75 000 took part, while the Union gave an estimate of approximately 100 000. Nine people were officially reported dead and 1,248 were injured.

### Newspaper reports

#### Day to Day breaking of the strike

**Monday: August 12**

From the *Rand Daily Mail*

#### ***Several Injured in Skirmishes: Police Take Swift Action:***

*Attempts were made last night at several mines on the Rand to*

prevent the native shifts from going on duty. Swift action by mine officials and contingents of police, who had been standing by all day, resulted in the shifts going down for their normal duties. A number of natives who were on their way to work are believed to have been injured in the skirmishes. The police have made a few arrests, and many more arrests are expected...

At City Deep... some of the agitators attempted to storm the main gates to the mines in an effort to prevent the natives going on duty. The mine officials acted promptly, and policemen from Johannesburg were sent to the area to assist them. On the arrival of the police everything became quiet, but the police made an arrest.

It is thought that yesterday's trouble was a sequel to a meeting held a week ago at the Newtown Market Square, when 1,000 natives agreed to call a general strike of native mine workers... A number of meetings were held on various mines yesterday to confirm this decision. The natives are demanding better conditions and an increase in the daily wage to ten shillings...

### From The Star

There is a total stoppage of work at West Springs, Van Dyck, Van Ryn, Vlaktefontein, New Kleifontein, and Modder B; and a partial stoppage of work at Brakpan, City Deep, Robinson Deep, Nourse Mines and Sub-Nigel. Generally natives are remaining quietly in their compounds.

The arrest of three natives in connection with the mine strike in the Benoni area resulted in a demonstration of several thousand natives outside the Benoni Police Station... Police reinforcements were sent from other centres... About 200 police assembled with rifles and fixed bayonets; they dispersed the natives to their compounds. There were a few minor casualties ...

### Tuesday August 13

From the Rand Daily Mail

#### 45,000 Natives Strike at 11 Mines

#### Police in Baton Charges Disperse Benoni Mob

Late last night there were indications that further compounds were likely to join the strike early this morning... It is estimated that between 45,000 and 50,000 natives are already on strike for



### Edwin Thabo Mofutsanyana 1899 - 1995

Edwin Thabo Mofutsanyana was born in the Witzieshoek area of the Orange Free State in 1899. In 1926 he joined the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), becoming one of its most loyal African adherents in the years that followed. He served as the general secretary of the CPSA until 1939 when Moses Kotane assumed the position. In the 1940s he chaired the party's Johannesburg district committee and also served on the central committee. He was one of those charged with fomenting the African mineworkers' strike of 1946.

Mofutsanyana attended the meetings of the All African Convention (AAC) in 1935 and 1936, each time being elected to the AAC's executive committee. His long-term concern, however, was to build the ANC into an effective organisation, and in 1937 he joined J. B. Marks, S. S. Tema, and others in reviving the Transvaal ANC. Under A. B. Xuma, he served on the African National Congress's (ANC) national executive committee as an advisor on labor matters. After he was banned he left South Africa for Basutoland (now Lesotho), where he was still living in the 1960s.



JB Marks, (right, with back to camera) distributing leaflets outside a mine compound

a daily wage of ten shillings... Eleven mines are involved. Some have closed down, while others are only partially affected.

... The strike is likely to spread. Strong police detachments are being sent to danger spots this morning to prevent this development. A Rand Daily Mail representative who toured the area found the strikers treating the occasion as a Sunday. They sat or lay about in blanketed groups, sunning themselves behind compound walls out of the wind... The only sign of abnormal conditions were the lorry-loads of armed police arriving from training depots at Pretoria, from Johannesburg and elsewhere.

At Vlakfontein, twenty natives who

General Smuts, presided over a full meeting of the Cabinet at Union Buildings yesterday... The meeting was not called because of the strike... but it is understood that the matter was discussed.

From The Star

It is the opinion of observers that the great majority of the strikers are anxious to return to work. The mines on which there is a complete stoppage today are Van Dyck, Van Ryn, Vlakfontein and Modder B - all totally stopped the previous day; and Brakpan, City Deep and Nourse Mines - all partially stopped the previous day; and Marievale - where there was no stoppage the previous day. There has been a partial

refused to go to work were arrested ... When night shifts prepared to go underground at several of the East Rand mines... police were on the spot and made several arrests. On State mines... police drove the malcontents back to their rooms, and order was restored. The largest number of arrests was made at Springs Mine No. 1 Compound where 400 natives were rounded up. When they intimated they were willing to return to work, however, they were released. At City Deep about 100 agitators had gathered near the main gates... About twenty arrests were made.

### Mine Strike Discussed by Cabinet

The Prime Minister,

return to work at New Klipfontein, Sub-Nigel and Springs - all totally stopped previously.

Police escorting natives to work at Betty Shaft of Sub-Nigel Mine were attacked by 1 500 strikers this morning. Armed police opened fire on the strikers, picking their targets and six natives were wounded. The strikers dropped their weapons and made a rush for the compound. 'The police were forced to open fire in self defence', a police official told the Star, 'and six natives were wounded. Six other natives were crushed to death in the ensuing panic'. At 11 o'clock, the natives at this compound had already decided to return to work.

### Wednesday, August 14th

From the Rand Daily Mail

On Monday, the workers of Nol Shaft, City Deep, after being driven out of their compound, went underground, where they held a 'sitdown' strike.

Hundreds of police with drawn batons fought the native strikers at the Robinson Deep and Nourse mines at 6.20am, when they refused to go to work. During the night strikers were told that they were expected to go on shift. But they refused and took up so threatening an attitude towards mine officials that the police were called in. About 320 policemen were sent to Nourse Mines... and a fight took place. Simultaneously, 290 police were sent to Chris Shaft, Robinson Deep Mine, where they were also involved in a fight with the strikers.

### 4,000 Strikers Try to March on Johannesburg

Armed with choppers, iron bars, knives

## Classroom activities

Learning Outcome: Learners must be able to understand the Socio-Economic challenges faced by the African people.

### Questions

1. What does SAMWU stand for?
2. When did the African Mine workers take place?
3. What caused the African mine workers strike
4. Did the strike achieve desired results?

5. Who helped to establish SAMWU?
6. List the names of people who were arrested and charged with sedition?
7. Was the brutality that police exercised on the striking miners justified? Why so?
8. Briefly explain the state of labour movements in South Africa after the African Mine Workers' strike.

and an assortment of other dangerous weapons, 4,000 strikers forming a six mile long procession attempted to march on Johannesburg from West Springs yesterday afternoon... They were intercepted by police near Brakpan. When they refused to turn back they were attacked by police. Three of them were seriously injured and scores received minor injuries. The purpose of the march is not known.

**From The Star**

General Smuts told the Transvaal head committee of the United Party in Pretoria today that he was not unduly concerned over what was happening on the Witwatersrand gold mines, because the strike was not caused by legitimate grievances but by agitators. The government would take steps to see that these matters were put right... The agitators were trying to lead

the natives and the country to destruction. The natives had to be protected from these people.

**Abbreviations**

- NP** – National Party
- AMWU** - African Mine Workers Union
- ANC** - African National Congress
- CPSA** – Communist Party of South Africa
- CM** – Chamber of Mines
- CONETU** - Council of Non-European Trade Unions
- AGPU** - African Gas and Power Union
- SAIC** – South African Indian Congress



**James Madlophe Phillips**

**1919 - 1987**

Political Activist and Artist

James Phillips was born in Sophiatown into a working class family on 11 December 1919. Phillips became involved in politics in 1940 when was elected chairperson of Garment Workers Union of the Transvaal. He became actively involved in the formation of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Unions in 1941. In 1940 Phillips joined the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).

He was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. In 1954 Phillips was helped to skip the country and made way to England. In 1960 he managed to set up a home in London with his first wife Maude, which later became a refuge base for the ANC members. In 1987 Philips passed away. The funeral was attended by the Congress members, anti-apartheid activists, Communists,



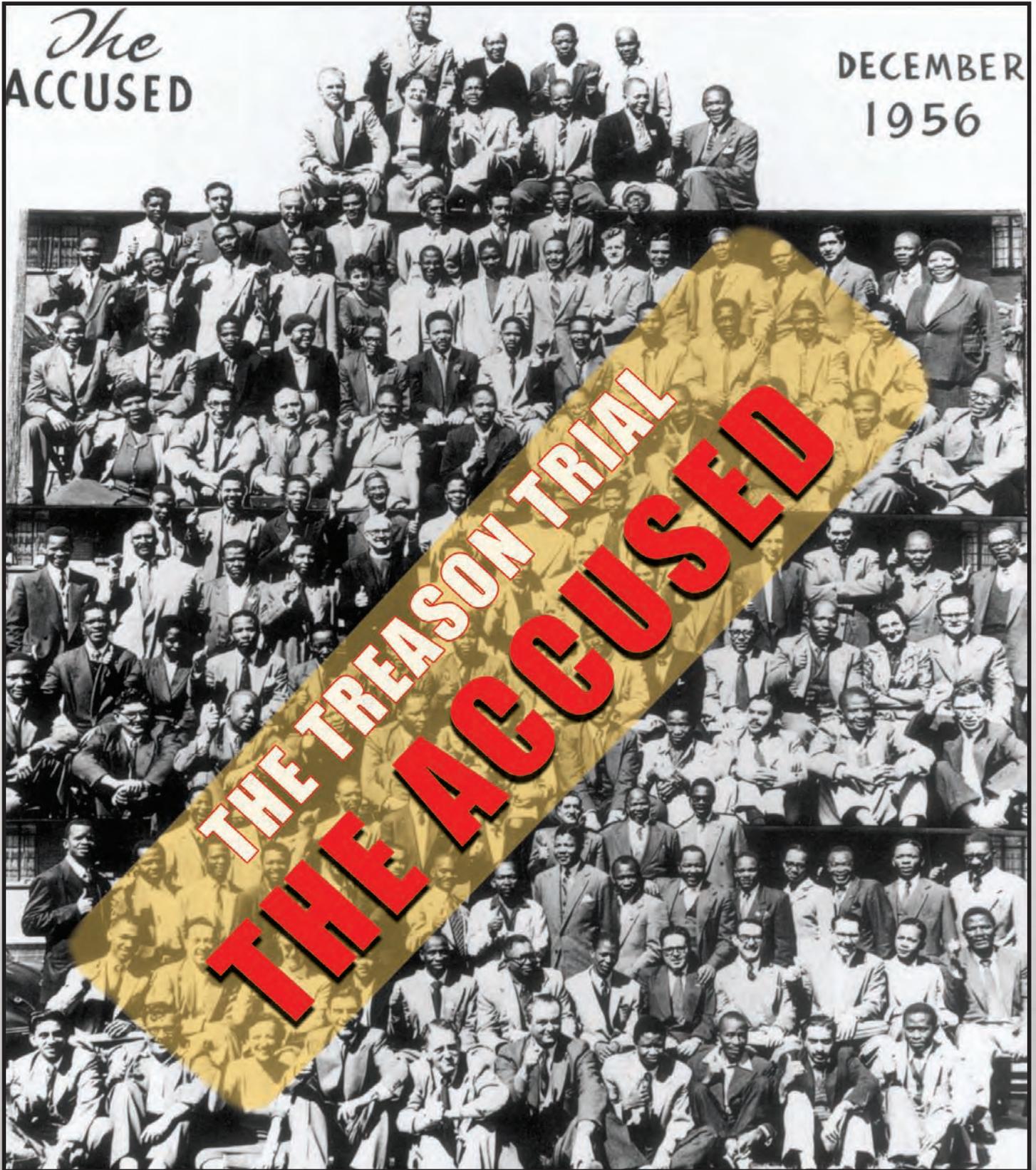
Go to [www.sahistory.org.za](http://www.sahistory.org.za)  
For more info

**Glossary**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>Divergent</b> – Different                                    | <b>Preclude</b> – Prevent something from happening or someone from doing something |
| <b>Discontent</b> – Lack of dissatisfaction/Unhappiness         | <b>Refute</b> – Prove something to be wrong/Dismiss as untrue/                     |
| <b>Dismay</b> – Disappointment/Shock                            | <b>Reiterate</b> – Repeat something  |
| <b>Disparity</b> – Inconsistency/ a great different             | <b>Sedition</b> – Incitement to rebellion  |
| <b>Envisage</b> – Visualise/ form a mental picture of something | <b>Spearhead</b> – To lead the process, movement or attack                         |
| <b>Flimsy</b> – Unconvincing/Insubstantial                      | <b>Succumb</b> – Give up/Surrender   |
| <b>Gallant</b> – Brave/Courageous                               |  |
| <b>Industrial action</b> – Strike/Work stoppage                 |  |

*The*  
**ACCUSED**

DECEMBER  
1956



### ***Event leading to the Treason Trial***

In response to the adoption of the Freedom Charter at the Congress of the People, held on the 25-26 June 1955, the government in a dramatic nationwide swoop arrested 156 key Congress Alliance leaders and activists. This was almost the entire executive of the African National Congress (ANC), the Congress of Democrats, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), the Coloured People's Congress (CPC) and the South African Congress of Trade

Unions (SACTU), collectively known as the Congress Alliance.

Those arrested were charged with 'high treason and a countrywide conspiracy to use violence to overthrow the then present government and replace it with a Communist state'. The punishment for high treason was death. On the night of the 5<sup>th</sup> December 1956 the police arrested

144 people in raids across South Africa, including Chief Albert Luthuli (president of the ANC) and Nelson Mandela. The following week another 12 people, including Walter Sisulu, were arrested.

Of the total there were 105 African's, 21 Indians, 23 Whites and 7 Coloureds. The accused were represented by a legal team which included Izrael Maisels, Sydney Kentridge, Vernon Berrangé and Bram Fisher. The trial send shockwaves through the liberation movement and there was an immediate international outcry. A Treason Trial Defense Fund was started by Bishop Ambrose Reeves, Alex Hebble and the writer and head of the Liberal Party Alan Paton to pay the bail and living expenses of the accused and their families.

The trial required two stages: a preparatory examination in a magistrate's court which the state had to convince the court that there was sufficient evidence to support a trial. The preparatory examination was held in the Drill Hall and the case lasted over a year, until January 1958. At the end of the preparatory case charges against 61 of the accused were dropped and the remaining 95 leaders were to face treason charges in the Supreme Court in Pretoria.

As evidence, the Crown (Government) produced over 12,000 items of documentation, collected over a three-year period. It took almost a month for the submissions alone. Among the more curious exhibits were two signs taken from the Congress of the People: 'SOUP WITH MEAT' and 'SOUP WITHOUT MEAT'. Evidence presented by the Crown during the trial included several first-hand accounts by both Black and Afrikaner 'detectives' of speeches given at meetings of the Congress alliance. Under cross-examination it was revealed that many of them could not understand English, the language in which the original speeches were made, and had in fact been provided with notes on the speeches by the Crown.

The prosecution attempted to show

that the Freedom Charter was a Communist tract and that the only way it could be achieved was by overthrowing the present government. Unfortunately, the Crown's expert witness on Communism admitted that the Charter was 'a humanitarian document that might well represent the natural reaction and aspirations of non-Whites to the harsh conditions in South Africa'. The main piece of evidence against the accused was a recording of a speech made by Robert Resha, the Transvaal Volunteer-in-Chief, who said, 'When you are disciplined and you are told by the organisation not to be violent, you must not be violent ... but if you are a true volunteer and you are called upon to be violent, you must be absolutely violent, you must murder!'. During the defense it was shown that Resha's viewpoints were the exception rather than the rule in the ANC, and that the short quote had been taken completely out of context.

Within a week of the trial starting, one of the two charges under the Suppression of Communism Act was dropped. Two months later the Crown announced that the whole indictment was being dropped, but it then issued

## Mary Ranta

(1922 - )



After leaving school, Mary Goitsemang Ranta worked as a 'tea girl' at the Pretoria mint, and later took employment as a typist for the African Iron and Steel Workers' Union. By the early 1950s she was an active trade unionist and shop steward for the Garment Workers' Union. She joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1948, was elected to the Transvaal executive of the ANC Women's League in 1954, and in 1955 became the league's national secretary. She was also on the executive committee of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) and played a leading role in protests against the extension of passes to women in the mid-1950s. In December 1956 she was one of the 19 women charged with treason, but charges against her were dropped in December 1957.



Treason Trial Halts - Ruth Firt. Treason Trialists outside the court. October 13, 1958 - the mild, cloudy Pretoria morning on which the most sensational of things happened for the 91 men and women of all races facing a charge of high treason. (Photograph by Peter Magubane © Baileys Archive) neg Treason file

a new indictment against 30 people, all members of the ANC. There was a threat of additional indictments against another 61 people, but this was never carried out. Chief Albert Luthuli and Oliver Tambo were released for lack of evidence. Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu (the ANC secretary-general) were among the final 30 accused.

On 29 March 1961, Justice FL Rumpff interrupted the defense summation with a verdict. He announced that although the ANC was working to replace the government and had used illegal means of protest during the Defiance Campaign, the Crown had failed to show that the ANC was using violence to overthrow the government, and its members were therefore not guilty of treason. The Crown had failed to establish any revolutionary intent behind the defendant's actions and the remaining 30 accused were discharged.

While the Apartheid state failed to make its charge of Treason stick the Treason Trial was a serious blow to the ANC and the Congress Alliance. Their executive members were out of circulation for a considerable period, and movement had to spend a great deal of time to raise the considerable legal costs.

Most significantly, the weakened ANC was now faced by a concerted effort by its Africanist wing to abandon its alliance with the other congress organisations. The dissent group led by Robert Sobukwe argued that the ANC was been controlled by Indian's and communists and broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

In his biography, Nelson Mandela suggests that the Treason Trial verdict pushed the South African government into a new level of conflict with anti-apartheid organisations. 'During the Treason Trial, there were no examples of individuals being isolated, beaten and tortured in order to elicit information. All of those things became commonplace shortly thereafter.'

During the period of the Treason Trial, the National Party (NP) won another election, the ANC and PAC were declared illegal under the Suppression of Communism Act, the South African government held a referendum (predictably, of Whites only) on the question of whether or not South Africa should become a republic, and the PAC initiated anti-pass demonstrations, one of which ended up as the Sharpeville Massacre.



**The trial had seven phases:**

***Phase I - Preparatory examination, December 1956 - January 1958.***

The preparatory enquiry in Johannesburg occupied approximately nine months and concluded with the presiding magistrate finding 'sufficient reason for putting the accused on trial on the main charge of high treason'. Meanwhile, despite the gravity of the charge, the accused were released in December 1956 on a nominal bail: £250 for Whites, £100 for Indians and Coloureds, and £50 for Africans. In December 1957, furthermore, the Attorney-General announced that he was withdrawing charges against sixty-one of the accused, including Luthuli.

***Phase II - The first indictment argued, August - October 1958***

In Pretoria, a special criminal court of three judges heard legal arguments on the adequacy of the indictment. Proceedings were temporarily suspended when the prosecution withdrew the indictment, an occurrence described by one observer as unparalleled in English legal history.

Before the indictment was withdrawn, its scope was defined more narrowly. Originally it had charged that the accused were guilty of high treason because they had conspired and acted 'in concert and with common purpose'



to overthrow the State by violence. The indictment had also included two alternative charges of contravening the Suppression of Communism Act. (These charges were concerned with the furtherance of 'Communism' rather than, as in high treason, acting with hostile intent to subvert the State.) The Court quashed one of the two alternative charges and ordered the prosecution to supply additional particulars regarding the other. The Court also ordered the prosecution to tell each accused how he was affected by the difference between allegations of 'conspiracy' and allegations of 'concert and common purpose'.

The prosecution's response was to drop the remaining charge under the Suppression of Communism Act, leaving only the main charge of high treason and to delete the words 'acting in concert and with common purpose', leaving only the allegation of conspiracy. Both the Court and the defense still assumed that, if conspiracy could not be proved, the prosecution would attempt to establish the guilt of each



accused for separate, overt acts of high treason. But on 29 September the leader of the prosecution announced that he was relying on adherence to 'conspiracy pure and simple'. 'If the Crown fails to prove conspiracy,' he said, 'then all the accused go free.'

During the argument, the court appeared to side with the defense in its view that the planning of violence was necessary for treason and that the prosecution should supply the facts upon which it based its inference that the accused intended to act violently. The prosecution, on the other hand, accused the defense, and indirectly, the court, of failing to co-operate in 'streamlining' the indictment. The prosecution may have avoided a quashing of the indictment by withdrawing it.

### ***Phase III - The second indictment argued, January - June 1959***

The trial was resumed in a more manageable form under

a second indictment against only thirty defendants. Under the new indictment, issues of the trial were narrowed still further. The prosecution's case was now, and for the remainder of the trial, limited to proving the intention of the accused to act violently. The crux, according to the particulars, was narrower yet: whether or not violence was the policy of the ANC and its allied organisations, to which the thirty accused belonged. Therefore, although the thirty accused were distinguished by the more violent tone of their rhetoric, Luthuli and other ANC leaders who testified for the Defense were, in effect, as much on trial as were the thirty.

Of the ninety-one accused, fifteen had been members of the Communist Party and thirty were Whites or Indians, but only two of the Communists and five of the Whites and Indians were included among the final thirty accused. Only a few of the African accused were ANC leaders of importance. The alleged adherence of the thirty to the conspiracy covered a shorter period of time than that covered by the original indictment. Instead of October 1, 1952, the period began on 1 February 1954 and ran until 13 December 1956. But the prosecution's evidence against the thirty covered the longer period and included speeches and documents of the persons originally accused and the co-conspirators. No particular conspiracy by the thirty was alleged.

After argument on the adequacy of the indictment was concluded, the court refused, on 2 March, to dismiss the indictment and ordered the prosecution to

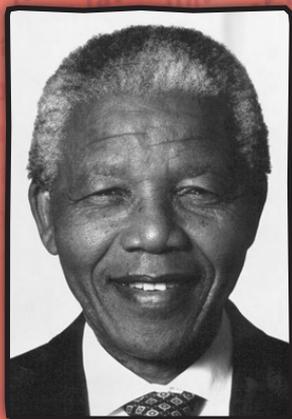
supply particulars, which became known colloquially as the 'violence particulars'.

The defense had questioned the nature of overt acts on which the prosecution could rely in showing hostile intent. If the overt acts were spoken or written words, the defense argued, such words in the absence of an external enemy should at the very least amount to an incitement to violence or sedition. Following the test of intent and tendency, though referring also to circumstances, the court disagreed, 'provided the words, in the circumstances, manifest the hostile intent and provided they tend toward the accomplishment of the criminal design'. The ruling was referred to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court and the trial was postponed.

Such an appeal at this stage had no precedent in South African legal history, and probably none in British legal

history. In mid-June the Appellate Division ruled that it had no jurisdiction on questions of law arising from an unconcluded trial.

Meanwhile, an event occurred that was an aberration from the normal course of events, although it was hailed by the trial's critics at home and abroad as a victory. The official announcement in November 1958 that the trial would proceed against only thirty of the



**Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela**  
(1918 -)

Together with Sisulu, Lembede and Tambo, Mandela participated in the foundation of the ANCYL in 1944 and in 1948 he served as its national secretary. In 1949 the ANC endorsed the 'Programme of Action' submitted to its annual conference by the Youth League, and the national executive of the ANC changed character when more radical members like Mandela and Sisulu were elected to it. In December 1952 Mandela and a number of others were arrested and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. In December 1956 Mandela was one of 156 political activists arrested for and charged with high treason. In 1962 Mandela was smuggled across the border and on 11 January made a surprise appearance at the Pan-African Freedom Movement Conference in Addis Ababa. Mandela was one of the Rivonia Trialists, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in Robben Island. He was released on 11 February 1990 after 27 years in prison. On 9 May 1994, he was elected the first democratically elected president of South Africa. In 1999 he stepped down and as president of the country and in 2004 retired from active politics.

accused had stated that the remaining sixty-one would also be re-indicted on a charge of treason and that their trial would begin on or after 20 April 1959. Presumably, the accused were to be tried after the conclusion of the trial of the thirty. But on April 20, no later date having been set, the sixty-one appeared in court. They had been divided into two groups, each facing an indictment (covering different periods of time) that was essentially the same as that faced by the thirty in January but totally lacking in particularity. Because of this failure, the court quickly and surprisingly granted the defense motion to dismiss the indictment. The sixty-one still faced re-indictment. Speaking later, on 12 May 1959, about 'the ordinary course of Justice', the Minister of Justice said: 'This trial will be proceeded with, no matter how many millions of pounds it costs.... What does it matter how long it takes?'

#### *Phase IV. The trial begins: arraignment and evidence, August 1959 - March 1960*

Two years and eight months after their arrest, the thirty accused were all last arraigned. Each pleaded not guilty. For over two months, some 150 witnesses for the prosecution testified about more than 4 000 documents, and for nearly six weeks the witness stand was occupied by Andrew Murray, professor of philosophy at the University of Cape Town, the prosecution's expert witness on Communism. The Prosecution concluded on 10 March. The defense called its first witness a few days later and began the examination of Chief Luthuli on 21 March.

#### *Phase V: The trial during the State of Emergency, March - July 1960*

The trial entered a new phase after the shooting at Sharpeville on March 21, the declaration of a national State of Emergency, and the outlawing of the ANC. The accused, except one who absconded, were among some 1 900 political suspects arrested in early-morning raids. (Tambo, the ANC's second-ranking official, escaped from the country.)



The Court adjourned. When it met again late in April, the defense counsel withdrew at the request of the accused after the court had overruled protests that witnesses would be imperilled if they testified during the Emergency. Duma Nokwe, the first African to become an advocate in the Transvaal, and one of the accused, said, 'We do not believe that a political trial can be properly conducted under conditions amounting virtually to martial law.'

Nokwe and others among the accused continued to examine witnesses. The accused marked time by examining one White, one Indian, and one Coloured witness regarding conditions in South Africa and avoiding testimony on the ANC's policy. Many questions were asked by Justice Rumpff, the presiding judge. With the easing of emergency conditions and at the request of the accused, one of the defense counsel returned on July 18.

### ***Phase VI. The defense back to normal: evidence concluded, August - October 1960***

Nearly all the defense counsels returned on 1 August. Later in the month, the defense challenged the impartiality of one of the judges, Justice Rumpff, on the grounds that the cumulative effect of his interventions gave the impression of unfairness. The judge rejected this challenge and the court gave permission to appeal if the trial resulted in a verdict of guilty.

With the end of the Emergency on 31 August, and the release of the accused from jail on that day, the proceedings were almost back to normal, though the ANC was still outlawed. The defense closed its case on 7 October.

### ***Phase VII. Closing arguments and judgement, November 1960 - March 1961***

The prosecution's closing argument, interrupted by several adjournments, extended to 6 March. While the defense was in the fourth week of its final argument, the court interrupted to announce a unanimous verdict of not guilty. At this stage, the defense had completed its legal submissions but had only just commenced its argument on the evidence. The remainder of this argument would have taken many weeks. The court had found it impossible, said Justice Rumpff, to conclude 'that the African National Congress had acquired or adopted a policy to overthrow the State by violence, i.e. in the sense that the masses had to be prepared or conditioned to commit direct acts of



violence against the State'. Since the verdict was on a question of fact and not of law, the prosecution could not appeal.

### **The aftermath of the Treason Trial**

Minister of Justice Oswald Pirow said during the Treason Trial that the racial situation at the time of the arrests in December 1956 was 'explosive'. The situation continued to be chronically unstable, but control has been increasingly tightened since the end of the Trial and things appeared to be calm on the surface.

When the Republic came into existence, two months after



the trial ended, the few opportunities for political expression that remained open to the extra-parliamentary opposition were not regarded by the government as safety valves in an explosive situation, but as dangerous loopholes that needed to be closed. Longstanding and far-reaching powers for dealing with troublemakers were extended and penalties were increased by the so-called Sabotage Act of 1962. Persons banned from attending gatherings could no longer be quoted. Traditional places for outdoor public meetings were closed. *New Age* and other left-wing periodicals were banned and their successors effectively stifled.



In 1963, legislation providing for repeated periods of ninety-day detention abrogated *habeas corpus* for political suspects or those believed to have information useful to the Security Police. Since then, there has been sufficient testimony in court and in sworn affidavits collected privately to indicate that in the interrogation of some African and Indian detainees, ordinary police brutality had been succeeded by systematic torture, including electric shock. Some White detainees were kept in solitary confinement in darkened cells and subjected to threatening forms of

interrogation. Finally, the improved professional skill and experience of the Republic's security forces were brilliantly demonstrated on 11 July 1963. On that day, the Security Police provided a major setback to the underground opposition when they raided one of its main centres in a luxurious and isolated farmhouse near Rivonia, outside Johannesburg.

At the time of the third anniversary of the end of the Treason Trial, in March 1964, another historic trial was under way in South Africa. This was the so-called Rivonia Sabotage Trial. Nelson Mandela, former president

of the ANC in the Transvaal, Walter Sisulu, former Secretary-General of the ANC, and Ahmed Kathrada, a leader of the South African Indian Congress (all three of them among the thirty accused in the final stage of the Treason Trial) and seven others were put on trial as leaders of the underground. They and alleged co-conspirators who had been among either the accused or the co-conspirators in the Treason Trial - including Oliver Tambo, Robert Resha, Moses Kotane, and Duma Nokwe, all of whom were out of the country, were accused of committing sabotage and planning violent revolution. They were ultimately sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.



The time when the ANC 'decided to embark upon a policy of violence and destruction' was, according to the prosecution's opening address, 'the latter half of 1961'. It had formed *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK), directed by the so-called National High Command, of which seven of the accused were members, and under the 'political guidance' of the National Liberation Committee (NLC). In this Committee, said the prosecution, the ANC was 'completely dominated' by the Communist Party. MK had recruited and trained people in the use of explosives and in guerrilla warfare, committed acts of sabotage, received

money from supporters in Africa and elsewhere, received promises of assistance from Moscow, and planned 'the operation of thousands of trained guerrilla warfare units', to be followed by an armed invasion by foreign powers.



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## Abbreviations

A-G – Attorney General

ANC – African National Congress

CA – Congress Alliance

MK – Umkhonto we Sizwe

NLC – National Liberation Committee

NP – National Party

PAC – Pan Africanist Congress

SACP – South African Communist Party

SAIC – South African Indian Congress

## Chronology of Treason Trial

1956	5 December	One hundred and forty people of all races are arrested on a charge of high treason
1956	7 December	Bail application is refused
1956	12 December	Sixteen more are arrested
1956	19 December	Preparatory Examination begins. Police fire on crowd outside the Drill Hall, which has been converted into a huge court.
1956	21 December	Fresh application for bail is granted and court adjourns until January.
1957		Preparatory examination continues throughout the year.
1958	January	Ninety-one people are committed for trial. Charges withdrawn against sixty-five.
1958	1 August	Trial opens in Pretoria before a Special Court composed of Justice Rumpff, Justice Kennedy and Justice Ludorf.
1958	1 August	The accused are charged with high treason and two alternative charges under suppression of Communism Act.
1958	1 August	I. A. Maisels leader of the Defence team asks Justice Rumpff and Justice Ludorf to rescue themselves.
1958	4 August	Justice Ludorf rescues himself and is replaced by Justice Bekker. Justice Rumpff declines to rescue himself.
1960	10 March	The crown (government) case ends.
1960	14 March	The Defence opens its case.
1960	21 March	Sixty-six people shot dead by the police during anti-pass demonstration at Sharpeville.
1960	28 March	ANC calls a one day strike in protest against Sharpeville massacre.
1960	30 March	State of Emergency is declared.
1960	1 April	The trial is adjourned as a result of the state of Emergency.
1960	26 April	The court rules that the trial must go on. The defence conducts their own trial.
1960	August	Defence Council are recalled Advocate Fischer apply to have Justice Rumpff rescue himself. Application is refused.
1960	31 August	State of Emergency is lifted and accused are released from jail.
1960	1 September	Crown makes unsuccessful application for re-arrest of all accused.
1960	7 October	The defence closes its case.
1960	7 November	Crown argument begins.
1961	March	The Crown argument ends after four full months. The defence argument begins.
1961	13 March	Elias Moretsele, the oldest of the accused, dies of heart attack.
1961	23 March	The court is adjourned after three weeks.
1961	29 Marc	The Court by a unanimously finds the accused not guilty and they are discharged.

## Stella Madge Damos (1930 - )



She was a leading trade unionist. During the government's race classification of Coloured people she organised a protest meeting and was charged with assaulting the police and fined £20. She was a member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and member of the Consultative Committee of the Freedom Charter (Eastern Cape) in 1955. In 1954 she was secretary of Freedom Charter Consultative Committee and in 1954-1955 a committee member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. She was one of the Treason Trialists.

## Lionel Bernstein (1920 – 2002)



He was secretary of the Labour Party League of Youth and an ex officio member of the Labour Party's national executive committee. He joined the Communist Party in 1939, while a part-time student at the University of the Witwatersrand. From 1940 he was in charge of propaganda in the CPUSA's Johannesburg office and a member of the Johannesburg committee. He served in World War II with the Sixth South African Division in Europe. He was involved in the African mineworkers' strike of 1946. Although banned from all political activity by the mid-1950s, he played an important role in drafting the Freedom Charter in 1955, which resulted in his arrest for treason in 1956. He was also detained in 1960 and placed under house arrest in 1962. He was arrested in the Rivonia raid in July 1963. Bernstein died in Kidlington, Oxfordshire, on June 23, 2002, aged 82.

## Treason Trialists

Here is an alphabetical list of the people who were finally charged with treason:

Adams, Farid Ahmed ,Arenstein, Jacqueline ,Asmal, Mohamed (Bob) Suleman ,Barenblatt, Yetta ,Barsel, Hymie ,**Bernstein, Lionel** (Rusty) ,Beyleveld, Pieter ,Bokala, Isaac ,Bunting, Sonia Beryl ,Busa, Julius Phumelele ,**Calata, James** ,Carneson, Fred ,Chamile, Andries (General China) ,Conco, Winston Z. ,**Damos, Mrs Stella Madge** ,Dawood, "Asa" Ayesha Bibi ,Dichaba, Gabriel ,Dlamini, Stephen J. C. ,Esakjee, Suliman ,First, Heloise Ruth ,(Fish) Keitsing,Forman, Lionel ,Frances, Baard,Fuyani, D. ,Gawe, Walker Stanley ,Gumede, Archibald ,Gxowa, (Mashaba) Bertha ,Hadebe, James John ,Hlapane, Bartholomew ,Hodgson, P. (Jack) J. ,Hoogendyk, Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr ,Horvitch, Isaac Osier ,Hurbans, Gopallal ,Hutchinson, Alfred (Tough) ,Jasson, Christina ,Joseph, Helen ,Joseph, Jack ,Joseph, Paul ,Kathrada, Ahmed (Kathy) ,KaTshunungwa, Thembekile Enoch ,Kepe, Lungile ,Khumalo, Jerry Dibanhlele ,Kotane, Moses M. ,Kumalo, Joseph (Anti-Pass) M. ,La Guma, Alex ,Lee-Warden, L. B. ,Letele, Arthur **Elias** ,Levy, Leon ,Levy, Norman ,Lollan, Stanley B. ,Luthuli, Albert John ,Mafora, Jacob B. ,Mahlangu, Aaron ,Make, Vus'umuzi,Makhohliso, Charles ,Makiwane, Tennyson Xola ,Makue, Joshua ,Malele, Elmon ,Malope, Daniel (Sampie) ,Manana P. S. J. ,Mandela, Nelson (Madiba) Rolihlahla ,Masemola, Balelekeng Sam ,Mashaba, July ,Mashibini, Philemon ,Massina, Leslie ,Mathole, Philemon ,Mati, W. ,Matlou ,Jonas Dinous ,Matomela, Florence ,Matthews, Joseph G. ,Matthews, Z. K. ,Mayekiso C. J. ,Meer, Ismail I. C. ,Mei, Pious Goodman ,Mfaxes, Elliot Nzimeni ,Mgugunyeka, David H. ,Mini, Vuyisile ,Mkalipi, Simon P. ,Mkhize, Bertha

## Classroom activities

Learning Outcome: The learner is able to communicate knowledge and understanding about resistance, the Congress Alliance and the Freedom Charter.

1. Why was the Congress Alliance established and who were the members
2. What was the Freedom Charter?
3. Why was so important to have the Freedom Charter drafted?
4. What was the government's reaction after the drafting of the Freedom Charter?
5. Do you think the Treason Trial had a significant impact on the apartheid policies of the nationalist government?
6. Would you define the Treason Trial a failure or a success? And why so why?

## James Calata

(1895 – 1983)



As secretary of the ANC from 1936 to 1949, Calata contributed much to the revival of the ANC after its decline in the 1930s. He was signatory of the 1949 Programme of Action, but he, like Xuma, found the proposal of the Youth League too extreme. Chosen as ANC senior chaplain in 1950, he later also acted as Congress speaker. During the Defiance Campaign of 1952 he was banned from attending gatherings but was eventually allowed to carry on with his church work, although not without government harassment. He was jailed during the 1960 state of emergency. Shortly afterwards, during a raid on his home, the police found no papers but noticed two historic photographs of ANC leaders on his wall. They became exhibits in one of the earliest cases under the Suppression of Communism Act, and he received a six months suspended sentence.

## Walter Ulyate Max Sisulu

(1912 – 2003)



In 1940 Sisulu joined the ANC and later became treasurer of the ANCYL. In 1946, at the time of the African Mineworkers' Strike, he tried to organise a general strike in support of the protestors' demands.

In December 1949 he was instrumental in the ANC's acceptance of the Youth League's programme of action, and at the same conference was elected Secretary-General of the ANCYL. In December 1952 Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Moroka and others were tried under the Suppression of Communism Act for their leadership of the Defiance Campaign. They were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour, suspended for two years.

During 1955 Congress of the People congress, which drew the Freedom Charter he was legally unable to participate, due to banning orders. In December 1956 Sisulu was amongst the 156 people arrested for High Treason. On 11 July 1963 Sisulu and others were arrested when the police raided Liliesleaf Farm, the ANC's secret headquarters. He was charged in the Rivonia Trial in October 1963 and on 12 June 1964 sentenced to life imprisonment for planning acts of sabotage. The following day Sisulu, Mandela and other convicted Rivonia trialists were sent to Robben Island. He was released in October 1989.

,Mkwayi, Wilton Z. ,Mntwana, Ida Flyo ,Modiba, Frank ,Modise, Johannes ,Mohlakoane, Martha ,Molaoa, Patrick Mosell ,Molefi, Joseph Sallie Poonyane ,Monnanyane, Leslie Sonny Thusbo ,Moolla, Moosa (Mosie) Mohammed ,Moonsamy, Kesval ,Moosa, Hassen (Ike) M. ,Moretsele, Elias Phakane ,Morolong, Joseph ,Morrison, Lionel E. ,Motala, Mahomed Chota ,Motshabi, Obed ,Mpho, Motsamai Keyecwe ,Mpoza, Joseph ,Mqota, Temba D. A. ,Mtini, John ,Musisi, Theophilus Kgosikobo ,Naicker, Gagathura (Monty) Mohambry ,Naicker, Marimuthu (M.P.) Pragalathan ,Naicker, Narainsamy Thumbi ,Nair, Billy ,Nathie, Suliman (Solly) Mahomed ,Ndimba, Thembile Benson ,Nene, Mangisi Pheneas ,Ngcobo, Abednego Bhekabantu ,Ngotyana, Greenwood Dumisa ,Ngoyi, Lilian Masediba ,Ngwendu, William ,Nkadimeng, John K. ,Nkamenji, J. ,Nkosi, Lawrence ,Nogaya, A. B. ,Nokwe, Philemon (Duma) Pearce Dumasile ,Nthite, Peter Papela ,Ntsangani, P. ,Nyembe, Dorothy ,Patel, Ahmed Ebrahim ,Peake, George Edward ,Pillay, V. (Mannie) S. M. ,Poo, Jacob ,Press, Ronald Edwin ,Ranta, Mary Goitsewang ,Resha, Robert M. ,Secchoareng, Abraham Barnett Koathhao ,Seedat, Dawood A. ,Seitshiro, Bennett ,Sejake, Nimrod ,Selepe, Peter Kaya ,September, Reginald ,Shall, Sydney ,Shanley, Dorothy ,Shanley, Errol T. ,Shope, M. J. M. Williams ,Sibande, Cleopus ,Sibande, Gert ,Sibeko, Archibald ,Silinga, Annie ,Simelane, Pitness (Stalwart) H. ,Singh, Debi ,Sisulu, Walter M. ,Slovo, Joe ,Tambo Oliver ,Thompson, Douglas Chadwick ,Tshabalala, Mshiywa Henry ,Tshume, Tamsanqa Tasque ,Tunsi, Robert ,Turok, Ben,Tyiki, Simon ,Vanqa, Mbuyiselo Stanley ,Yengwa, Massabalala (Bonnie) B.

## Glossary

### Freedom Charter

– Is the policy document adopted by the Congress Alliance at the Congress of the People in Kliptown, South Africa on 26 June 1955. The document is notable for its demand for and commitment to freedom, democracy and non-racialism, and the Charter has remained the guiding policy of the ANC and its allies.

### Martial law

– Temporary rule by military authorities, imposed on a civilian population especially in time of war or when civil authority has broken down.



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For more info

# Women' Anti Pass March

9 August  
1956



Strike a women you strike a rock

Since the revival of Women's organisations in the early 1980's in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town, women activists have not only forced the rewriting of the role of women in the shaping of South Africa, but they have become one of the most important political and social forces in the new democratic South Africa.

Up until then, the history of women's political organisations, of their struggles for freedom from oppression and for community rights and gender equality, were largely ignored by historians. The history books focused on the achievements of men, especially their military exploits and leadership abilities, virtually leaving women out of the narrative of South African history. A reason for this that, in varying degrees, all racial and cultural groups in South Africa were conventionally patriarchal, with most of the authority being wielded by men. The women's role being primarily domestic, centered around child-rearing and

general care of the family.

However, with the rise of the capitalist economy, the growth of towns and the development of the migrant labour system and the introduction of pass laws for all African's there were major changes in the status of women across all the racial and language groups in the country.

### The Second World War and Change

The 1940's saw a marked increase in women's involvement in trade union and anti-apartheid organizations, to the extent that women activists ran some of the key trade unions.

The passing of the Pegging Act and other discriminatory legislation directed at the Indian and Coloured community acted as the catalyst for increased participation by Indian and Coloured women to participate in the mainstream organisations and campaigns. Hundreds of women participated in the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign and many

were imprisoned with hard labour for up to six months, some on more than one occasion. The war years also saw the mass migration of rural women into the urban areas and their increased economic role in industry, domestic service and in the informal beer brewing industry. The struggle to survive and exposure to the harsh realities of the apartheid urban laws gave rise to an increased role of women in the struggle for housing, education and basic rights.



Lillian Ngoyi (1911 – 1980)

She joined the GWU under Solly Sachs and soon became one of its leading figures. A tireless worker against discrimination, with a great gift as a fiery speaker, Lillian joined the ANC and worked her way up until she was president of the ANCWL. When FEDSAW was formed in 1954, she became one of its national vice-presidents. Lillian was one of the leaders of the women's anti-pass march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria in March 1956. In December 1956 she was arrested for high treason along with 156 other leading activists and stood trial until 1961 as one of the accused in the Treason Trial. Ngoyi was imprisoned for five months in 1960 and was first issued banning orders in October 1962, which confined her to Orlando Township in Johannesburg. In the mid-1960s she was jailed under the 90-day detention act and spent 71 days in solitary confinement. Her banning orders lapsed in 1972 but were renewed for five-year period in 1975.



1956 - Federation of South African Women (Photographed by Drum photographer © Baileys Archive) apartheid, pass laws. neg 761

## The Militant Fifties

It would be fair to say that the 1950's was the decade of the women. During this time, the apartheid government's increasingly repressive policies began to pose a direct threat to all people of colour, and there was a surge of mass political action by blacks and progressive whites in defiant response. Women were prominent in virtually all these avenues of protest, but to none were more committed than those who took part in the Anti-Pass Campaign.

The 1952 Defiance Campaign concentrated on protesting against six unjust laws and first the first time women of all races volunteered to break the laws and were sentenced to imprisonment.

Opposition to the extension of the Pass Laws to Black women provided the focus for the growth of progressive women's organisations amongst all race groups. Union leaders like Ray Alexander and Annie Silinga were particularly active in focusing on the roles of women workers and it was these two women who were the driving force in the establishment of the first nonracial national organisation The Federation of South African Women, (FEDSAW). In addition, the growth of the ANC as a national organisation in the 1950s, was made possible, to a considerable extent, by the organization of African women into the resuscitated ANC Women's League (ANCWL).

### THE ANTI-PASS CAMPAIGNS

In September 1955, the government announced that reference books would be issued to Black women from January 1956. The proposed measure aroused a storm of protest and provoked a number of anti-pass campaigns by women.

Politicised and organised into a powerful resistance movement, women were no longer regarded only as wives and mothers, bound to the home; they were independent and assertive and took their place in the forefront of the liberation struggle. The Pass Laws threatened the African women's basic rights to freedom and family life and they were determined to resist its implementation. They were unequivocal in their message to the government: *'We shall not rest until ALL pass laws and all forms of permits restricting our freedoms have been abolished. We shall not rest until we have won for our children their fundamental rights of freedom, justice and security.'*



The Defiance campaign 1952. Protesters



Women gather at Fordsburg and are addressed by Lilian Ngoyi “copyright Baileys Archives”

The Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) was formed in 1954 and became an integrated member of the Congress Alliance, regional branches had been set up and mass membership was growing throughout the country.

A march to Pretoria to present women's grievances was mooted in August 1955, and when the pass issue came to the fore, the scale and urgency of the demonstration increased dramatically. FEDSAW decided that they would march to the Union Buildings to demonstrate against the proposed pass law. The march was organised for the 27 October 1955 and was a great success, despite difficulties such as police intimidation and the banning of Josie Palmer, the longstanding member of the banned communist party and FEDSAW main office-bearers, a week before the gathering.

The government did what it could to obstruct the activities of the women. The Pass Laws fell under the jurisdiction of HR Verwoerd, who was then Minister of Native Affairs. He pointedly refused to receive a



Women waiting outside the Union Buildings' grounds in Pretoria to sign the petition against Passes. "copyright Baileys Archives"

multiracial delegation. The Pretoria City Council refused the women permission to hold the meeting and saw to it that public transport was stalled, making it difficult for the women to get to the Pretoria venue. Private transport had to be arranged and other evasive tactics were devised for getting around the many other obstacles imposed by the authorities.

In the circumstances, it was surprising and gratifying to the organisers that a

crowd of between 1 000 and 2 000 women gathered in the grounds of the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Although the majority were African women, white, Coloured and Indian women also attended. Most of them came from towns on the Witwatersrand.

The crowd was orderly and dignified throughout the proceedings. They handed their bundles of signed petitions to Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa and Sophie Williams, the main organisers, who deposited them at the Ministers' office doors. After the demonstration, the government tried to downplay its significance by alleging that the meeting had only been successful because the organisation had been in the hands of white women. That the Black women of FEDSAW and ANCWL had in fact played a central role was evident when, a few months later, Lilian Ngoyi became the first woman to be elected to the National Executive of the ANC (Walker 1991, 186-87).

The women were encouraged to capitalise on the success of the October 1955 gathering. Anti-pass meetings were held throughout the country and were attended by huge



Women of all races arrive by the busload to participate in the August 9 1956 anti-Pass march in Pretoria copyright Baileys Archives"



Women singing protest songs during the anti-Pass march on August, 9 1956.

"copyright Baileys Archives"

crowds. They took place in Free State towns in late 1955, in Port Elizabeth in January 1956 and in Johannesburg in March 1956, as well as in Durban, East London, Cape Town and Germiston. The mood of the meetings was militant, with Annie Silinga declaring: 'We women are prepared to fight these passes until victory is ours.' (Quoted in Walker 1991,191).

In reply, the government threatened reprisals, but when it finally began issuing reference books it did so unobtrusively, starting in white agricultural areas and smaller towns such as Winburg in the Free State, where the FEDSAW presence was minimal and the women were not well-informed. In Winburg on 22 March 1956 they issued 1 429 Black

## Chronology

1913		Women in the Free State led by Charlotte Maxeke mount campaign against pass laws.
1913-1914		Women participate in Gandhi's Passive Resistance Campaign and many go to prison.
1918		The Bantu Women's League of the SA Native National Congress is formed.
1930		White women get the vote.
1933		Pixley Seme is reelected president of the ANC with the help of women's votes.
1936		Dr. Zainunnisa Cissie Gool founds the National Liberation League, and becomes the first President.
1943		The ANC Women's League is formed.
1946		Passive resistance campaign hundreds of women participate and many go to jail.
1950		Florence Matomela leads an anti-pass demonstration resulting in the burning of passes in Port Elizabeth.
1952		Bibi Dawood recruits 800 volunteers for the Defiance Campaign in the Worcester region of the Cape. Florence Matomela one of the first women volunteers is arrested and spends six weeks in prison. Fatima Meer is banned. Lillian Ngoyi joins ANC and is arrested for her involvement in the Defiance Campaign.
1954		The Federation of South African women is formed – uniting women from the ANC, South African Indian Congress, Trade Unions and self-help groups.
1955		Francis Baard is involved with the drafting of the Freedom Charter. Sonia Bunting is the platform speaker at Congress of the People in Kliptown.  The Women's Defence of the Constitution League (commonly known as the Black Sash) is formed.
1956	9 August	20.000 women march to Union Buildings to protest against the carrying of passes.
1956	5 December	Leading women activists are part of the 156 accused in the Treason Trial.



## Sophia Theresa Williams – de Bruyn

(1938 -)

Sophia Williams - de Bruyn was of the leading trade unionist in the 50s. At the Textile factory she rose to become an executive member of the Textile Workers Union in PE working alongside people like Raymond Mhlaba, the late Vuyisile Mini, Govan Mbeki and others. Williams-de Bruyn was the founding member of SACTU. She is a living legend of the South African liberation struggle, who has contributed immensely to the dismantling of Apartheid. Williams – de Bruyn is the only surviving member of the four leaders of the historic women's march to Pretoria. She is a member of the ANC's NEC and a deputy speaker for the Gauteng Legislature.

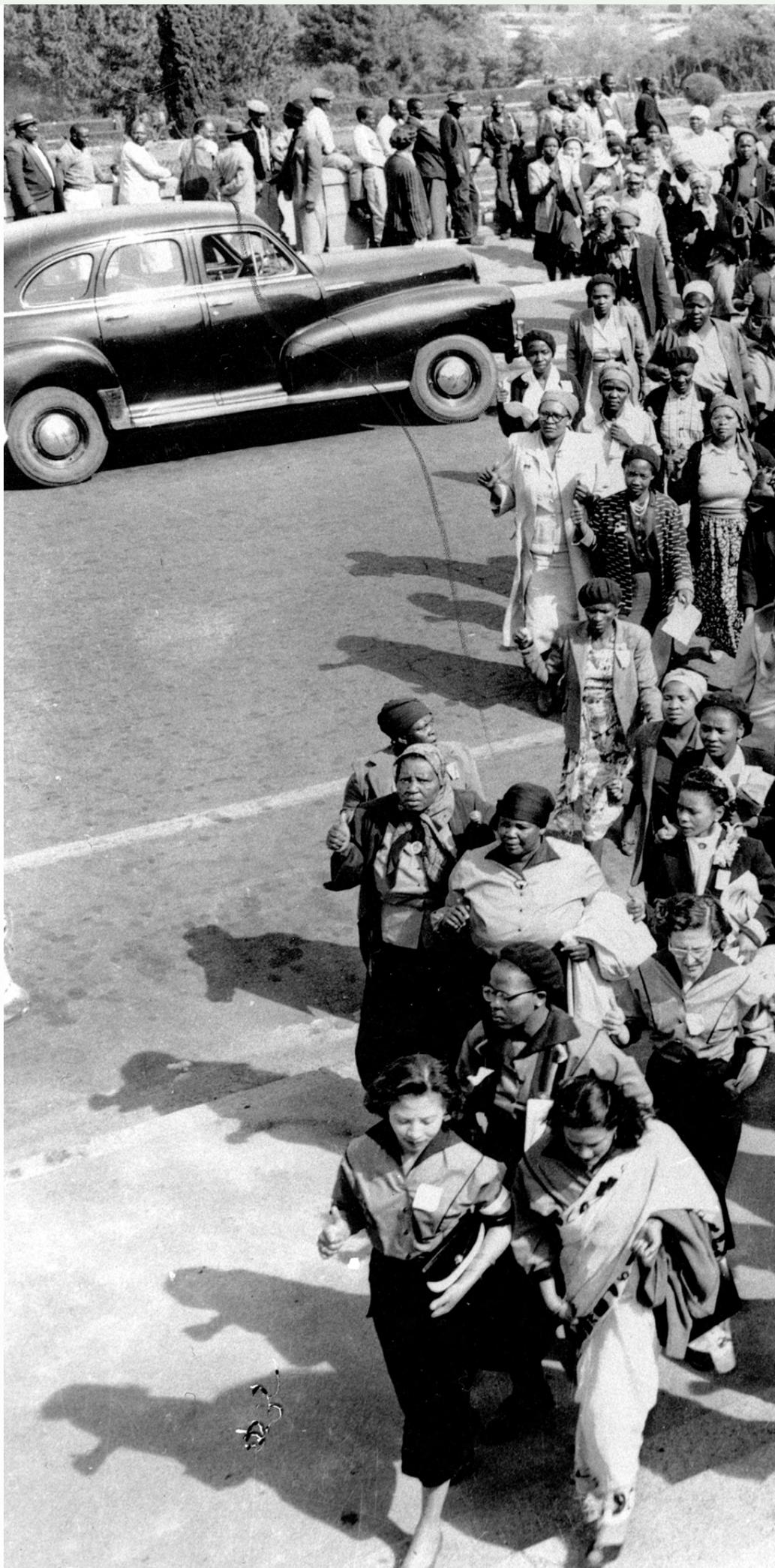
women with reference books and met with little reaction. Senior ANC officials were designated to go to Winburg immediately and Lilian Ngoyi and several men arrived in the town the following week and addressed the women. Inspired by the presence of Ngoyi, who was an excellent orator, the local women defiantly marched into town and publicly burnt their new reference books outside the magistrate's office.

The authorities reacted swiftly: the offenders were arrested and charged. Subsequently, they were informed that no pensions would be paid out unless they could produce their reference books. Again, there was a wave of protest from all parts of the country, and anti-pass demonstrations were held in 38 different venues.

The authorities continued to issue the hated reference books. Continuing to focus on small towns, it had issued 23 000 books in 37 centres by September 1956. It was unwelcome news to the FEDSAW organisers that the government was persevering and that although none of the major ANC strongholds had been visited and women throughout the country were in militant mood, it was clear that drastic action would have to be taken; and fast. FEDSAW decided to organise another massive march to Pretoria. This time women would come from all parts of the country, not just the Rand. They vowed that the prime minister, JG Strijdom, would be left in no doubt about how the women felt about having to carry passes.

### **The EVENT: The Women's March, Pretoria, 9 August 1956**

By the middle of 1956 plans had been laid for the Pretoria march and FEDSAW had written to request that JG Strijdom, the current prime minister, meet with their leaders so





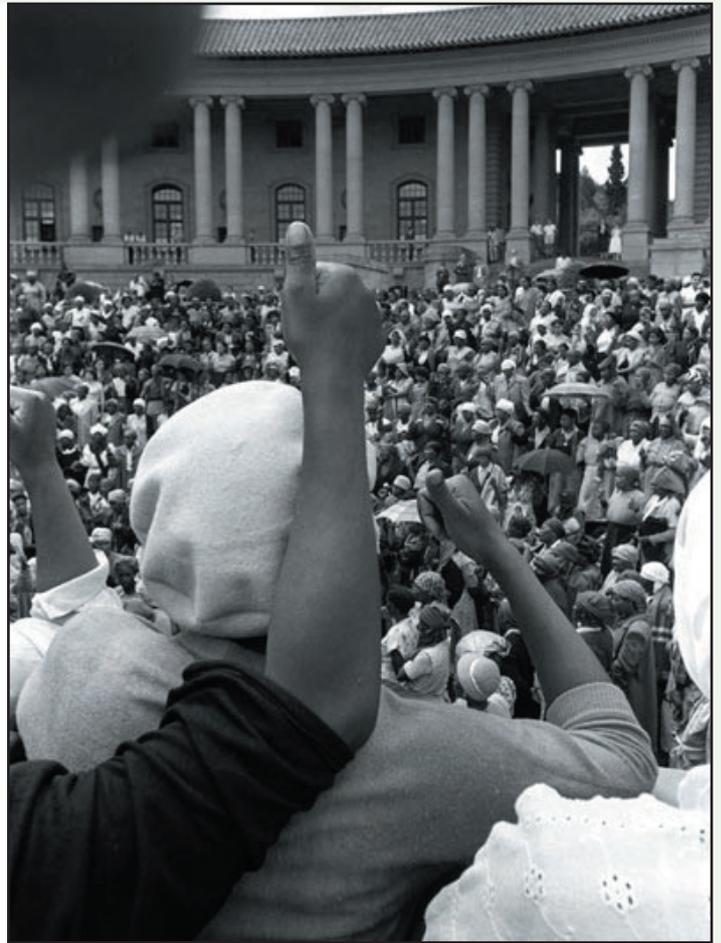
*Women' Anti Pass March*

## Pass laws

Pass laws required that Africans had to carry identity documents with them at all times. These books had to contain stamps providing official proof that the person in question had permission to be in a town at that time. Initially only men were forced to carry these books, but soon law also compelled women to carry the dreaded documents.

According to Section 10 (1a-d) of the 1954 Native Urban Areas Act Africans could only stay in an urban area for more than 12 hours if they:

- a) Had been born there and had lived there ever since.
- b) Had worked there for ten years under one employer, or had lived there for 15 years without breaking any law (including pass laws)
- c) Were the child or wife of a man permitted to live in the urban area on the conditions of (a) or (b) mentioned above.
- d) Signed a contract to migrate from a rural reserve to a specific job for a limited period of time in an urban area after which they must return home. Contract workers' families were not allowed to join them in an urban area.





In front of the Prime Minister's office to deliver the petition. "copyright Baileys Archives"

they could present their point of view. The request was refused.

The ANC then sent Helen Joseph and Bertha Mashaba on a tour of the main urban areas, accompanied by Robert Resha of the ANC and Norman Levy of the Congress of Democrats (COD). The plan was to consult with local leaders who would then make arrangements to send delegates to the mass gathering in August.

The Women's March was a spectacular success. Women from all parts of the country arrived in Pretoria, some from as far afield as Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. 20 000 women led by Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Sophie Williams and Rahima Moosa marched on the Union Buildings in a determined yet orderly fashion. It was the biggest demonstration yet held by FEDSAW. They filled the entire amphitheatre in the bow of the graceful Herbert Baker building. Walker describes the impressive scene:

Many of the African women wore traditional dress, others wore the Congress colours, green, black and gold; Indian

## Helen Joseph

(1905 – 1992)

After the Second World War broke out Joseph took a job with the GWU and came under the influence of Solly Sachs. Joseph was a founder member of the ANC's White ally, the COD, and national secretary of FEDSAW in the 1950s.



In 1955 she was one of the leaders who read out the clauses of the Freedom Charter at the Congress of the People. She was one of the main organisers of the women's march to Union Buildings in protest against passes. She was arrested on a charge of high treason in December 1956 and banned for the first time in 1957. Thereafter her life became a long saga of police persecution.

She was the first person to be placed under house arrest. Her last banning order was only lifted in her 80th.

women were clothed in white saris. Many women had babies on their backs and some domestic workers brought their white employers' children along with them. Throughout the demonstration, the huge crowd displayed a discipline and dignity that was deeply impressive (Walker 1991, 195).

Neither the prime minister or any of his senior staff was there to see the women, so, as they had done the previous year, the leaders left the huge bundles of signed petitions outside JG Strijdom's office door. It later transpired that they were removed before he returned to his office, so he never looked at them. Then, at Lilian Ngoyi's suggestion, the marchers employed a dramatic and masterful tactic: the huge crowd stood in absolute silence for a full half hour. Before leaving (again

in exemplary fashion) the women sang '*Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika*' and their militant song:

Without exception, those who participated in the event described it as a moving and emotional experience. FEDSAW declared that it was a 'monumental achievement'.

Since then, the slogan '*Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo*' has come to represent women's courage and strength. As a group that had been marginalised, South African women rose to question the barriers and fought for the emancipation of themselves and their families within the political and social arenas.

#### After the March

Women had once again shown that the stereotype of women as politically

inept and immature and tied to the home, was outdated and inaccurate. As they had done the previous year,

#### INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY:

International Women's Day (08 March) is an occasion marked by women's groups around the world. This date is also commemorated at the United Nations and is designated in many countries as a national holiday. When women on all continents, often divided by national boundaries and by ethnic, linguistic, cultural, economic and political differences, come together to celebrate their Day, they can look back to a tradition that represents at least nine decades of struggle for equality, justice, peace and development.

International Women's Day is the story of ordinary women as makers of history; it is rooted in the centuries-old struggle of women to participate in society on an equal footing with men. In ancient Greece, Lysistrata initiated a sexual strike against men in order to end war; during the French Revolution, Parisian women calling for "liberty, equality, fraternity" marched on Versailles to demand women's suffrage.

***Wathint' abafazi, Strijdom!***

**You have struck a rock**

***Wathint' imbokodo uzo kufa!***

**(You have dislodged a boulder!)**

**Now you have touched the women, Strijdom!**

**You will be crushed!**



Cosato launch 1986



Burning Of Passes

the Afrikaans press tried to give the impression that it was whites who had 'run the show'. This was obviously untrue, and FEDSAW and the Congress Alliance gained great prestige from the obvious success of the venture.

FEDSAW had come of age politically and could no longer be ignored as the voice of a new assertive women. A remarkable achievement for a body that was barely two years old. The Alliance decided that 9 August would henceforth be celebrated as Women's Day, and it is now, in the new South Africa, commemorated each year as a national holiday.

### **FEDSAW** after Sharpeville

The banning of the ANC and the PAC in 1960 saw FEDSAW trying to fill in the vacuum and keeping the congress ideals alive. But the banning of many of the key women activists, the detention of, Ngoyi and Joseph, the fleeing into exile of Ruth Mompati, weakened the organisation.

Those who remained in South Africa were hamstrung

### **Rahima Moosa**

(1922 –1993)



Moosa became politically active after she became aware of the unjust segregationist laws that ruled South Africa. In 1943 Rahima became the shop steward for the Cape Town Food and Canning Workers'

Union. She later became the branch secretary for the union and more active in labour politics. In 1951 she married Mohamed Moosa, a fellow comrade and Treason trialist. In Johannesburg, Rahima became involved with the TIC and thereafter the ANC as the Congress and the ANC had signed a pact for a common struggle. In 1955 she played a significant role in the organisation of the Congress of the People, where the Freedom Charter was adopted. Together with Helen Joseph, Lillian Ngoyi and Sophia Williams, Rahima spearheaded the historic march to the Union Buildings where women handed over petitions against pass laws. In the early 1960s, Rahima became listed, a status that she remained in until 1990 with the unbanning of the African National Congress. In 1970 she suffered a heart attack, as a result of diabetes and after this her health deteriorated drastically until her death in 1993, a year before independence.



because their FEDSAW structures were no longer in place. Women like Dorothy Nyembe, who became President of the Natal Rural Areas Committee, continued to play a role at local level. In 1962 she organised anti-government demonstrations among rural women in what became known as the Natal Women's Revolt.

By September 1961 FEDSAW had made enough ground to hold a reasonably well-attended national conference in Port Elizabeth. Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph were re-elected. Ngoyi was upbeat in her report and reminded members that freedom was not easily won. But bad times were near at hand. In October, Ngoyi was banned and confined to Orlando for five years. Florence Matomela of the Eastern Cape section suffered a similar fate.

In early 1962, the situation became worse. Helen Joseph's banning order expired, but she was served another order within a few months, becoming the first person to be subjected to house arrest. With the loss of its three main leaders, there was no chance of revival.

In 1963, the Congress of Democrats (COD) was banned - another blow for many politically active women. In the next few years,

more women leaders were removed from office by government orders and arrests. Hundreds of women spent years banned, banished or otherwise restricted; the list includes, among others; Albertina Sisulu, Mary Moodley, Amina Cachalia, Liz Abrahams, Lilian Ngoyi, Winnie Mandela, Phyllis Naidoo, Helen

in prison for her underground activities as a member of MK (the ANC's armed wing). She and Mrs Amina Desai were for a long time the only Black women prisoners.

In 1965, Ray Alexander went into exile in Zambia. By the mid-1960s FEDSAW had declined into obscurity. But leading women activists like Mrs. Mandela, Joyce, Sherla Weinberg, Dorothy Nyembe, Florence Mkezi, Phyllis Naidoo, Mrs Amina Desai, and a new generation of women student activists continued to play a key role in reviving the ANC and SACP underground.

### Reviving Progressive Women's organisation in the 1970 and 80's

The 1970's witness the resurgence of new political formations like SASO and the independent trade union movement within which there were an equal number of women and men activists. But it was the formation in 1972 of the Non Racial Women's federation in Natal by the leading women's activists Professor Fatima Meer that set the basis for the revival of a women's organisation that committed to freedom and promoting women's rights. In 1975 the Federation underwent a radical shift at a national conference it organised in



Natal ANC Women's League activists at Women's day celebrations Durban 1981

Joseph, Mamphela Rampela and Bertha Mashaba.

Dorothy Nyembe spent 15 years



## Phumzile Mlambo – Ngcuka 1955 -

When Thabo Mbeki announced in 2005 that the newly appointed deputy president was to be Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, history was made. She became the first woman deputy president of South Africa. She is a woman who believes that women need not feel disadvantaged, or need to defer to men, simply because they are women. She has an impressive record not only of welfare work among her people but also as an educator and a campaigner for women's rights.

President Thabo Mbeki stated categorically in his book of 2004: 'No government in South Africa could ever claim to represent the will of the people if it failed to address the central task of emancipation of women in all its elements, and that includes the government we are privileged to lead', hence demonstrating that by appointing Ngcuka to the deputy presidency position.



Victoria Mxenge assassinated UDF leader at June 16 meeting Durban 1984

Durban where a decision was taken to constitute itself as the Black Women's Federation. But within six months of its founding the President

Professor Meer was banned and later held in detention for six months with five other executive members of the Federation. The Federation never

recovered from the detention and bannings.

It was in 1980's that we see the emergence of women's movement that changed the face of the women's Struggle in South Africa. We see the emergence of magazine like agenda and regional organisations such as the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW), the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW) and the United Women's Congress (UWCO) in the Western Cape. These organisations began to establish branch and grassroots women's bodies that played a major role in the mass struggles of the 1980's. The leaders of bodies like NOW played a key role in providing support to women and communities who became victims of state sponsored violence in Natal. Similarly women's and youth structures played a key role in mobilizing and defending

## Glossary

<b>Migrant Worker</b>	- A worker who is forced by economic circumstances to find work in another city or country. The migrant worker was one of the defining feature of South Africa's capitalist development. African workers were discouraged and forced by the pass laws not to settle permanently in the cities. The migratory labour system allowed the state and capital to keep the cost of African workers wages low.
<b>Oppression</b>	-An unjust or excessive exercise of power which denies peoples basic human rights.
<b>Campaign</b>	-A sustained programme of action around a or a set of issues.
<b>Subordinate</b>	-Belonging to a lower class or rank.
<b>ANC</b>	-African National Congress
<b>FEDSAW</b>	-The Federation of South African women
<b>Federation</b>	-A union of several states or provinces or political parties.
<b>Repeal</b>	-The act of abolishing a law or contract.
<b>State of Emergency</b>	- A condition in a country in which martial law is applied and certain civil liberties are taken away temporarily. Martial law is when the military replaces the civilian government to keep order. The military is allowed to rule temporarily without having to stick to democratic principles or having to protect civil rights. A state of emergency is usually declared by the government when there is much unrest and there is danger of a revolution or civil war breaking out.
<b>Trade union</b>	-an organization of employees formed to protect and advance their wages and working conditions.
<b>Mooted</b>	-To bring up as a subject for discussion or debate or to plead or argue (a case) in a moot court.
<b>Petition</b>	-A solemn supplication or request to a superior authority; an entreaty. A formal written document requesting a right or benefit from a person or group
<b>Militant mood</b>	-An aggressive mood
<b>Stereotype</b>	-A conventional and oversimplified conception, opinion, or image.
<b>Amnesty</b>	-A general pardon granted by a government, especially for political offenses

communities in the 1980's. In the late 1980's women activists and their exile counterpart who were in the main ANC aligned meet at the Malibongwe conference held in Holland and built the links that were to play such an important role after the unbanning of the liberation movements and in the political negotiations during the transition period 2000 to 2004.

### Women in the new democracy

Soon after the election in 1994, the new Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, proposed the idea of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The commission was set up in 1995 and statements were heard by more than



South Africa, Pretoria, Gauteng - inauguration of Nelson Mandela as president, 1994  
africa/south africa/elections/politics

20 000 people, including women. No women applied for amnesty.

In 1996 the new Constitution made provision for women's rights. A Commission for Gender equality was set up and there was a renewed public awareness of gender issues. The first 10 years of democracy have been remarkable in many ways, but there are still a number of crucial challenges to be met.

South African society remains a pluralist one with huge cultural diversities, but the principle issues it face is the mass levels of poverty and huge disparity between the rich (in the main white) and the poor (the majority are still Black).

Women in the new democracy are faced with a wide range of issues such as the high crime rate, domestic violence, child abuse, HIV/AIDS, poverty, poor local government delivery and unemployment. Motherhood is still central to most women's lives across the board and women's role in family life is still seen as the basis of a morally sound, orderly society. But this view is strongly opposed by women who argue that the creation of an equal, strong and just society is depended on both male and women working as equals.

Although great strides have been

## Classroom activities

1. Why would we say that women were subordinate to men at the beginning of the 20th century?
2. a) What is your understanding of the word stereotype? How would you say that women are stereotyped today? Examine adverts, magazines and newspapers to support your answer.  
b) Other than gender based stereotyping can you name what other forms of stereotyping you have encountered.
3. Write an essay of about a page on the formation and functions of the FEDSAW. Remember to say when and why it was formed and who the leading members were.
4. The Black Sash did not join FEDSAW. Use the internet and library resources to research the reasons for this and look at the role that Black Sash has played over the decades.
5. Compare the differences between the 1955 and 1956 women's march to the Union Buildings. Why do you think we remember the 1956 as opposed to the 1955 march.
6. Who were the leaders of the Women's March of 1956 and what preparations did they make to ensure that the event was a success? Do some research on one of the leaders? Add your findings to the information given in this booklet and then write a brief biography of one of these women.

made, gender discrimination still takes place in the workplace, and while there are notable exceptions, women are as yet poorly represented in top managerial and executive posts country wide.

However, women in South Africa to-day have shaken off the shackles of the past and have won the right to play an equal role in the political structures of the country. They are now facing the key challenged of playing a crucial role in addressing poverty and gender inequality.

Women have under the ANC led government have benefitted from its policy of ensuring that women make up 50% of all delegates to its conferences and that they are represented on all state structures. South Africa now has a women deputy State president and most of its municipal, provincial and national public representatives are women. In this the 50-year Commemoration of the Women's March of 1956, we as a county not only have to celebrate the role that women have played in the making of modern South Africa, but ensure that there hard fought rights are protected and that they continue to drive to make South Africa a truly progressive, just, non sexist and non racial society.

“The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.” (Clause: 9.3 of the South African Constitution)

**Naledi Pandor**  
(1953 - )

**Minister of Education**

Naledi Pandor was born on 7 December 1953 in Durban, KwaZulu Natal. She received most of her education in exile and matriculated at Gabarone Secondary School in Botswana in 1972. She obtained a Bachelor's Degree in History and English at the University of Botswana and Swaziland in 1977. After completing this course she left for London, completing her Masters' Degree at the University of London in 1978. In 1997 she obtained her Masters of General Linguistics from the University of Stellenbosch .



Before becoming the Minister of Education in 2004 Pandor was involved in educational issues in various ways. She has been senior lecturer at the UCT, and during the time she spent abroad she taught English in Botswana and London. Following South Africa 's first democratic elections in 1994 Pandor was elected into parliament, and in 1995 she became a Whip and then Deputy Chief Whip of the ANC. She also convened the Sub-Committee on Higher Education in the Education Portfolio Committee. In August 1998 she became the Deputy Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) and in 1999 she was elected Chairperson of the NCOP.

## ***Classroom activities***

7. Do you think that it is appropriate that each year on Women's Day South Africans should remember the women who participated in the Women's March of 9 August 1956 – or should we remember the role of women throughout our history? Why was it such an important milestone in the history of women's resistance in South Africa? Discuss fully. You should perhaps hold a class discussion on this important topic before you begin your essays.

10. Did you perhaps accompany your parents in the queues outside the polling stations on 27 April 1994? What do you remember about the mood of the crowds on that historic day? Do a survey among adults in your community to find out about their impressions of that election. Then write an essay of about a page on the 1994 election.

### **TO CONCLUDE:**

Hold a class debate, to be followed by a class discussion when you have finished studying the material in the booklet. Divide the class into two groups and elect a lead speaker and second-speaker for each side, one to speak on the importance of women's history and the other to oppose it. Prepare your arguments well, using the material in the booklet.

**REMEMBER  
JUNE 16**

VIVA PEOPLES EDUCATION  
AWAY WITH GUTTER EDUCATION

**FREEDOM OR DEATH  
VICTORY IS CERTAIN**

ISSUED & PRINTED BY: KAGISO TO P/5/81

**KAGISO  
REMEMBERS.**

**JUNE 16**

**NO PEACE UNDER  
APARTHEID**

**JUNE 16**

**JUNE**

**PRAYER SERVICE 10 a.m**  
BONTEHEUWEL ANGLICAN CHURCH  
Prof. CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO

**2PM  
SATURDAY**

**VICTORY**

**KHUMBULA  
UNGANIKEZELI  
ONTHOU**

**REMEMBER  
JUNE 16**

**STAY-AWAY**

**JUNE 16**

**S.A. YOUTH DAY**

UDF NECC

**REMEMBER  
JUNE 16**

**MEETING  
METHODIST**

**2PM  
SATURDAY**

**VICTORY  
CERTAIN**

**JUNE 16**

**SOLIDARITY  
APPEAL  
TO  
WHITES**

**OBSERVE AS A PUBLIC HOLIDAY**

UDF

**10 FIGHTING YEARS  
1976-1986**

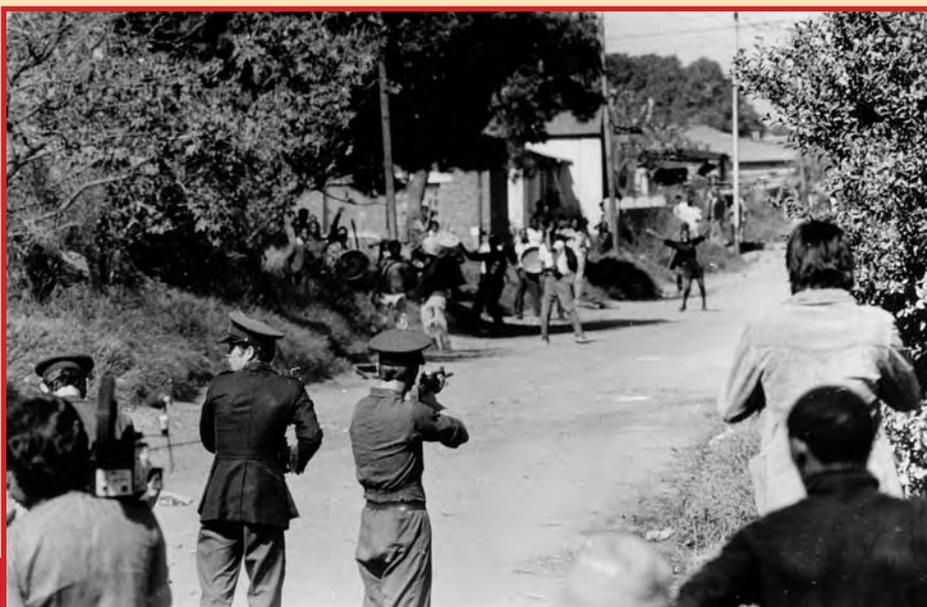
**JUNE 16**  
SOUTH AFRICAN  
YOUTH DAY

**PEOPLES' EDUCATION FOR  
PEOPLES' POWER!**

## The Soweto Uprising, 16 June 1976

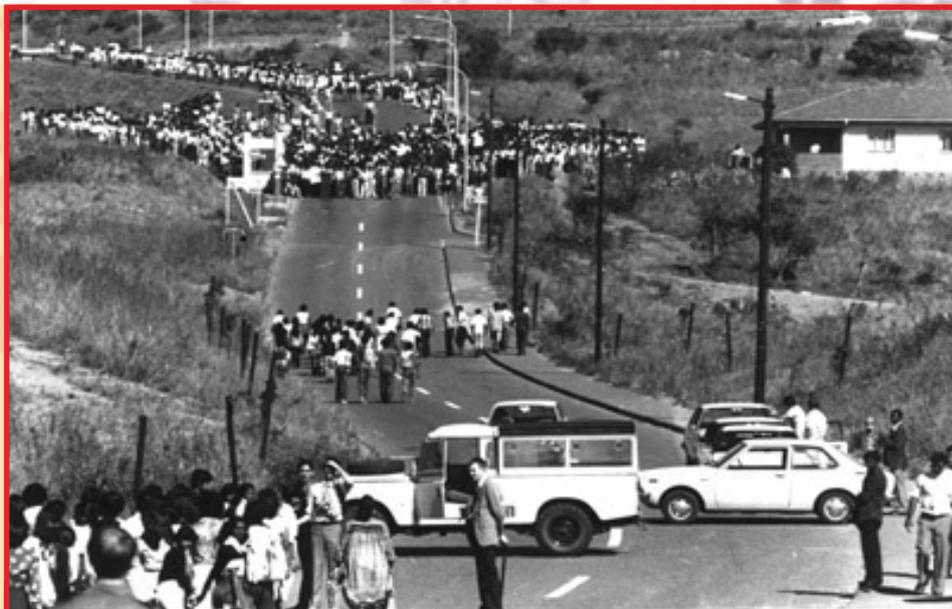
In June 1976, students from Soweto schools took to the streets and set off a chain of events that dramatically influenced the course of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa. They also challenged the idea, long-held within the Liberation Movement, that the working class was the essential force in challenging the apartheid regime. The events of June 16 1976 established the youth as one of the most important agencies of change in South African history. Together with the 1973 Durban Strike, the 1976 Soweto Uprising brought together the most significant forces to challenge the apartheid regime. Since the banning of the liberation movements that has never been a serious threat that was posed unto the government, be that it may be, these two challenges were the most significant ones in the 1970s and they most definitely struck a cord in government's anticipation of future revolts. Most importantly made them aware that they continual enforcement of segregatory laws might backfire tremendously, should Black people launch a united attack against the White regime.

The uprising that was sparked off on



Soweto 1976 (©)

June 16 was a protest by the students against the forced introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Black schools. Opposition to this measure was organised entirely by the



The Day Our Kids Lost Faith - Marching kids, (Bailey's African History Archives) ©

students themselves, at a time when liberation movements were banned throughout the country.

The protest started off peacefully in Soweto, but it turned chaotic when the police opened fire on unarmed student marchers. The unrest gained momentum and by the third day it had spread to the townships around Soweto and to other parts of the country.

It took some time before adults in and around Soweto bought into the

idea of demonstrations by students, but they eventually gave them whole-hearted support.

### Some of the Student leaders and key figures

Adriaanse, Noel John – Shot through the left side of head, 2 September 1976

Mashinini, Tsietsi – Died in exile

Barnes, Isaac – Shot in the chest from front and died, 25 August 1976

Montsitsi, Dan Sechaba – Fourth president of SSRC

Pieterse, Hector – First casualty of June 16

Makhubu, Mbuyisa – Whereabouts not known, (some believe he died in Nigeria)

Ndlovu, Hastings – Alleged first victim of June 16

Sithole, Antoinette – The lady with Mbuyisa at the famous June 16 phone, lives in Soweto

Mazibuko, Seth – Co-opted in the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations by Gauteng Premier Mbhazima Shilowa

Seathlo, Khotso - Deceased

Morobe, Murphy – Head of Communications in the Office of President Thabo Mbeki

Mtintso, Thenjiwe – South African Ambassador to Cuba

Masetlha, Billy – Former national Intelligence Agency (NIA) head

Semela, Selby – Went to exile with Tsietsi Mashinini

Nengwekhulu, Harry – Director of Education in the Eastern Cape

Rachidi, Kenneth – Semi-retired

Macozoma, Saki – Deputy chairman of Standard Bank Ltd

Sexwale, Tokyo – Executive chairman of Mvelapanda Holdings

Koka, Drake - Deceased



Marching kids, Soweto (Bailey's African History Archives) ©

had been growing in the Soweto schools over the past few months. A meeting of representatives from the schools had called for action to be taken and three days previously this meeting had elected an Action Committee, later renamed Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), and given it the task of organising a demonstration.

Placards were prepared and stored and members of the Action Committee toured the schools, holding clandestine meetings to mobilise support. The final meeting of the Action Committee took place when the Naledi branch of the SA Students' Movement held a meeting, attended by representatives of the Soweto schools, at which it was decided that protests would be held on 16 June.

### Events leading to the Soweto Uprising

The events leading to Soweto Uprising were brought about by radical changes of policy in African education and, to a lesser degree, in Coloured and Indian education. The riots were sparked off by an educational issue, introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools.

Opposition to the government's Bantu Education Policy

For three days, the Action Committee (later the Soweto Students' Representative Council) prepared for a protest march at which they intended to demand an end to their discriminatory education and the right to be taught in the language of their choice, English. The demonstration was to be peaceful but the student leaders were well aware that the police would attempt to stop them. Details were worked out to ensure the participation by the maximum number of

### June 16 Chronology

1976	23 August	Students at the three Cape high schools organises a demonstration in sympathy with Soweto Uprising.
1976	11 August	African pupils from Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga hold marches in solidarity with the Soweto students.
1976	16 June	Police fired at a demonstration in Soweto, of students protesting against "Bantu education" and the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.
1976	16 June	The Soweto Uprisings begin.
1976	16 June	Hector Zolile Pieterse is killed.
1976	13 June	SASM holds a meeting, attended by representatives of all Soweto schools, and decide that protests will be held on June 16 against the use of Afrikaans in education.
1976	16 June	Pupils at Phefeni Secondary School start boycotting classes in protest against the use of Afrikaans in education. The unrest spreads to Belle Higher Primary School, Thulasizwe Higher Primary School, and Emthonjeni Khulo Ngolawazi Higher Primary School.
1976	24 February	The first indications of protest over Afrikaans appear in Soweto schools.
1976	4 March	The BPC, SASO and SASM become active in Soweto schools over the issue of schooling in Afrikaans.

students while minimising the risk of confrontation with the authorities. Preparations took place largely in secret and it is clear that the police were unaware of the students' plans.

Over a dozen assembly points were chosen at various schools around Soweto. Each school had a set time of departure to march to Orlando West. In this way, the student leaders hoped that, each time the police received a report that one group of students was marching, another group would start out before the police could react. The police would be too stretched to respond adequately and would probably be confused by all the dispersed activity. This would give the students time to gather *en masse* at Orlando West and march to Orlando Stadium for a mass rally.

The leaders of the original march came mainly from two high schools, Naledi High and Morris Isaacson in Mofolo. Historian Sfiso Ndlovo argues, however, that the main centre of organisational activity was Phefeni Junior Secondary, close to Vilakazi Street in Orlando. Phefeni was certainly close to the railway station, where many students got off trains to join the march.

The plan was that students from Naledi High were to march from their area, picking up students from other schools on their way. The Morris Isaacson students were to do the same until the two groups met in Orlando West. They would then all proceed to the Orlando Stadium. Other schools were also part of the original plan, but it is not clear whether or not students at all the schools were fully aware of the planned march.

## The main events

### 16 June – Day One

For many it started as an ordinary school day, since not



Protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at their schools.

everyone knew about the plans of the Action Committee. It was exam-time for the senior students and many were afraid they would fail if they had to write in Afrikaans.

## June 16 Chronology

1976	13 June	The Naledi branch of the SASM holds a meeting attended by representatives of all Soweto schools and decide that protests will be held on June 16 against the use of Afrikaans in education.
1976	17 July	The second day of the Soweto Uprising is marked by uncontrollable fury.
1976	16 August	Pupils at the Alexander Sinton High School and the Belgravia High School boycott classes.
1976	March	Thomas Mofolo High School principal calls in the police to cool the students and force them to accept Afrikaans, and immediately there is a student protest. Some students from, Naledi High School, went there to investigate.
1976	23 August	Tsietsi Mashinini, SSRC president goes into exile.
1976	1 August	Minister allows the first public gathering since 16 June and UBC the end to the burnings and a return to school.
1976	4 August	The students are out in the streets in their school uniforms and, in the first instance, try to persuade the adults not to go to work.
1977	31 August	Mpho Mashinini (Tsietsi's brother) is acquitted on charges under Terrorism Act.
1977	12 September	Steve Biko dies in police detention.
1977	January	Khotso Seathlolo, president of SSRC is shot and wounded in a car chase, and escape to Botswana.
1977	16 June	First anniversary of Soweto Revolt is commemorated.

Shortly before 7 am, students began gathering at the various assembly points. Placards were distributed and student leaders gave the last-minute instructions, emphasising the need for a peaceful, disciplined demonstration.

At 7 am the first contingent moved off. Ten minutes later, another group set out and soon over a dozen columns were marching through Soweto, singing freedom songs, chanting slogans and carrying placards made from torn cardboard boxes and exercise book covers.

The first students stop was at Naledi High. The students were in high spirits. At assembly, the principal gave support to the children and wished them good luck. The first chairperson of the Action Committee, Tepello Motopanyane, addressed them and informed them that the march would be disciplined

and a peaceful.

Students also gathered at Morris Isaacson. Before setting out, they were addressed by Tsietsi Mashinini, one of the leaders of the Action Committee. On the way they passed schools where some children were waiting to join them and others were recruited on the spot. In all, there were 11 columns of students marching towards Orlando West.

Along the way there were some minor brushes with the police, who stopped some of the school groups and dispersed them. Most of the students from these groups caught up with the marchers later, and several thousand students converged near Orlando West Junior Secondary School. It is hard to determine how many students there were at this point, as estimates range from 1 000 to 10 000. The atmosphere

was tense and expectant, but the students continued to sing.

Shortly before 9 am, Tsietsi Mashinini, a senior student and one of the leaders, was helped onto a tractor to address the marchers:

'Brothers and sisters, I appeal to you — keep calm and cool. We have just received a report that the police are coming. Don't taunt them - don't do anything to them. Be cool and calm. We are not fighting.'

It was a tense moment for both the police and the students. Police reports stated that the situation was explosive and they retreated to await further reinforcements. The students carried on marching. At 9.30 they reached what is now Hector Peterson Square, close to Orlando High School. Here the march came to a halt again.

While hundreds of demonstrators were still marching into Orlando, several police vans and cars drove up to face the main crowd. About 50 policemen emerged from the vehicles and spread out in an arc, facing the pupils. Despite the tense atmosphere, the huge crowd of young people remained calm and orderly. The pupils were singing the national anthem in Sotho, *Morena Boloka Sechaba sa heso* ('God Save our Nation').

Suddenly, a white policeman lobbed a tear-gas canister into the front of the crowd. Students ran to escape the smoke, dazed and coughing. The crowd retreated slightly, moving out of range of the smoke but still facing the police, waving placards and singing.

A policeman drew his revolver. Black



Marching kids (Bailey's African History Archives) ©

## Billy Lesedi Masetlha (1954 - )



Masetlha cut his political teeth within the BCM in the 1970's. He joined the SASM and was elected to its executive committee as secretary-general in 1975, the year he joined the ANC's underground political structures. He was a member of the SSRC in the 1976 uprising and was arrested in 1976 for furthering the aims of the banned ANC. He became part of the Pretoria 12 Trial and served several sentences under the Internal Security Act.

He left the country in 1979 and underwent training in Angola. In 1985 Masetlha was deployed to Lusaka, Zambia, in 1985, working within the ANC intelligence structures. During the multiparty talks he was made part of the working group that dealt with the integration of the ANC and the apartheid secret services.

He was appointed the head of SASS under president Nelson Mandela.

In 1999 Mbeki appointed him director-general of home affairs. Masetlha later became Mbeki's special adviser on intelligence. In 2005 he was appointed head of the NIA.

journalists standing by the police heard a shout: 'Look at him! He's going to shoot at the kids!' A single shot rang out.

There was a split second's silence, then pandemonium broke loose. Children screamed and ran in all directions. More shots were fired. At least four students fell. A journalist described the events:

'I remember looking at the children in their school uniforms and wondering how long they could stand up to the police. Suddenly a small boy dropped to the ground next to me ...They were shooting into the crowd. More children fell. There seemed to be no plan.'

The police were shooting at the fleeing children, who retaliated by throwing stones. While some carried the wounded away, others darted out and threw bricks, stones and bottles. More shots rang out. More children fell. The shooting continued and more stones were thrown.

One young student who was standing near the front of the crowd described how, as the police arrived, the students had given peace-signs and shouted 'Peace!' After the first shots were fired, the front ranks, mostly young girls, picked up bricks, stones and bottles and pelted the police.

Within minutes, a well-ordered demonstration had turned into a riot. The firing continued but the crowd still advanced, pelting the police with anything

that came to hand. More children fell. A journalist commented: 'What frightened me more than anything was the attitude of the children. Many seemed oblivious of the danger. They continued running towards the police, dodging and ducking.'

Sophie Tema, a Black journalist on *The World*, described how, out of the dust and chaos, she saw a group of children emerge after the first burst of shooting, carrying a boy called Hector Peterson, aged 13, who was covered in blood. He was rushed to a clinic in Tema's car, but he was dead on arrival. Photographs of this scene were published throughout the world, and the victim became a symbol of the massacre in Soweto.

Despite their weapons, the police were on the point of being overwhelmed. They retreated towards Orlando East, pursued by a furious crowd. As the police retreated, the students began to count the casualties:

at least two dead and over a dozen wounded. Teachers from nearby schools, taxi drivers and journalists who were on the scene were called on to transport the injured to hospital. Armed with makeshift implements, others began to block the roads to prevent police vehicles from

returning.

Large numbers of students were still arriving at Orlando West. News of the shooting spread quickly. Barricades were thrown across roads and students armed with sticks and bits of metal and wood stood behind them, awaiting an attack by the police.

The police unit involved in the first shootings had come from the nearby Orlando Police Station, which usually has a complement of about 100 uniformed and CID officers. They retreated across the Klipspruit River,

blocked off the road with their vehicles and called for reinforcements.

A second contingent, hurriedly rushed to the conflict area, was unprepared to face thousands of

angry demonstrators. Its members joined the others at the Klipspruit River roadblock and awaited further assistance.

An operational headquarters was set up at Orlando Police Station. Ammunition

## Thenjiwe Mtintso (1949 - )



As an activist in the BCM and close associate of Steve Biko, Mtintso was expelled from the university for political activities. She then was subjected to several detentions and banning orders during the 70s while working as a political organizer and as a journalist for the Daily Dispatch. After being severely tortured by the South African police, she went into political exile in 1978. In 1992, Mtintso returned to South Africa to participate in the negotiation process under CODESA, and sat on the TEC. In 1994 she was elected to Parliament, and in 1997 was appointed Chairperson on the Commission on Gender Equality. In April 1998, she accepted the position of ANC's Deputy Secretary General, where she focused on reforming South Africa's defense forces. A SACP Central Committee member and one of the country's foremost gender activists, Mtintso has defied the odds to become the only woman in the ANC's uppermost structure.

and rifles were flown in by helicopter. Throughout the rest of the morning, the police maintained their positions. Reinforcements were moved in quickly and, by midday, a force of several hundred had assembled at the Orlando Police Station.

After the first shooting, the students fled in different directions. Anger at the senseless killings inspired retaliatory action. Offices of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) were burnt to the ground and their vehicles were overturned and set alight. A white WRAB official was dragged out of his car and beaten to death. Liquor stores were burned and looted.

Other encounters with the police took

Sister Joseph allowed us to go home because now it was chaos around. So when we went home we could see that now cars were burning, especially the company cars, those from town, those owned by whites.'

As students were let out of school, they joined the protests that were closest to them. Some accounts describe the events of the afternoon as chaotic, a free-for-all, especially since bottle-stores and beer-halls were raided and looted. The apartheid press certainly tried to portray it this way. It was clear that the events of the afternoon were not organised and that an atmosphere of panic and defiance prevailed. However, others argue that the students

license and chaos in the looting of bottle-stores. Many students came home with liquor and a lot of people enjoyed the results of the plunder. There were probably mixed motives for the raids on bottle-stores, but the children had long seen alcohol as a means of social control, used by the apartheid government to make Black people apathetic. The municipality had built most of the beer-halls, which was enough reason for the students to regard them as legitimate targets. Their slogan was 'Less liquor, better education!'

At 1:30 pm, two army helicopters began swooping over the students' stronghold in Orlando West, dropping tear-gas. Police reinforcements arrived. Although they numbered no more than 150 to 200 men, the two riot squad units (one from Pretoria and the other from Johannesburg) appeared to be well briefed and equipped. Dressed in camouflage uniforms, they were armed with automatic rifles, hand machine carbines and machine-guns. By mid-afternoon, the police had succeeded in moving back into Orlando West. In Jabavu, the riot squad had swept through the area near Morris Isaacson School.

The demonstrators had already spread into other areas. To the west of Phefeni station, a number of buildings were burnt, including the Urban Bantu Council offices in Dube. Burnt-out vehicles were strewn across the roads, reducing police mobility. A police spokesman said that 36 vehicles were gutted.

The police now started to shoot indiscriminately, mowing down a number of teenagers and bystanders. Hundreds of youths were killed. Peter Magubane stated that: "I was personally nearly shot down when I started taking photographs of police and the smouldering buildings. At the Dube office and Bank, my camera was taken by the police and the film destroyed".

Towards evening, workers arriving home to find a desperate situation. They heard of the horrors of the day's events and many of them joined the students. The attacks on buildings escalated. Between 5 and 8 pm, the



Soweto. June 1976.  
Students and military exchange views on life, politics, and education.  
(Photograph by Alf Kumalo) ©

place and more students were killed, especially in the vicinity of Regina Mundi Church in Orlando and the Esso garage in Chiawelo. When the students were stopped by the police in one area, they moved their protest action to other areas.

By the end of the day, most of Soweto, including Diepkloof, which was relatively quiet during the morning, had felt the impact of the protest. Schools were closed at about 12:00 and many students walked out of school to a township on fire. Here is part of a personal account:

'It was past twelve, past twelve to one.

attacked targets for political reasons and were disciplined in who and what they attacked.

A white university student who was sympathetic to the students' cause was actually taken to safety by the schoolchildren themselves. It was, overwhelmingly, WRAB structures and cars that were razed. One Black-owned business was attacked, the shop of Richard Maponya, but this was deliberate. Maponya was a wealthy businessman who was generally despised because 'he exploits us and is a sell-out'.

There probably was an element of

police received reports of 20 buildings set ablaze. As darkness fell, the army helicopters that had guided police operations throughout the day were grounded. The police were unable to get an overall picture of events and were particularly ineffective where there was no street lighting. Large convoys of police moved through Soweto, firing into crowds in the dark, and were pelted with stones and bottles in return.

Fires continued blazing late into the

Soweto to guard the Orlando Power Station. Heavily armed police guarded the railway stations. Reinforcements were sent to police stations elsewhere in Soweto, some of which had been besieged for several hours.

### 17 June – Day Two

'The second day... was marked by uncontrollable fury and burning hostility...Police also



night and there was fierce fighting. According to official figures, 23 people were killed, but other sources estimated that that there were at least 200 deaths. It is hard to know how many people died as the authorities covered up the numbers.

At 21:00, armoured police personnel carriers, later known as 'hippos', started moving into Soweto. These vehicles, initially designed to withstand land-mine blasts and used in war zones in Namibia and Zimbabwe, were to become important features of urban 'riot control'.

Police reinforcements continued to pour into Soweto. At 21:30, 14 hippos arrived. The army was placed on the alert and an army detachment moved

assumed another attitude. They shot at random, and at anyone who would raise a fist and shout "Power", into their face.' Many others joined the original protesters. Not everyone had heard about Hector Peterson and the others who were killed, but the word was spreading.

'The following day I pick up stones. I joined the struggle.... On the 16th I just came home and stayed... because we formed the slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all". So we were supposed to be there.'

## Hector Zolile Peterson

(1963 – 1976)



One of the youngest killed in the Soweto uprising of 1976. A newspaper photographer (taken by Sam Nzima) of Peterson's body being carried away from the killing grounds came to symbolise the wider tragedy, indeed the liberation struggle itself. A postmortem revealed that was killed by a short fired directly at him and by a bullet 'ricocheting off the ground' as police claimed. For years, June 16 stood as a symbol of resistance to the brutality of the apartheid government. Today, it is known as National Youth Day - a day on which South Africans honour young people and bring attention to their needs.

- Solomon Marikele, Rhulane Senior Primary

The heavily-biased Cilliers Report sums up the events of the day. Schools, trains, buses, delivery vehicles, West Rand Administrative Buildings (WRAB) buildings, cars of business people, all were targeted. The fury and frustration that had been simmering amongst township youth had free reign. There was an enormous police presence in Soweto on the morning of



17 June. 1500 police, armed with sten guns, automatic rifles and hand machine carbines had taken up strategic positions in the township. Helicopters flew overhead. The army was on standby.

The police force had never developed any methods of crowd-control other than the use of live bullets. Policemen fired indiscriminately and casualties were even higher than the day before. The violent reaction of the police enraged the students still more.

At a press conference, Manie Mulder, the chairman of the West Rand Administrative Board (WRAB), announced that nearly all the WRAB buildings in Soweto had been destroyed. 21 offices and 3 schools were burnt down. 10 were plundered, as were an unknown numbers of municipal halls, beer-halls and bottle-stores.

To add to all this, 300 predominantly white Wits students marched through the city centre to protest the killing of schoolchildren. As they marched through the streets they were joined by crowds of Black workers. The currency lost value overnight. Thousands of workers refused to go to work. It was indeed a crisis for the apartheid government, and a serious loss of face in the light of the impending visit to South Africa of US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger.

At this point, the political leadership of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), SASM and other organisations were desperately trying to take control of the

protest, to channel the anger of the youth and to give the movement political direction. The ANC in exile called for immediate international action and the intensification of economic sanctions.

The protest action also spread to other townships around Soweto. In Thembisa, students organised a solidarity march, which, although heavily guarded, did not result in violence.



Singing students march on the campus of the University of the Western Cape while armed policemen walk ahead.

In Kagiso, police tried to stop a gathering of students and adults; the result was a forced retreat and the destruction of WRAB buildings, vehicles and schools. When the police returned with reinforcements, they shot indiscriminately into the crowd, killing at least five people.



Soweto 1976 (©)

## 18 June – Day Three

On the third day, the situation in Soweto was still volatile. There were some fatalities outside butchery in Moroka. Fires were blazing in the Soweto townships of Zola, Ikwezi, Moletsane, Naledi and Tladi. Administration buildings, bottle-stores and beer-halls continued to be set on fire by the young people. Buses and cars were burnt. Clashed continued between students and heavily-armed police. The students used stones to counter armoured cars, helicopters and guns. There were some reports of students seizing weapons from police and using them to shoot back.

At about 10 am the chairman of WRAB, Manie Mulder, went to Soweto to assess the situation. He was escorted by a large police contingent. All the WRAB-owned cars that had not been burnt were removed from Soweto.

In general, the action had moved to the East and West Rand and Alexandra townships, as well as to other parts of the country, where people identified strongly with the Soweto protesters. A general stay-away was organised in Alexandra Township and four people were killed when the police opened fire on marching residents. The government issued its first public statements about the recent events, justifying the harsh measures taken by the police.

### The aftermath of the Uprising

Because of continued police action against students, intimidation on the part of the students themselves and the almost complete loss of parental control over children,

African education ground to a halt in two main trouble spots: Soweto and the Cape Town townships.

The revolt spread t h r o u g h o u t the country. In Limpopo, those who left the townships in order to evade arrest began to influence events over things and a new era of enlightenment engulfed the region, as they carried on with what they started in Soweto and wanted the locals to rally around them in support of the Soweto Uprising.

In areas such as Eastern Province and KwaZulu-Natal, things started slowly and then gained momentum. The explosion that started in Soweto was heard in every part of South African and throughout the world. Afterwards, the days passed in a fevered rush of demonstrations and shootings, arson and sabotage, strikes, boycotts and funerals of riot squad victims.

Towards the end of September, heavy raids and numerous arrests signalled the start of a counter-offensive by the police, which ran on into early October. In the Western Cape, Coloured students resumed their boycott of classes, while African students launched a campaign against liquor and the shebeens, beginning on 11 October. A few days





## Murphy Morobe

(1956 -)

In 1972 Morobe joined the SASM because he saw unity and community development as important. The following year members of the SASM were detained, and it became quite weak. In 1974 he helped with the reorganisation of SASM, and was elected treasurer. In 1976 SASM was to play an important role in the Soweto Uprising, and it was the first time that Morobe took part in a demonstration. In August 1976 the SSRC and Morobe was appointed deputy Chairman.

The group played a role in organising campaigns and protests, and almost all Soweto schools were involved in the SSRC. In December 1976 Morobe was arrested and sent to Robben Island. He was released in May 1982 and he then joined COSAS. He was also the founding member of the UDF.

Between 1994 and 2004 he headed various organisation, until appointed as the head of communication in the office of the president in 2005.



later, the SSRC (Soweto Students' Representative Council) made an appeal for a period of mourning until the end of the year. It was to be marked by the closure of shebeens and cancellation of parties, sporting events and Christmas festivities in solidarity with those who had been killed or detained for taking part in the strikes. It was accompanied and reinforced by some of the largest funerals yet held; these served as political rallies, organised so as to circumvent the ban on public gatherings.

By late October thousands of young Blacks had left the country and taken refuge in neighbouring states. Most were motivated by the desire to acquire arms and training so they could return and continue the fight more effectively. The return of some of them, and of others, who had left before June 1976, became evident in a wave of sabotage incidents. Preparations intensified for guerilla warfare within the country.

Events in the first week of November showed that a boycott of examinations was within the capacity of the student movement, but a five-day stay-away was not, as parents organised it in support of the students. By the middle of the month, the level of mass activity had fallen lower than at any time since mid-July.

Student action against Black collaborators flared up again in Guguletu at the end of the month,

triggering off intermittent clashes in which the police sought to turn migrant workers against the young people and residents of the Cape Town townships. This reached a fierce and bloody climax over the Christmas weekend.

Meanwhile, in Soweto, a boycott of white-owned shops was widely supported and the SSRC's call for mourning instead of celebrations proved generally effective. Apparently, the predominant attitude amongst

scholars was that they were not interested in continuing their education under the present system, and that the attainment of their political goals was now far more important than furthering their education. Schools remained empty, numerous schools and classrooms were burnt down and very few candidates wrote their final examination.

# Glossary

- Liberation** - The violent or non-violent act of transforming an unjust social system. It was used to describe anti-colonial and socialist movements for change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In South Africa it is used to describe those organisations that took up arms to overthrow the apartheid regime.
- Uprising** - A limited popular revolt against an unpopular constituted government.
- Struggle** - To strive in opposition: battle, combat, contend, duel, fight, and war
- Abantu / Bantu** - is a Nguni word for people. It is the plural of the word 'umuntu', meaning 'person'.
- Segregation** - A policy of discrimination against people based on their race, caste, and creed. In South Africa, it was the official state policy of subsequent White dominated government between 1910 and 1994.
- Apartheid** - Afrikaans word meaning apartness, which became the policy of the National Party government in 1948 and, which called for the total segregation of Black people and extension of racially and ethnically based self-governing territories or Bantustans and councils for Coloured and Indian people.
- State of Emergency** - The suspension of all civil liberties by the government in order to deal with political unrests or natural disasters.



## Tsietsi Mashinini (1957 – 1990)

In 1971 Mashinini became a student at Morris Isaacson High. His English and History teacher was, Abram Onkgopotse Ramothibi Tiro who was expelled from the University of the North (Turfloop) for his political activities. Tiro had great influence in shaping Mashinini's political thinking and subsequent adherence to the ideology and philosophy of Black Consciousness. Mashinini was elected chairperson of the Action Committee. The Action Committee was later renamed SSRC, with Mashinini as its first president until was succeeded by Khotso Seatlholo from Naledi High. Mashinini became the leader of the 16 June 1976 Soweto Uprising and in the process he became enemy number one of the state. He eluded police arrest until he left the country for Botswana in August 1976.

# Classroom activities

## Questions

Learning Outcomes: Synthesise information about the past and develop, sustain and defend an independent line of historical argument. Communicate and present information reliably and accurately verbally.

1. Why did the youth of 1976 objected to the government's new education system?
2. Name five heroes of the struggle and why do you think were crucial to the struggle?
3. What were the defining moments of the Soweto Uprisings?
4. Do you think the youth of '76 country deserve to be honoured and if yes, in what way?
5. What was the role of the liberation organisation in the Soweto Uprisings?
6. Do you believe the government has done enough to conscientise the youth of today about the Soweto Uprisings or the day has been turned into a political event with no meaning?



# **Samora Machel**

## **Mysterious Death of a Revolutionary - 1986**

### **Introduction**

The revolutionary leader of the Mozambique liberation movement FRELIMO and first Mozambican president, Samora Moises Machel was killed in plane crash on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1986. The death of the president and thirty three members of his party and crew members of the Russian built Tupolev TU 134A send shockwaves throughout the world.

The crash happened at the time when the Mozambique government was in the midst of an armed attack by the South African and Rhodesian government backed rebel group the National Resistance Movement in Mozambique (RENAMO). There was also a mounting tension between South Africa, Mozambique and Malawi. The Mozambican chief of staff accused president Hastings Kamuzu Banda Malawi of setting up base for RENAMO in its territory and issuing the rebels with travel documents.

Given that the plane, which was returning from a Summit of African leaders held in Zambia and crashed on South African territory raised questions about the possibilities of the involvements of the apartheid government.

The president's plane crashed on the Lebombo mountains near Mbuzini in Nelspruit eastern Transvaal (now Mpumalanga). Of thirty-four people on board only nine survived the crash. The crash site was in an area where the South African border connect with Swaziland and Mozambican borders. After the crash the commission made up of representatives from South Africa, Mozambique and Soviet Union was instituted to establish the cause of the crash. Many possible reasons ranging from the mechanical fault to bad weather conditions were put forward as

the cause of the crash. However the investigations failed to pin point the precise course of the crash. The new democratic South African government and the Mozambique government have called for a new inquiry to determine the real course of the killing of president Machel and members of his party.

### **Events leading to the Aircrash**

A month prior to the crash an angry Mozambican president Machel issued his Malawian counterpart with an ultimatum to stop his support for RENAMO and threatened to seal off its borders with Malawi. On 7 October 1986 after six South African soldiers died in a landmine explosion on Mozambican border, the SA minister of Defence Magnus Malan threatened Mozambican leader personally when he stated, "he (Machel) will clash head-on with South Africa". The two countries got embroiled in a bitter verbal exchange. Two weeks before the crash the South African government accused Machel of having revived his support to the banned African National Congress (ANC) and its guerilla forces.

On 18 October, Carlos Cardoso director of Mozambican news agency Agência de Informação de Moçambique (AIM) received an anonymous message informing him that the president (Machel) had died. The message was very bizarre as Machel was preparing to leave for Zambia. On the same day before leaving for Zambia he convened a meeting with journalist, FRELIMO leadership and military officers. Machel announced that he had received information that the South Africans wanted to eliminate him. He gave instructions to his cabinet and party what had to be done if he failed to return.

## Events itself - The plane crash

On Sunday night, 19 October 1986, the Mozambique presidential aircraft Tupolev Tu-134 turned towards the South African border in response to signals from a VOR (Very high frequency omnidirectional radio), which was emanating not from Maputo, but from the crashed site on the Lebombo mountain near Mbuluzi, Nelspruit.

The South African police arrived on the crash site four and a half hours after the crash, and it was alleged that they initially ignored the death and wounded people and instead started collecting the documents, papers scattered around the scene and the victims' valuable personal items and cash. Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Mr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, who arrived later, conceded that documents had been removed from the scene for copying.

Mozambique was only informed about the incident nine hours after it had happened.

## Survivors Accounts

Vladimir Novosselov, the member of the Soviet crew, disputed the view that the crash was an accident. He maintained that the Soviet crew of the presidential plane was highly experienced. "The pilot, Yuri Novodran, had been flying for 25 years. The

other crew members co-pilot Igor Kartamichev, navigator Andrei Kudriachov and radio operator Anatoli Choulipov - were also very experienced." "At about six o'clock in the evening, the President came to Lusaka. The plane gained the necessary height and headed towards Maputo. When we were flying over Zambia the altimeter showed 11,400 meters. When we crossed the Mozambican frontier the Tupolev descended to 10,600 meters. Novodran ordered contact to be made with Maputo airport requesting authorisation to land.

The airport services granted the request. Weather conditions were favorable for the flight. Maputo was ahead and to the left of the pilots. To the right and very close was the Mozambique-South African border. We were gradually descending. The altitude was 5,200 meters. Then we dropped to 3,000 meters. We were 113 kilometers away from Maputo. Novodran switched off the autopilot and took over the manual controls. He was an excellent pilot. Even navigator Kudriachov and radio operator Choulipov, who have spent around 14,000 hours in the air, did not know a more experienced captain than Novodran. We descended to less than a thousand meters. The last thing I remember was that the altimeter was reading 970 meters, after that nothing."

Another survivor of the crash was Machel's bodyguard Fernando Maniel João. Who was lucky to survive and had the least serious injuries. At midnight he managed to contact the Komatipoort police from the phone of a missionpost. In he requested the





## Chronology

1933	29 September	Samora Moises Machel is born in the village of Chilembene, Mozambique
1962		Machel joins Mozambique liberation movement Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO)
1963		Machel receives military training somewhere else in Africa
1964		Machel returns to Mozambique to lead FRELIMO first guerilla attacks against Portuguese in northern Mozambique
1969		Machel replaces Eduardo Mondlane as the president of FRELIMO.
1975	25 June	Machel becomes first president of the independent Mozambique
1975	7 September	Machel marries his second wife Graca
1984	16 March	Machel signs Nkomati Accord with his South African counterpart P.W. Botha.
1986	18 October	Machel convenes a meeting with journalists, FRELIMO leadership and military officers before leaving for Zambia.
1986	19 October	Machel dies in a presidential aircraft Tupolev TU 134A plane crash in South Africa.
1986	6 November	Joaquim Chissano replaces Machel as the president of Mozambique
1998	4 June	South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) commences with its investigations of Machel's death
2006	9 February	South Africa minister of safety and security Charles Nqakula reports to the parliament that investigations into Machel's death would be resumed.

Komatipoort police to contact Mozambique and inform them of the crash, but in fact the Mozambican government was only officially informed of the disaster by the SA authorities at 6.50 the following day.

Another survivor Almeida Pedro said that the SA police appeared on the scene of the crash at about 2.00 in the morning of Monday 20 October (four and a half hrs after the crash). The police “didn’t go to the aid of the people who were crying out. There were people who died for lack of assistance” and Mr. Pedro said he saw “all of them collecting papers, diplomatic bags, dollars. They took lots of things.” This was confirmed by Mr. João: “The South Africans were not at all concerned with the lives of the wounded. They were just messing around with the other things there”. He said he became angry with the South Africans for “refusing to take the wounded to hospital”. He spoke with a police inspector who finally ordered helicopters and medical staff to come and take the injured to the hospital in Nelspruit. The first of the injured arrived at Nelspruit at 8.00 am, almost 11 hours after the crash.

## Aftermath

### Inquiries into the crash

South Africa’s reaction to the crash was very slow and suspicious. The South African officials relayed wrong information to the Mozambican authorities. It took them nine hours to report the incident in spite of Mozambique minister of security reported the plane missing. When news of the crash were communicated to Mozambique, it was reported that the crash had taken place in Natal, some 200 kilometers away from the actual site of the accident.

Few days after the crash Mozambique and South Africa agreed to the establishment of the International Commission of Inquiry (ICI) with the participation of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and according to ICAO procedures. According to the ICAO (also known as the Chicago Convention), the procedures dictated that South Africa should front the investigations process by virtue of being the state where the crash occurred. The procedures also dictated the inclusion of Mozambique as the owner of the aircraft and Soviet Union as the manufacture. In compliance with the procedural provision, the South African government thus instituted the Margo Commission under the chairmanship of Justice Cecil Margo to conduct investigations. The Morgan commission sat and heard evidence at the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg from January 20 to 28 1987. However Mozambique and the Soviet Union withdrew their investigations from the commissions, accusing the South Africa government for not treating them as equal partners in the investigations.

The investigations were stalled for several weeks as a result of General Lothar Neethling’s refusal to make the cockpit voice recorder available to the commission (the black box) he had seized at the scene of the crash available to the investigating team. Colonel Des Lynch, who headed the police investigation, told the Commission that it took a letter from a lawyer to persuade Neethling to release the box to the investigators. Based on the evidence gathered from the black box, the Margo Commission concluded that the aircraft was airworthy and fully serviced and that there was no evidence of sabotage or external forces involved. However it pointed finger of accusations at the Soviet Crew, claiming that the plane had locked on another VOR (Very high frequency omnidirectional radio), which they had mistaken for Maputo.

*“It Unanimously determined that the cause of the accident was that the flight crew failed to follow procedural requirements for an instrument let-down approach, but continued to descend under visual flight rules in darkness and some cloud without having contact with the minimum safe altitude and minimum assigned altitude, and in addition ignored the Ground Warning Proximity alarm”.*



## Samora Machel

1933-1986

Samora Machel was born in 1933 and was raised in the village of Chilembene.

He began his first political activities in a hospital where he protested the fact that black nurses were paid less than whites doing the same job. In 1962 Machel joined the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), as it was called, and dedicated to creating an independent Mozambique. In 1963 Samora Machel left Mozambique and traveled to several other African nations where he received military training. In 1964 he returned to Mozambique and led FRELIMO’s first guerilla attack against the Portuguese.

By 1970 Samora Machel became commander and chief of the Frelimo army. He believed in guerilla war and Frelimo’s army established itself among Mozambique’s peasantry. The new revolutionary government, led by Machel, took over on June 25, 1975. Machel became independent Mozambique’s first president and was affectionately referred to as “President Samora.”

He supported and allowed revolutionaries fighting white minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa to operate within Mozambique. Unhappily for Mozambique, Samora Machel was killed in an airplane crash October 20 in 1986.

## The Soviet Union report

The Soviet Union report countered the Margo Commission by issuing its own report. It indicted South Africa for undermining its expertise and experience. The Soviet report focused on the 37 degrees’ right turn that led the plane into the hills of Mbuzini. It rejected the finding of the Margo Commission, saying that the crew had read the ground proximity warning as false since they believed themselves to be in flat terrain as they approached landing. It strengthened the suspicion of the involvement of South Africa security

forces and that the plane was deliberately diverted by a false navigational beacon signal, using a technology provided by Israel intelligence agents.

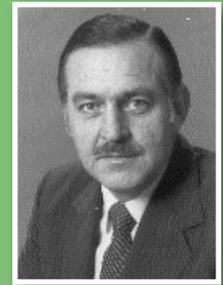
## Mozambique Medical Commission

Mozambique conducted its own medical investigations on victims of the crash. The investigations revealed that there were unknown people who tampered with six bodies of people who died during the crash. The bodies were found to have been cut and stitched up on the side of the neck. The incisions, about seven centimeters long, were made with a sharp instrument on one or other side of the neck along the line of the cleido mastoideo muscle. The affected bodies included those of a Soviet crew member, President Samora's two Cuban doctors, two Mozambican stewardesses and of a functionary of the Mozambican Foreign Ministry. However the investigations failed to determine the precise time at which the cut had been made. It further indicated that the cuts were not the cause of death. The SA Prof. Nel strengthened the theory that the cuts had been made to collect blood samples, but declared also that it was not normal procedure

## TRC special investigation.

Following the demise of the Apartheid regime in 1994, the newly elected democratic government opened anew probes into the death of the former Mozambican president Samora Machel. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was instituted in 1996 under the chairmanship of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was tasked to further the process. It called everyone suspected of being

## Roelef "Pik" Botha Former Minister of Foreign Affairs



Pik Botha was born on 27 April 1932 in Rustenburg, Transvaal. In 1970 Botha entered politics and on 22 April he won the Wonderboom seat for the NP. In April 1977 he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and in the same year became MP for Westdene.

In July 1985 Botha had to deal with the Klaas de Jonge affair, who was suspected of assisting the ANC against the nationalist government. In 1986 Botha told reporters that SA could be ruled by a Black President in the future, provided agreement was reached on protecting minority rights. He was one of the first government ministers to arrive at the plane crash site, where Samora Machel died. In 1987 he was the Deputy Leader of the NP in the Transvaal. Botha was appointed Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs in 1994. He resigned from this post in May 1996. In 2000 he joined the ANC.

involved in the plane crash and those having close ties with him in Mozambique. Some of the suspects subpoenaed by the TRC were senior government officials and officials attached to the government security institutions.

# Classroom activities

## Questions

Learning Outcome: Learners must be able to investigate and unearth the correct and concealed historical facts.

1. What caused the death of Samora Machel?
2. Where did the Crash occur?
3. Which of the following country was Samora Machel president?
  - Zambia
  - Zimbabwe
  - Mozambique
  - Malawi
4. Where was Mozambique president coming from when his plane crashed? Briefly explain the nature of his visit.
5. Who was SA cabinet minister to appear first on the scene?
6. Who were SA President and foreign minister at the time?
7. Did the death of Machel have a detrimental effect on SA-Mozambique relations?
8. Why did Samora Machel censure Zambian president?
9. How was the commission of inquiry into the death of Samora Machel was constituted?
10. What was the outcome of the investigations?
11. Did investigations make anticipated revelations?
12. Why was Truth and Reconciliation Commission entrusted with responsibilities to investigate further?
13. Have investigations into Machel's death been closed. If no, what is the state of affairs?
14. Do you think the building of the monument, where was Machel died by the SA and Mozambiquean government is the write way to honour him? And why do you say so?



The TRC's investigation did not find conclusive evidence to support either of the earlier reports. Circumstantial evidence collected did, however, question the conclusions reached by the Margo Commission. For example: A police video in the TRC's possession shows South African foreign minister Roelof "Pik" Botha telling journalists at the crash site that President Samora Machel and others killed in the crash were his and President P. W. Botha's "very good friends", and that their deaths were therefore a tragedy for South Africa.

The TRC report concluded that the questions of a false beacon and the absence of a warning from the South African authorities require further investigation by an appropriate structure.

In his state of nation address on 3 February 2006, South Africa's state president Thabo Mbeki announced that there would be commemoration of 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Samora Machel's death. In his parliamentary report the minister of safety and security Charles Nqakula said that South Africa together with its Mozambican counterpart would resume investigations into the death of Samora Machel. "We owe it to the people of Mozambique to ensure the matter is thoroughly investigated." He added: "Discussions are underway for dealing with the matter."



## Andreas Jacobus "Kat" Liebenberg

1938 - 1998

**Former Chief of South African Defence Force**

Andries Jacobus "Kat" Liebenberg was born

in Upington in 1938. In 1955 he obtained his matric certificate and continued to study law degree at the University of Stellenbosch. In 1977 he took over as Officer Commanding 2 Military Area in South West Africa, which at the time was the nerve centre of the main war against Swapo.

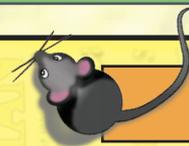
He went on to serve in the apartheid military's main battleground, Namibia, as commanding officer of Ovamboland. In 1980 Liebenberg rose up the military ranks when he became Director of Operations at Army Headquarters. In 1990 his loyalty was awarded when he was appointed Chief of the SADF to replace Jannie Geldenhuys.

In 1993 Liebenberg relinquished his position at the SADF. He was subpoenaed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to account for his involvement in the military operation that claimed 16 civilians life in Kwazulu Natal.



## Glossary

Anonymous	– Unidentified
Concede	– Finally admitting to something
Divert	– Change direction/ distract
Eliminate	– Get rid of
Incision	– Cut made as part of surgical operation
Institute	– To undertake a project or establish a body
Stall	– Putting something on hold till later date/Delay something
Subpoena	– Summon a person to appear before court or to give evidence in investigations



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# The Birth of the New Constitution -1994



## The Birth of the New Constitution –1994

The adoption of the South African Constitution on 8 May 1996 was one of the turning points in the history of the struggle for democracy in this country. The Constitution is considered by many as one of the most advanced in the world, with a Bill of Rights second to none. The South Africa's Constitution was drafted by an all-inclusive constitutive assembly, which had representatives from all the major political parties and liberation organisations. The constitutional assembly sat between May 1994 and October 1996 and it produced the new constitution, which was the embodiment of the vision of generations of anti apartheid freedom fighters and democrats who had fought for the principles of South African belong to all, non-racialism, human rights.

These guiding principles of the new constitutions were first articulated in the ANC's African Claims document of 1943, and the Non-European Unity Movements 10 point program of 1943, and the 1955 Congress Alliance Freedom Charter. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, against which all other laws are judged. The constitutions makes provision of a constitutional court which is the final arbitrator of the interoperation of the constitution, The constitutions makes provisions for the way the country is governed, The establishment of parliament, the election of the president, the creation and government of provinces and local authorities,

### How the constitutions was drafted.

On 2 February 1990, the National Party government unbanned political parties, released many political prisoners and detainees, and unbanned many people, including Nelson Mandela.

On 20 and 21 December the first session of CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) was held. There were 19 political groups at this event. All parties agreed to support the Declaration of Intent, which said that they would begin writing a new Constitution for South Africa.

On 15 May 1992 CODESA 2 met at the World Trade Centre. After three days it was clear that there were many tensions. The ANC and COSATU decided to have a campaign of 'rolling mass action'. The first stayaway was on 16 June. On 17 June people marching in Boipatong were shot and many people were killed. After this the ANC stopped talks.

### The Multi-party Negotiating Process

In March 1993 full negotiations began at the World

Trade Centre. The parties present decided to use the name MPNP - - instead of CODESA. There were twenty-six parties taking part in the MPNP. The MPNP had to write and adopt an interim Constitution to say how the government would govern after the elections on 27 April 1994. The MPNP drew up the Interim Constitution, which was to last for two years. The MPNP also drew up and adopted the 34 Constitutional Principles. These principles would guide the Constitutional Assembly (CA), which had to draw up the final Constitution.

### The Constitutional Principles

All the parties at the MPNP agreed on the 34 Constitutional Principles when they were drawing up the interim Constitution. They agreed that the CA had to follow these principles when it was writing the final Constitution. If the final Constitution didn't follow and include all the Constitutional Principles then the Constitutional



Court would not be able to certify the Constitution. For example, one of the Constitutional Principles was that the final Constitution had to include a Bill of Rights. If it didn't have a Bill of Rights, then the Constitutional Court would not be able to certify it.

### The Constitutional Assembly (CA)

After the elections in 1994 the new Parliament - working as the Constitutional Assembly (CA) - began writing the final Constitution.

After two years, on 8 May 1996, the CA adopted the final Constitution. But this Constitution still had to be certified by the Constitutional Court. This meant that the Constitutional Court had to make sure that the final Constitution followed and included all the 34 Constitutional Principles that the Multi-party Negotiating Process (MPNP) had agreed on.

### The Constitutional Court's first hearing



Nelson Mandela congratulated the new president as he arrived at the inauguration ceremony with his wife Graca Machel. www.news.bbc.co.uk

The Constitutional Court had its first hearing about the Constitution in July 1996. In September the judges of the court said the Constitution did not follow all of the 34 Constitutional Principles and it refused to certify the Constitution. On October 1996, Constitutional Court asked the Constitutional Assembly to make some changes to the Constitution. On 18 October 1996 the final Constitution was passed by Parliament and becomes a law.

Preamble to the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996

*We, the people of South Africa,*

*Recognise the injustices of our past;  
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;  
Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and  
Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.  
We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to*

*Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;*

*Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;*

*Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and*

*Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.*

*May God protect our people.*

*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso.*

*God seën Suid-Afrika. God bless South Africa.*

*Mudzimu fhatutshedza Afurika. Hosi katekisa Afrika.*



**Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa**

(1952-)

In 1972 Ramaphosa registered at the University of Limpopo (Turfloop) for a BProc degree. Ramaphosa became involved in students politics and joined the

SASO in 1972. After the pro-Frelimo rally at the University in 1974, Ramaphosa was detained for 11 months under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. In June 1976, following the unrest in Soweto, Ramaphosa was again detained under Terrorism Act for six months and held at John Vorster square. In March 1986 he was part of COSATU's delegation, which met the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia. In January 1990, Ramaphosa accompanied released ANC political prisoners to Lusaka, Zambia. Ramaphosa served as chairman of the National Reception committee, which co-ordinated arrangements for the release of Nelson Mandela. He was elected General-Secretary of the ANC in a conference held in Durban in July 1991. In May 1994 he was elected chairperson of the New Constitutional Assembly. A position he resigned in May 1996 together with that of General-Secretary of the ANC.

**Some of the members who drew up the South African Constitution**

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Cyril Ramaphosa</i>    | <i>Linda Mti</i>         |
| <i>Leon Wessels</i>       | <i>Gora Ebrahim</i>      |
| <i>Roelf Meyer</i>        | <i>Louisa Zondo</i>      |
| <i>Naledi Pandor</i>      | <i>Dullar Omar</i>       |
| <i>Mac Maharaj</i>        | <i>Zola Skweyiya</i>     |
| <i>Patricia de Lillie</i> | <i>Ebrahim Patel</i>     |
| <i>Joe Slovo</i>          | <i>Sam Shilowa</i>       |
| <i>William Hofmeyr</i>    | <i>Thabo Mbeki</i>       |
| <i>Noël Taft</i>          | <i>Brigitte Mabandla</i> |
| <i>Naledi Pandor</i>      | <i>Valli Moosa</i>       |
| <i>Pravin Gordhan</i>     | <i>Mathews Phosa</i>     |
| <i>Melanie Verwoerd</i>   | <i>Sheila Camerer</i>    |
| <i>Kevin Nkoane</i>       | <i>Colin Englin</i>      |



*Dene Smuts*                      *Mac Maharaj*  
*Constand Viljoen*              *Fanie van der Merwe*  
*Douglas Gibson*                *Halton Cheadle*  
*Neil Coleman*                  *Sandy Liebenberg*  
*John Gomomo*                  *Ignatius Rautenbach*  
*Hassen Ebrahim*

**There have been four Constitutions in South Africa:**

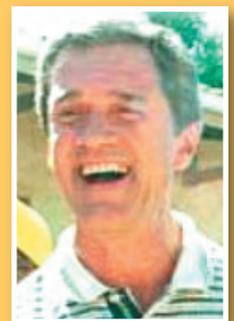
In 1910 Britain decided to withdraw from the government of South Africa and handed the country over to the white residents of South Africa. These people were the British settlers and the Boers. The first Constitution for the Union of South Africa was adopted in 1910. This gave rights to the white minority but took away the right to vote of the majority of South Africans.

In 1960 the white government held a referendum to decide whether South Africa would become a Republic. On 31 May 1961 South Africa was declared a Republic and the government adopted the second Constitution. This also took away the rights of black people.

In 1983 the government passed the third Constitution. This Constitution created the tricameral parliament, which meant

**Roelof Petrus (Roelf) Meyer**

(1947-)



In 1990 Meyer became a Member of Parliament for the NP. His positions included Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Constitutional Development (1986 to 1991) and Minister of Defence, of Communication and of Constitutional Affairs (1991-1996). In May 1992 he formed part of the government delegation at talks with the ANC at Groot Schuur, Cape Town. He was the government's chief negotiator in constitutional negotiations and established an effective working relationship with the ANC's chief negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa. In 1996 Meyer retired as a Member of Parliament and as the Gauteng leader of the National Party. The next year, he co-founded, with former Transkeian leader Bantu Holomisa, of the UDM. Meyer has since retired in active politics and has ventured into business.

there was a separate parliament for the White, Coloured and Indian groups. This Constitution excluded black people and automatically made them citizens of the homeland where they were born. They had no rights outside these homelands.

In 1994, twenty-six parties negotiated and adopted an interim Constitution that gave the vote to everyone. This Constitution lasted for two years. During that time the elected government worked as the Constitutional Assembly and had to draw up a final Constitution.

### State institutions that support constitutional democracy

The Constitution provides 7 government institutions to protect people from abuse by the government. They are referred to as the protection mechanisms. It is their job to make sure that the government does its work properly.

#### Protecting human rights

These institutions are independent and report to Parliament at least once a year. They are:

The Public Protector

South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC)

Commission on Gender Equality (CGE)

The Auditor General

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)

Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (Cultural Commission)

Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA)

The Land Claims Commission has been set up to protect people's land rights under Section 25 of the Bill of Rights.

Land Claims Commission (LCC)

Another truly major challenge was to help the Financial and Fiscal Commission (FFC) — a newly created body and independent organization under the Constitution, establish itself so that it could carry out its function of advising the government on revenue sharing

The Constitution also envisaged that the Republic of South Africa would be one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the following values:

- Human dignity, equality, advancement of human rights and freedoms
- non-racialism and non-sexism



- The Constitution will be supreme
- The rule of law will be supreme
- All adults will be able to vote
- There will be a common voter's roll
- There will be regular elections
- There will be a multi-party system of democratic government to make sure there is accountability and openness.

### What is Democracy?

The word democracy comes from the Greek language. It means “the people rule”. There are different ideas about what democracy means. A short definition is that it is a form of government in which political power belongs to all the people and is practised by them directly or given to elected representatives (Brink, 1995: 67). This means that everybody should have a say in how they are ruled. In most democracies today, people do not have direct political power. Direct power would mean that every single person sat in the government. Instead, there are elections in which everybody can vote for individuals or a political party to represent them in the government. In South Africa, elections are held every five years.

Human rights are also important in a democracy. Every person is equal, and nobody may discriminate against another.

Three golden rules for a democracy are:

There is a voting system;

Citizens have freedom of speech; and Those who break the law get a fair trial.

#### Structure of Government in South Africa

The South African government is divided into three parts: the Executive (the Cabinet), the Legislature (Parliament), and Judiciary (the courts).

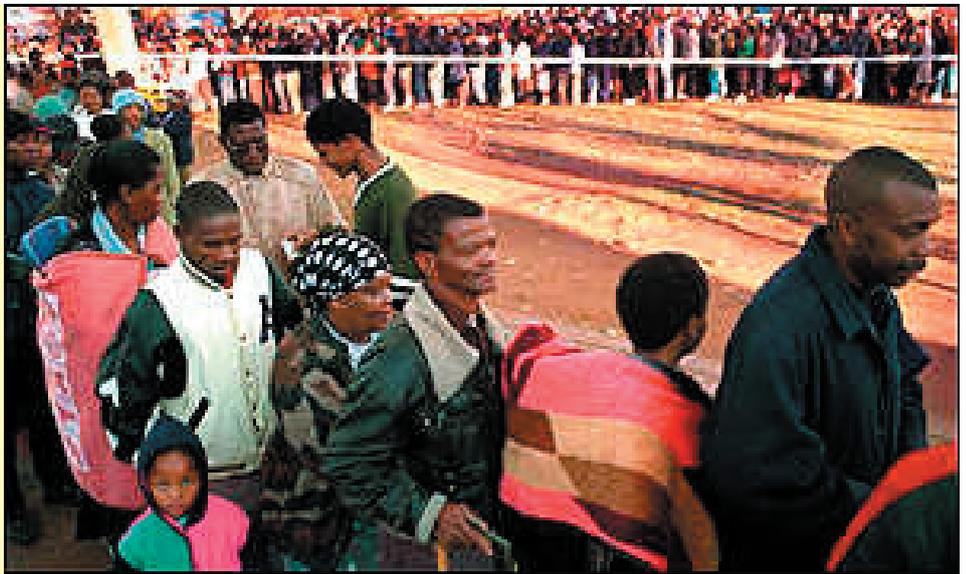
#### The Executive – Cabinet

The Executive is responsible for ruling the country through different departments or ministries. Each department is responsible for a

different issue – for example, there is one for health matters, one for education, and one for sport. The Executive is a committee of all the heads of these departments. This is called the Cabinet

### The legislature - Parliament

To legislate means to ‘make laws’. The legislature, or Parliament is where our elected representatives, the members of Parliament (MPs) meet to discuss matters and decide on new laws. The word Parliament comes from the French word for “to speak”.



Voting day 1994

## Chronology

1955	26 June	Freedom Charter A statement of principles to guide the pro-democracy anti-apartheid movement is drafted, through an ANC convened Congress of the People.
1989	8 Dec	Conference for a Democratic Future A gathering of the Mass Democratic Movement is held to develop a common approach based on the ANC's Harare Declaration for negotiations leading to a new constitution drafted by an elected constituent assembly.
1991	June-Sept	National Peace Accord negotiation Negotiations involving representatives from political parties, business and church associations lead to an agreement signed by 27 political, trade union and government leaders that creates national, regional and local peace structures.
1991-92	Dec - May	Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) Negotiations are held to decide the rules guiding the transition and a new constitution, involving 19 parties and more than 400 negotiators organized in working groups. It starts with an opening plenary (CODESA I) and finishes with a final plenary (CODESA II) that marks the breakdown of the process.
1992	26 Sept.	Record of Understanding The ANC and the NP sign an agreement on the process to negotiate an interim government and interim constitution.
1992-1993	April-Nov	Multi-party Negotiating Process Negotiations involving 26 parties to draft an interim constitution, with administration provided by the Consultative Business Movement.
1994	27 – 29 April	General elections The first non-racial, democratic elections are held for parties to form the transitional government and choose delegates to new parliament and Constitutional Assembly.
1994-1996	May-Oct	Constitutional Assembly and public participation programme 490 members from 7 parties draft a new Constitution with inputs from a massive public participation programme. The final text of the Constitution is adopted 8 May 1996 and an amended text, is approved on 11 October 1996.
1996	10 Dec	Constitution signed into law President Nelson Mandela signs the Constitution into law in Sharpeville. It comes into effect on 4 February 1997.
1996	October	The Constitutional Assembly makes some changes to the Constitution.
1996	18 December	The final Constitution is passed by Parliament and becomes a law.

Parliament is made up of two groups, the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). The National Assembly is made up of all the Members of Parliament (MP's) that got seats in the general elections. There are 350 – 400 MP's in our National Assembly. The head of the National Assembly is called the Speaker. It is the Assembly's job to represent the public and to make sure the democratic laws of the Constitution are kept. They also have to check that the Cabinet does its job and does not go against the Constitution.

The National Council of Provinces (NCOP) is a body that represents the nine provinces in the national government. Every province has ten representatives in the Council. When a province has a suggestion, it asks the Council to put it before Parliament. Then Parliament can decide and vote on the suggestion.

### Judiciary – The Courts

The Judiciary is the court system. This is the part of government that has to make sure that those who do not keep the law are punished. There are different levels of courts. If a case in a low court is appealed, it goes to a higher court. The decision of the higher



election-campaign

court can be different, and can overrule the decision of the lower court. The two highest courts in South Africa are the

Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court of Appeal. The Constitutional Court has the highest say on matters that have to do with the Constitution.

### Political Parties and number of people that participated in drafting of the constitution.

Party	No. of Members	Leader
African National Congress (ANC)	312	Nelson Mandela
National Party (NP)	99	F.W. de Klerk
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	48	Mangosuthu Buthelezi
Freedom Front (FF)	14	Constand Viljoen
Democratic Party (DP)	10	Tony Leon
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	5	Clarence Makwetu
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	2	Kenneth Meshoe

### Classroom activities

Learning Outcome 1 Historical concepts: The learner will be expected to have an informed understanding of key concepts as ways of analysing the past. They will be expected to understand and explain the dynamics of change in the context of power relations operating in societies. They will also be expected to compare and contrast points of view/perspectives of the past and draw their own conclusions based on evidence.

1. What is a Constitution?
2. Why do we need a Constitution?
3. Why was it necessary to have the South African Constitution drafted after the 1994 election?
4. What it is a tricameral parliament?

If Parliament wants to make a new law, the Constitutional Court first has to make sure that it does not go against the constitution. The Supreme Court of Appeal has the highest say in all other court matters. The court system is independent from the rest of government. After an election

Parliament and the Cabinet can change, but the courts might still look the same. In other words, the elections do not influence the Judiciary.

## Glossary

- Cabinet** – is the executive arm of government responsible for the security of the state, budget and the implementations of the policies of the ruling party through the many state departments. It is made up of ministers who head one or more ministries.
- Constituent Assembly** – a constitutional body that is convened to draw the constitution of a country.
- Constitution** - The fundamental law, that defines the character of a country's system of government, it enshrines the basic principles that governs the rights of its citizens and government. The constitution clearly states the structure and responsibility of the government and its relations to its citizens and the judiciary. It describes the organization of the government and the role of parliament and functions of different levels of government departments; and by prescribing the extent and manner of the exercise of its sovereign powers.
- Democracy** - It's a system of government which allows all citizens to elect or be elected through an open and transparent and fair elections to serve in all the different levels of government.
- Governance** - The act of governing a country.
- Judiciary** - is the word used to describe the legal system i.e. the courts of law, the prosecuting authorities and the management of the legal system.
- Legislature, or Parliament** - is the body made up of elected representatives, i.e. members of Parliament (MPs) where laws are tabled and passed and which also acts as an oversight body that monitors the functions of the executive or cabinet and government departments.

## Biographies



### Patricia de Lille (1951-)

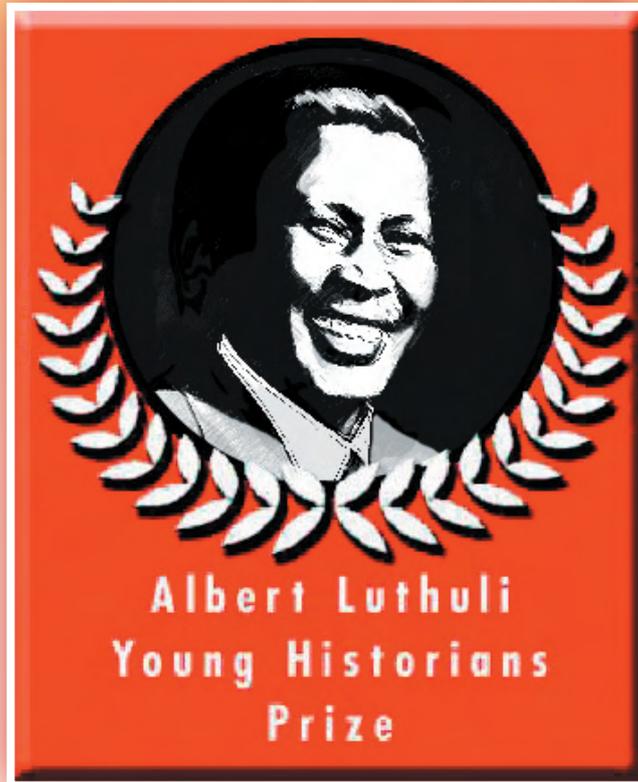
In 1974 she became involved in Trade Union politics and was a member of the SACWU. She started off as a shop steward and soon was SACWU's regional secretary. She then went on to the NEC of SACWU and was also the regional chairperson of the NACTU in the Western Cape. Politically NACTU was to the PAC what the COSATU is to the ANC. In 1989, she was elected into the NEC of the PAM, a wing of the PAC. In 1990 she was appointed as foreign secretary and relief and aid secretary of the party. During the CODESA negotiations, Patricia led the PAC delegation, and was one of the constitution drafters. Between 1994 and 1999, she was the chairperson of the Transport committee and the chief whip for the PAC in parliament. She has recently formed a new opposition party, ID and still holds a seat in parliament.

## Classroom activities

- What is a policy of separate development and how does it constitute to human rights infringements.
- What is it that the new Constitution has brought about in the new South Africa?
- How do you as learner understand the basics fundamental human rights and do you believe what its in the Constitution is being upheld by various bodies that have been established to monitor them?
- What's your take on the death penalty? Do you think it was right by declaring it unconstitutional?



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## DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

### Chief Albert Luthuli Young Historians' Award

The Department of Education, in partnership with South African History Online, is inviting all secondary schools to participate in the Annual National Schools' Oral History Competition that was inaugurated in 2005. The theme for this year's competition will form part of the Department's contribution to the commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Womens March and seven other significant historical events in 2006.

It is also part of the Department's ongoing initiative to encourage all learners to develop an understanding, not only of the broad history of South Africa but also of the richness of the histories of their communities. It is also an opportunity for young learners to gain experience in developing important research skills.

The competition is open to all learners from Grade 10 to Grade 12 and educators in the Further Education and training Band.

#### Competition for Learners

Learners will be required to research and prepare a research essay on one of the following topics:

*A woman (either a parent, teacher or other member of the local community) who has played an important role in transforming education*

or

*An individual/individuals in the local community who participated in the Youth Uprisings of 1976*

#### Chief Albert John Luthuli 1898 - 1967

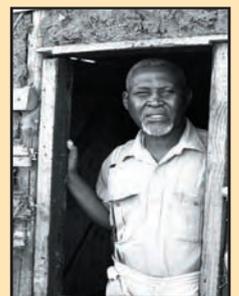
President-General of the ANC from December 1952 until his death in 1967, Christian and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960, Luthuli was the most widely known

and respected African leader

of his era. Over the course of his political career his attitudes grew progressively more militant. His public support for the 1952 Defiance Campaign cost him his chieftainship. In response, Luthuli issued The Road to Freedom is via the Cross, his famous statement of his principles a belief in non-violence, a conviction that apartheid degrades.

He was tried for treason and because of his banning he was unable to

attend the 1955 Congress of the People. A speech of his was however read out to an appreciative multitude. After the 1960 Sharpeville emergency Luthuli publicly burnt his pass in Pretoria as part of a defiance campaign.



or

*An individual in the local community who contributed to the political struggle*

or

*An individual who has made a valuable contribution to the transformation of your community.*

Essays must show evidence of research and reflection. And should give attention to the following:

- It is important that learners base their essays on oral history research.
- They should interview a member or members of the community and should be able to show evidence of the interviews, for example letters to interviewees, transcripts of interviews or tape recordings.
- Learners should make it clear why they chose the person, show a clear understanding of the historical context in which the individual worked
- Learners should include a personal reflection on what they have learnt about the possibilities for individuals to bring about change in society, and what learners have learnt personally about working with this individual and the value of oral history research.

Educators from the FET Band will be required to develop a work plan on doing oral history in the classroom. Educators should include the following:

- How the oral history project was introduced in the classroom;
- What explanation was given to learners about choosing and approaching possible interviewees, preparing for and conducting interviews and using the interview as evidence to reach conclusions about the contribution of that individual;
- What interventions the educator made in assisting learners to complete the project.

### **The National Event**

**Ten** learners from the FET Band from each province will be selected as the *Nkosi Albert Luthuli Young Historians* to represent the province at a national event

at the University of Fort Hare in September 2006. Learners will be expected to give an oral presentation of their research and have a hard copy of their research essay available for adjudicators.

**Two** educators from each province will be selected to the national event at the University of Fort Hare in September 2006. Educators will be expected to present their work plans to a panel of adjudicators.

### **DO RESEARCH IN YOUR OWN COMMUNITY... CONTRIBUTE TO GRASS-ROOTS SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY!**

South Africa has a conflict-ridden history that was taught in a biased way in the past, neglecting the historical and cultural contributions of all our people. There was a focus on political leaders, important White people and broad socio-economic trends (e.g. industrialization, urbanization). We need to critically examine this past and rewrite it with inclusivity - irrespective of race, gender, age, language, class, beliefs and region.

This different approach will create grass-roots history, through the eyes of ordinary people, a 'history from below'. Apart from righting a lopsided history, this will enrich our new democracy, by creating an understanding of ordinary peoples contribution to change.

Recently there has been much work done in getting people tell their stories or had their experiences recorded. Historians have researched early Black communities living in southern Africa before and after the first White settlers arrived. This process of recuperating our history must continue as new information comes to light, because all history is provisional.

Oral history is a great tool to explore the history of the people around us in our local communities. Ask them about their memories of the past, their traditional folklore and their cultural practices. We are rich with this information but its not written down. Instead it has passed from elders to children in the form of story telling, praise songs, incantations or rituals. Unless we use new methods to discover and then record this vital information about our past, it may be lost forever.

This is where the idea of the Chief Albert Luthuli Young Historians Oral History Competition comes in. **YOU** can be involved in filling the gaps on our past and building a new history. Many people played roles in your community in the struggle for freedom, in the political, educational

and civic arena. Much of this has been neglected. You as a learner can be an historian and make the words of our former President Nelson Mandela come true:

“The time will come when our nation will honour the memory of all the sons, the daughters, the mothers, the fathers, and the children who, by their thoughts and deeds, gave us the right to assert with pride that we are South Africans.” Tell us about the lesser-known people who played a role in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

### Getting started

First you need a clear understanding of the scope of oral history and the meaning of some key terms. Information given verbally (oral information) can be used by researchers (that's YOU!) in a number of ways. Here are some ideas to get you started:

#### Reminiscences: Community reaction to or participation in an historical event

A project like this will need background study in a library/on web sites. Did anyone in your local area take part in the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s? Did people in your community send demands to the Congress Of The People in 1955? How did the local people feel about women marching to Pretoria in 1956 and did any of them participate? Did they discuss these issues among themselves in your area? Were there any local meetings about it or any attempts to participate? Or were they content to let others push for freedom on their behalf? What difference has the new democracy made to the local way of life compared to life in the old, pre-democratic era? The answers to all these questions will fascinate you and likely fill gaps in our historical knowledge, but be careful to structure your findings and give them coherence around a particular theme, organisation or person. Avoid ending up with a jumble of disconnected memories.

#### Organise a 'think-tank' - then take a decision on your topic

We suggest that a class discussion to talk about possible people to research – those whom you believe played a role in your local community. If you can't think of a name, ask members of your family, your neighbors or elders. If you have access to the Internet you could go to [www.sahistory.org.za](http://www.sahistory.org.za) and look at the list in our People section or on the Wall of Remembrance and look for anyone from your region, known to people from your school or family. Either way your research must be directed at a definite person. You cannot begin research until you have decided this.

Take a tentative decision on the form of your presentation. Once you have decided what you are going to research,

you are going to need to give some thought to how you plan to present it. You don't have to decide on this immediately, and maybe you will change your mind as the research develops and you collect more information. But you should at least begin thinking about how you could present your findings. For this project you will produce a written document. You and your teacher could surprise everyone with a fresh idea for your presentation, by including old/new photographs, playing a voice recording and field notes (notes that you made while interviewing the person).

### Oral History A Step by Step Guide

You won't be on your own. Information from the SA History Online website will help you. It takes you step-by-step through Research, Planning, Interviewing, Interpretation of material, and presentation and application of your material. An example of some of this is below:

Draw up a basic interview outline covering the main aspects of the information you need. Include the following: Details like the person's name, birth date and place, address, employment, hobbies, marital status and family details. Don't forget to ask them about where they lived long ago and how it was then.

Ask both general and specific, detailed questions. Also, being flexible will mean allowing questions to present themselves in the interview. Read up on the topics you want to cover in the interview, and you'll be more able to adjust your questions in the interview.

Always try to establish where and when events took place. However, let contradictions or vagueness be. Often people don't remember an exact date, but can link it to events around that time which can be traced. Remember, you are directing the process but be flexible enough to let unexpected 'diamonds' surface.

Remember to first create a rapport between yourself and the person or family members you want to interview. Tell them why you are doing the project get them to agree to be interviewed. Once you have done the interview go home and transcribe the interview that is if you are using a tape recorder. Go back to your subject and asked them to read your transcript or essay and invite them to read it and to agreed to the accuracy of the facts, sequence of events. Also us the occasion to ask further questions. Make sure you take a photography of the interviewee and also find out if they have early photographs of themselves or of they friends and comrades that they worked with. Make a copy of the photograph.



Go to [www.sahistory.org.za](http://www.sahistory.org.za)  
For more info

## Creative writing Guideline

### An introduction for teachers

As with most teaching and learning techniques, it is important to stress consistency in the writing process. Establishing a structured approach that is used for every assigned story is one way to create independent writers and ensure generalisation of writing skills. A typical writing process consists of steps. Essentially, it is a method used by teachers to lead learners from random thoughts to a cohesive, written story. The basic writing process consists of five steps: pre-writing, writing, revising, editing, and publishing.

### Pre-writing

This is the “getting ready to write” step. Learners gather and organise ideas for writing. Young learners use drawings or simple words for pre-writing and older learners often use groups of words. In the pre-writing step, the teacher and learners choose a context, consider purpose, audience, and form while they gather and organise ideas for writing.

### Writing (Rough draft)

Writing the rough draft is the step where the learners begin to compile all of the details into cohesive, flowing thoughts. In terms of structure, the story should have a beginning, middle and end. The teacher encourages learners to use transition words from the pre-writing step while varying sentence formats and lengths. Many learners get overwhelmed at this point and worry about spelling and grammar. Continuously remind learners that this is NOT the final paper and mistakes are part of learning.

### Revising

Revising is making decisions about how to improve the writing, e.g. their story or poem. Learners pick places where the writing could be clearer, more interesting, more informative, and more convincing.

This is the time learners add to their writing, re-arrange sentences or words, remove unnecessary parts of their stories, or replace words to help others understand the story.

The revising step may include peer and/or teacher suggestions. During a peer revising activity, the teacher provides a list of questions and instructions that is both general (e.g., opinion of the story) and specific (e.g., identifying context sentence, detail sentences, concluding sentence). The writers use the revision feedback from their partners to make changes or to improve the story. Peer revising and proofing not only assists the writer in seeing ways to make their story better, but also allows the partner to obtain another perspective on the context.

### Editing

Editing involves checking the story for errors in spelling, capitalisation, punctuation, grammar, sentence structure, subject/verb agreement, consistent verb tense, and word usage. The teacher may do all of the editing of the first few stories, and then gradually allow learners to work with a partner to edit. Eventually, learners will be able to recognise their own errors and edit their own stories. After the suggestions from the revising and editing steps are considered, the learner proceeds to the publishing step.

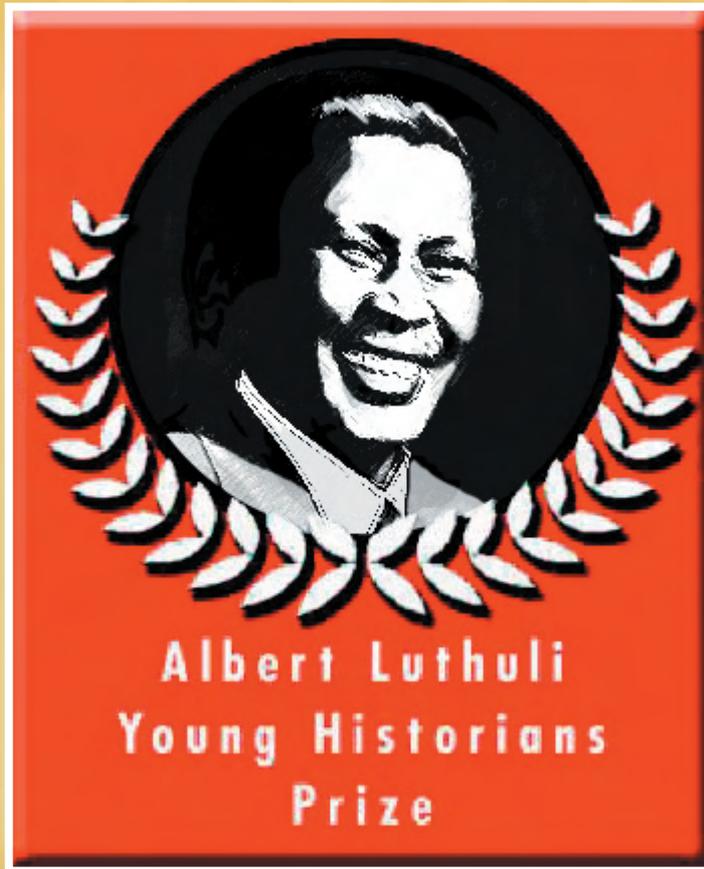
### Presentation

Presentation is the final step of the writing process. Before beginning this step, some learners may need a discussion with the teacher to review corrections and/or to add any final recommendations for improvement.

**Two** educators from each province will be selected to the national event at the University of Fort Hare in September 2006. Educators will be expected to present their work plans to a panel of adjudicators.



# Annual National Oral History Competition



## Honouring the Memory of All

“The task is not finished. South Africa is not yet a home for all her sons and daughters. Such a home we wish to ensure. From the beginning our history has been one of ascending unities, the breaking of tribal, racial and creedal barriers. the past cannot hope to have a life sustained by itself, wrenched from the whole. There remains before us the building of a new land, a home for men who are black, white, and brown, from the ruins of the old narrow groups, a synthesis of the rich cultural strains which we have inherited. There remains to be achieved our integration with the rest of our continent. Somewhere ahead there beckons a civilisation, a culture, which will take its place in the parade of God’s history beside other great human syntheses, Chinese, Egyptian, Jewish, European. It will not necessarily be all black, but it will be African ”

Chief **Albert Luthuli**. *Let My People Go* 1962

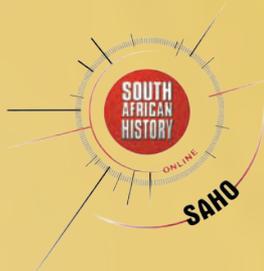
“The time will come when our nation will honour the memory of all the sons, the daughters, the mothers, the fathers, and the children who, by their thoughts and deeds, gave us the right to assert with pride that we are South Africans.”

President **Nelson Mandela**, First address to Parliament, 1994



education

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See page ? for  
more details