

# mayibuyye



bulletin of the A.N.C., South Africa

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LONG LIVE UNIP

WE CONGRATULATE DR. KENNETH KAUNDA'S UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY FOR THE RESOUNDING VICTORY IN THE FIRST POST-INDEPENDENCE GENERAL ELECTIONS HELD ON DECEMBER 19, 1968.

- EDITOR

editorial:

THEY MURDER OUR PEOPLE

Today we address ourselves to those gentlemen inside and outside South Africa who are always quick with advice for the oppressed majority. We address ourselves to those who counsel patience to us; those who counsel non-violence and a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa; those who oppose economic sanctions against the racist regime on the sanctimonious (and dishonest) ground that sanctions would hurt the oppressed people most; those who oppose cultural, sporting, diplomatic, economic and every other form of isolation of the racists on the spurious ground that it is only by more frequent contacts that it is possible to influence and change the fascist-racist mentality. Those who oppose the Revolutionary People's War on the pretext that bloodshed must be avoided.

Gentlemen, we have answered all these false arguments of yours before, many, many times over. We shall not do so today. For today we speak from anger. Those savages who rule South Africa in the name of Western, Christian civilisation have again murdered our people in a calculated manner and in cold-blood and we are very angry. Our blood boils; we are filled with a burning hatred for all that apartheid stands for; we seek vengeance against the perpetrators of the vile apartheid system.

Readers may recall that in several past issues of "Mayibuye" we dealt with the forcible mass removals of thousands of our people from areas they had long settled to the open veld. In Vol.2 No.8 (24/2/68) we dealt with the specific instance of the compulsory movement of 13,000 people from the village of Meran to the flat barren, tree-less stretch of land called Limehill. We have all along opposed such mass removals of people as though they were mere pawns on a chessboard. The racists euphemistically describe such compulsory removals as "resettlement". But this so-called "resettlement" has always been to barren land with no houses, no sanitation, no running water, no schools, no employment, no shops - in fact, nothing. People are merely herded onto trucks and dumped right in the open far from other centres of settlement. We have, together with others, time and again warned that starvation faces the people in these concentration camps and coupled with the unhygienic conditions diseases would soon run rampant.

The fascist government, that standard-bearer of a dying culture, has ignored all protests and gone ahead. To them Black people are worse than animals to be hunted and herded without the least concern for their welfare. Now the worst fears of those who oppose the "resettlement" schemes have been confirmed. In the past 3 weeks 36 people have died of typhoid in the Limehill area. Hundreds of others are ill. According to Father Rodney Nelson of the Roman Catholic Mission, "Hardly a child has not gone down ill. And up to Friday (6/12/68)

not a doctor/.....

not a doctor had arrived to.....treat the children." The situation in Limehill has caused concerned people to begin looking at some of the other "resettlement camps". News is trickling in. The Kuruman mission hospital is unable to cope with all the cases of illness. The position at Sada, Stinkwater, Mnxesha, Weenen, etc. is similar to Limehill and these places are on the verge of a mass epidemic of disease and death. Our people are being killed and what is the reaction of the fascists? Let us quote M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (what a dishonest title!!):-

"We are acting according to certain planning at Limehill and we are going ahead with it. I am not in the least interested in the political campaigns of your newspapers and others, and in that of a bunch of glergymen. And you can tell that to the world." (Sunday Express, 8/12/68).

Our people are dying and this Cabinet Minister says he is "not interested". To him even the death from disease of our people is some kind of "political campaign." This is the voice of the racist White minority regime of South Africa, this the voice of a fascist, this is the voice of mass murderers.

In the immortal words of Comrade 'Che' Guevara "We tremble with indignation." In Cuba, too, under fascist Batista they had resettlement.

"Hunger, misery, illness, epidemics, and death decimated the peasants resettled by the tyranny. Children died for lack of medical attention and food, when a few steps away there were the resources that could have saved their lives." (Guevara "Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War.").

The people of Cuba found an appropriate answer to these and other brutalities of the fascists. We are in the process of finding answers, too, and they are not unlike those of the Cuban people.

Our "advisers" council peace and non-violence. We say to you, gentlemen, stop your idle chatter and your sophistries. The "peace" of the fascist-racists is more violent, more brutal, more murderous than the Revolutionary War we have embarked upon and it is only through this People's War that genuine peace will come to South Africa.

FIVE YEARS OF BANTUSTANS

- Anti-Pass

The fraudulent Bantustan scheme was launched by the racist South African regime in 1963 after many years of preparation. Long before its implementation and ever since then the African National Congress consistently exposed the scheme as a sham and a facade.

Recently (October) the people of the Transkei, the first Bantustan, went to the polls to elect a new legislative assembly. We gave a brief report of the elections in the last issue. In view of the results of these elections and the publicity this has received it is pertinent at this juncture to review the political and economic position in the Transkei in the light of the fascist regimes theories of race. It goes without saying that the oppressed people of South Africa led by the A.N.C. have totally rejected the Bantustan fraud along with all forms of racism. Our express purpose here is to show that the scheme is a total failure even by the racist standards of the White minority regime. It is necessary first of all briefly to examine Bantustan theory.

Bantustan Theory

The ruling Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 on the platform of apartheid or separateness. At that time this was a somewhat vague and nebulous concept designed to cover up naked racism and elevate it to the rarified atmosphere of political philosophy. From time to time long tracts were churned out expanding voluminously on apartheid as being in keeping with "natural law", as being based on the word of God, etc. Examples were (and still are) assiduously sought in any part of the world where there is racial friction to "prove" that the policy of apartheid was the ideal solution.

To satisfy the theorists and purists of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, the intellectual wing of the Nationalist Party, the Tomlinson Commission was set up in 1951 to go into the whole question of separate development with special reference to the geographical separation of the African people into various tribal units. The commission laboured for several years and eventually produced a report which glaringly underlined the deep poverty, utter desolation and eroded barrenness of the reserves to which so many millions of Africans were confined by law and from which only the most able-bodied and strong are allowed to leave to work on the farms, the mines and the towns which the White man regards as his personal and private preserve. Needless to say it is the very poverty of the reserves which compelled this clamour to leave the reserves to seek work at pitiful wages under miserable conditions.

The Tomlinson Report pointed out that if the reserves, comprising only 13% per cent of South Africa were fully developed they would be able to accommodate ten million Africans by 1987 still leaving more than half in the towns and the farms of the Whites. But even such development necessitated the expenditure of £100 million over the next ten years (from 1956). There were other recommendations about the setting up of industries, improvement of agricultural methods, etc. which the racist regime found totally unacceptable. It was all very well to talk about self-governing Bantustans in order to dupe the world and to appear to be "solving the native question"! But to spend such vast sums of money on "kaffirs" was preposterous. The report was quietly shelved.

However in the '60s the ever mounting struggle of the oppressed, the increasing pressure from the international community and pressure from its own intellectuals the government was compelled to show apartheid to be some kind of serious and meaningful doctrine. And so, in 1963 the Bantustan scheme was launched promising self-government and eventual independence to the people of the Transkei.

#### Transkei - the first Bantustan

At no stage were the people of the Transkei consulted as to whether or not they wanted Bantustans though they often expressed their opposition in various forms of protests. A meeting of chiefs was convened in 1962 but even here Sabata Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of the Tembu, the largest group in the Transkei, was not allowed to voice his courageous opposition to Bantustans. The racists apparently thought they knew what was best for the "child-like" Blacks. It must not be forgotten that in theory, at least, it was promised that the Bantustans would eventually become democratically governed, economically viable, independent states.

In practice, despite all the promises of the racists, the Transkei Bantustan was launched under the most inauspicious circumstances, such as:

- (1) The extreme poverty and economic backwardness for there were no plans whatsoever except that White capital would never be allowed in.
- (2) The Emergency Regulations proclaimed in 1960 at the time of the Pondoland uprising and still operative. Under this regulation opponents of the apartheid are still being hounded.
- (3) Out of a total of 109 legislative assembly seats 64 were.

to be/.....

to be filled by chiefs nominated by the central government. These chiefs depended on the racist government not only for their titles but also for their salaries. Only the unusually dedicated would dare to go against the wishes of the Pretoria regime as such opposition almost invariably resulted in the withdrawal of the chieftainship as happened in the case of the late Chief Albert Lutuli.

- (4) The most dedicated and progressive of the people's leaders were either in gaol, in restriction, exiled or banned as was the only mass organisation the A.N.C.

Nevertheless, despite all these restrictions the Transkei electorate voted overwhelmingly for the Transkei Democratic Party (TDP) which stood for a non-racial South Africa and opposed Bantustans. Matanzima's Transkei Independent Party (TNIP) won only 25 per cent of the seats and was only able to form a government with the support of the nominated chiefs.

### Who Governs the Transkei?

"From the point of view of real, legal power which rests solely on the control and exercise of the parliamentary franchise, the ballot papers in a Bantustan election might as effectively be dropped in a well as into a ballot box."

O.D. Schreiner "THE NETTLE".

Despite ~~the face~~ of elections and despite ~~the~~ fact that the Transkei has been granted "departments" of Chief Ministry, Finance, Justice, Agriculture & Forestry, Interior, Education and Roads & Works real power continues to be wielded by the Pretoria regime. All laws and decrees have to be sanctioned by the racist government. Matanzima's faint talk of replacing Bantu Education with genuine education was quickly silenced. Similarly his claims to more land have been frowned upon so much so that Matanzima is now very quiet about them. In 1966 Matanzima appointed Curnick Ndamse, formerly of Fort Hare, as professional assistant to his "Department of Education" but shortly thereafter the Pretoria regime imposed severe banning orders on Ndamse which, among other things, prohibited him from entering educational institutions. It took months of negotiations to have the banning orders sufficiently relaxed to permit him to enter educational premises. But the Bantustan way is indeed a strange one. Ndamse was last month made a member of Matanzima's new Cabinet!!

The Emergency Regulations imposed by the central government continue to terrorise the people of the Transkei. In 1966 alone almost 100 banning and banishment orders were issued against Transkei citizens.

Matanzima's so-called government is powerless to prevent this even if it desired to do so. Despite conditions of terror, arbitrary arrest and banishments opposition to the Bantustan scheme still manifests itself. Several people have been detained and jailed for alleged plots to kill Matanzima, including two opposition M.P.s Jackson Nkosiyane and C. Nogcantsi who are currently serving a seven year prison sentence.

A few months before the recent elections several senior African civil servants were quizzed by the Special Branch (political police). Recently five men were detained under the Emergency Regulations among them Ezra Sigwela, Secretary of the Transkei General Workers' Union and Jongabantu Joyi, executive member of the union. The latter has been an outspoken critic of Matanzima describing him as a "bossboy" of the Whiteman. This attitude perhaps explains these detentions just prior to the elections.

We have quoted only the most glaring instances to show that real power continues to be wielded by the central government and is being used to hound even the mildest form of opposition.

### The Role of Chiefs

We have already pointed out that chiefs depend on the racist regime not only for their titles but also for their salaries. However since the implementation of Bantustans the powers of the chiefs have been enormously increased. Their vested interest in maintaining the present system has been given additional incentive by their right to conduct Chiefs' courts popularly named "Bush Courts". They are able to enrich themselves by taking a share of the damages granted to a plaintiff with the result that they are very interested parties even when they themselves conduct trials. It is well-known that chiefs often appoint their own agents to bring complaints against relatively weaker peasants in order to aggrandise themselves. Opponents of the Bantustans are also brought to these courts on trumped up charges and heavily fined to fill the chief's coffers. To show how wealthy chiefs can get from all this we quote from Govan Mbeki's book "THE PEASANTS' REVOLT":

"One attorney has been appointed a chief at an official monthly salary of £30. He will compensate for the loss of his practice by making more money. And in addition he can readily surround himself with comforts by calling upon the people to impose a levy upon themselves for such purposes as to buy the chief a car...."

Also peasants have to have permits from chiefs to cut wood, to cut thatching grass, to brew beer, to hold initiation rites, etc and for  
all this/....



all this chiefs have to be paid. Chiefs also have powers to allocate land and to issue trading licences, again at a price. It must be borne in mind that aside from enriching themselves chiefs have the authority to refuse to grant permits, licences or land. Thus enormous powers have been placed in the hands of chiefs to influence the people by means of terror.

### The Transkei Civil Service

The Pretoria regime boasts of the rapid Africanisation of the Transkei civil service. Impressive figures of Africans who have replaced Whites in the police force, prisons, etc receive wide publicity. Four prisons are now headed by Africans. Two men, Lennox Mbuli and Donald Stofile, who have had long years of civil service in various dummy institutions set up by Pretoria, have been appointed district magistrates. The racist government has, however, made it clear no Whites would ever stand trial before Africans nor would any prison headed by an African be allowed to admit White prisoners. Needless to say African magistrates will administer laws in which Africans have had no say.

It must be pointed out that much of the so-called "Africanisation" is due to the acute shortage of Whites who find conditions in the civil service unattractive. On the other hand Africans find so many avenues of employment closed to them that they are only too eager to get into the civil service even if their salaries and conditions of employment are vastly inferior to those of Whites with similar qualifications and experience.

Obtaining these jobs with enticing prospects of promotion these men and women also begin to develop a vested interest in the Bantustan system. It gives them an opportunity, no matter how degrading, to escape from the general poverty that surrounds them. Having had some chance of acquiring an education these men are not without influence irrespective of the nature of that influence.

### Political Development

On the political front, too, significant changes have taken place. Political authority, no matter how limited, once tasted cannot but generate stronger demands. In the context of Bantustan politics this can only mean demands for greater freedom from Pretoria. In both the TNIP and the TDP such agitation has grown over the years, resulting in several vocal members from both parties breaking off to form the Freedom Party which demands immediate independence. Mantanzima has been able to meet this challenge on its own merits by such phraseology as "The road to Freedom is a long one and has to be

negotiated/.....

negotiated carefully step by step.....we cannot be political dreamers." The TDP with its total opposition to the Bantustans has found itself hamstrung not only by government terror but by its insistence on a peaceful solution in the face of such terror.

The real opposition has been driven underground and is not in a position to influence electioneering and elections. In the recognised (by Pretoria) political parties the ultimate goal of freedom from White rule has become the dominant feature cutting the ground from under the feet of the TDP.

### CONCLUSION

In this brief analysis we have tried to show that the Bantustan scheme of the racists is a complete fraud. We have also attempted to explain why it was possible for Matanzima's TNIP to win a majority of elected seats in the recent elections. We will reiterate the factors involved:

- (1) The strict control by the central government which has used its powers to attack opponents of the racist regime.
- (2) The increased powers and vested interests of the chiefs.
- (3) The Transkei civil service which is beginning to have a vested interest in the system and which, in an educationally backward society such as the Transkei, has considerable influence.
- (4) The understandable inability of the TDP to have any real impact has caused some people to think in terms of freedom from White rule, even if this is in a Bantustan.

It must be remembered that real opposition not only to the Bantustan scheme but also to the whole policy of racism rests not among those who are playing the parliamentary game but among the broad masses of the oppressed peasantry and the urban workers led by the A.N.C. These people have opted out of Bantustans in various ways and ultimately it is they, guided and led by the A.N.C., who will solve the problems of South Africa.

(The next article will deal with the economic aspects of Bantustans).

A MONTHLY CALENDAR OF THE STRUGGLE

FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA

- Optimist

Some Memorable DECEMBER Dates in Our Country's History

\* 1882 - The first recorded strike in South Africa was not by Europeans but by African workers. It occurred in December 1882 when a hundred Africans on a Kimberley mine downed tools for two days because their wages had been reduced from 25 shillings to 20 shillings a week. That was the beginning of the mine bosses' calculated and systematic reduction of African mineworkers' wages to the lowest possible level. As was to be expected, the strikers were forced back to work without gaining anything. But they had given notice, for the first time, that they would not passively accept the status of wage-slaves.

\* 1919 - During and after World War I, Black and White workers were alike affected by soaring food prices. Both called for a halt to the export of food-stuffs from South Africa. In December 1919 African dock workers in Cape Town, organised earlier in the year by Kadalie's I.C.U. (the Socialists had also set up a branch of the short-lived Industrial Workers of Africa among them), refused to load foodstuffs on a ship bound for England. Two thousand Black stevedores joined the strike and all work stopped on the Cape Town docks. The protest against food exports was coupled with a wage increase demand. White trade union organisations backed the Africans' strike with resolutions but did little in the way of concrete support, they did not or could not prevent scabbing by White workers. This and the action of police and soldiers in forcing the striking dock workers out of their location brought failure of the strike.

\* 1929 - While White South Africans have for decades annually celebrated the 16th December as Dingaan's Day, commemorating the Boer Voortrekkers' defeat of the Zulu forces led by Dingaan at the Battle of Blood River on that date in 1838, Black South Africans have repeatedly marked the same day by demonstrating their resistance to White overlordship. Such was the case in 1929. Earlier in the year 1929, Minister of Justice Oswald Pirow had brought forward new legislative measures to deal with African "agitators" and "trouble-makers." Africans had reacted by burning Pirow's effigy at a protest meeting on the 10th November in Johannesburg which was jointly sponsored by the African National Congress, the I.C.U., and the Communist Party. Following this, similar protest meetings were held in other South African cities on Dingaan's Day. In Cape Town a big meeting took place on the Grand Parade amidst banners reading "No Taxation without Representation!" and "Down with Pirow's Bills!" Effigies of Smuts

and/.....

and Hertzog were burned. Though denied a permit for holding a procession, over a thousand Africans marched through the main streets. This and other demonstrations went off without any outbreak of violence - with one exception: in the disruption of a meeting at Potchefstroom, a notorious hotbed of racist lawlessness southwest of Johannesburg, an African, Hermanus Lethebe, was fatally shot. His assailant, despite the clear evidence against him, was freed with a jury verdict of "not guilty."

\* 1930 - It was on Dingaan's Day in 1930, at a great pass-burning demonstration on Cartwright's Flats in Durban, that the militant young leader, Johannes Nkosi, and three other Africans, - Ben Pani, James Mhlongo, and Joseph Sofili, - were murdered by the police. The meeting had started at eleven in the morning and continued well into the afternoon. Passes had been collected in bags from those in attendance and the crowd was preparing to march through the city when a large police force suddenly appeared and attacked the assembled people. Some of the White police officers carried revolvers. Nkosi was shot as he stood on the speakers' platform trying to control the crowd and prevent them from retaliating against the police. Later, at the inquest, it was found that all four of the murdered men's bodies had been brutally hacked and their skulls severely fractured and witnesses attested that these injuries had been inflicted after the removal of the men from the scene of the meeting. Some twenty other persons at the meeting were seriously injured and twenty-six more were arrested and sentenced on the charge of "incitement to violence."

\* 1935 - Dingaan's Day in 1935 saw the convening in Bloemfontein of the All-African Convention. It had been initiated by Professor D.D.T. Jabavu and Dr. Pixley ka-I. Seme, then President-General of the African National Congress, to mobilize opposition to Hertzog's new discriminatory legislative proposals (the Native Representation Bill, Native Trust and Land Bill, and Urban Areas Amendment Bill). The Convention was a broadly representative gathering. Virtually all the important African leaders were in attendance, along with some 500 delegates representing all areas of the country, including the Transkei and Zululand, as well as the three Protectorates. Although some delegates advocated strike action and passive resistance to combat the proposed bills, a policy of negotiation, as proposed by most of the prominent leaders present, was decided upon. A delegation led by Professor Jabavu was selected and instructed to convey to the Government the Convention's resolution rejecting the three bills and to seek to secure their withdrawal. The deputation did meet with Hertzog, but a so-called "compromise", which the deputation repudiated and refused to accept, was subsequently enacted in the form of the Representation of Natives Act (1936).

\* 1942 - The last month of 1942 saw an outbreak of strikes among African workers in the Transvaal and also in Natal. Some were spontaneous actions, of 'h' unorganised; others were conducted by trade unions. They involved many categories of workers in industrial, commercial, and government employment. Among the most important strikes was that of the African municipal employees in Johannesburg. It occurred when the Minister of Labour granted an application from the Johannesburg City Council for exemption from the Wage Board's award of 24 shillings a week to the municipality's unskilled workers, this representing a 60 per cent increase in their wages. Though the strike was for only a single day, it was total, effective and successful. The Johannesburg City Council was forced to back down and pay the new wage.

Things went differently in Pretoria where the municipal authorities likewise tried to dodge the pay award and delayed giving the increase pending appeal. The Superintendent of the Marabastad municipal compound attempted to explain the situation to some 2,000 angry and impatient workers gathered there. They either did not understand or did not accept the explanation given. They rioted. The police came, followed by armed soldiers. One soldier was killed whereupon the others opened fire on the crowd of African workers, killing fourteen of them outright and wounding over a hundred. An official commission of inquiry fixed responsibility for what happened directly on the Pretoria municipality for its delay in acting in accordance with the wage award, and also declared that "The situation did not warrant the interference of a body of 78 soldiers with firearms."

\* 1945 - The long, hard month of December 1945 represented for the thousands of African and Coloured inhabitants of Alexandra Township the culmination of their gruelling struggle against the bus companies, who insisted on raising the fare for the 9½ mile trip into Johannesburg from 4d. to 5d. Starting in mid-November they had conducted an absolute boycott of the buses. As one writer put it, "Alexandra walked....old men, tiny children, washerwomen loaded with their bundles, industrial workers doing a 50-hour week 20 miles from home in war industries walked through sun, wind and rain for seven weeks before the deadlock showed signs of breaking." The Christmas holidays came and went, and still the people walked. Finally on the 29th December the City Council decided that the fare should remain at 4d. for those who purchased a book of 12 coupons at 4 shillings, others without coupons being required to pay extra. After discussion, the people of Alexandra accepted this. The buses resumed operation on the 4th January. The boycott had ended and the people had won.

It was, in fact, their third victory. It was the third time they had prevented a fare increase. The first attempt to raise the 4d. fare

had come/...

had come in October 1939. The Township inhabitants formed a committee which campaigned against the increase for eight months, finally winning a decision by the Road Transportation Board that the fares should not be increased. The second round of the fight came when the Transportation Board, under pressure from the bus companies subsequently acceded to the high fare of 5d. as from 1st August 1943. On that day, instead of boarding the buses, about 15,000 people formed a procession and marched from Alexandra to Johannesburg, blocking all traffic. They kept up the march to and from the city for nine days, whereupon the bus owners reduced the fare to 4d. again. Three tests and three great victories, won through the people's unity and determination.

\* 1956 - The wave of arrests started at 4.20 a.m. on Wednesday, 5th December. On that day, throughout South Africa, 140 persons were taken into custody. Further arrests followed, and when the preparatory examination opened on December 19th in the Drill Hall, headquarters of the Department of Defence, in Johannesburg, 156 persons stood in the dock accused of treason. These 156 men and women, African, Coloured, Indian, and White, were the leaders of the African National Congress and of all the organisations associated with the Congress in the broad people's movement for the achievement of a free and democratic South Africa.

Thousands of supporters of the accused crowded around the Drill Hall, blocking the streets, on the morning the preparatory examination opened. They carried "We Stand By Our Leaders" signs, and cheered and shouted "Mayibuye!" to the prisoners in the police vans as they passed by. The examination proceedings on the first day had to be halted after only 22 minutes because of a defective loudspeaker system. On the second day the proceedings were interrupted by the noise of the disturbances outside the Drill Hall. The police, unable to manage the surging crowd that had again gathered, made baton charges. Then some of them lost their heads and started firing wildly until stopped by the Deputy Commissioner of Police.

Such was the beginning of the infamous Treason Trial which dragged on for more than four years before finally collapsing in the acquittal of all the accused. The trial, as the Defence charged, at the outset, "was an attempt to silence and outlaw the ideas held by the 156 accused and the thousands whom they represent."

\* 1960 - The declaration of a state of emergency throughout the Transkei in December 1960 brought to light the ugly reality of tyrannical rule concealed behind the facade of "Bantu self-government." The Pondo people, long accustomed to rule under representative, elected chiefs, had for some time protested against and resisted the corrupt

regime of government-appointed chiefs and headmen. Their resistance took an organized form when in March 1960 a body known as the Hill Committee was established to lead the struggle. Mass meetings were held and the authorities were called upon to come and hear the people's grievances. Some huts of those supporting the imposed regime were burned down. In June a mass meeting at Ngquza Hill was attacked by a heavily armed police force, leaving eleven Pondo killed. In October a mass meeting of 6,000 near Bizana decided to stop paying taxes and to boycott stores run by White traders in the area. Governmental authority was eroding; the revolutionary movement led by the Hill Committee was gaining wider and wider popular support. It was at this juncture that the "emergency" was declared. This brought a massive movement of police and armed forces into the Transkei, - and also the ludicrous action of posting the South African Navy to guard the coast "against Russian submarines." Hundreds of people were arrested and many Pondo leaders faced banishment. The Government's chiefs and headmen, meanwhile, were given strong bodyguards. Despite the efforts made to hush up this punitive operation, by barring all newsmen from the area, the world came to learn of the heroic resistance of the Pondo people to Bantustan enslavement.

\* 1961 - It was once more on Dingaan's Day that South Africa in 1961 witnessed the emergence of a new African organisation with new tactics of struggle - Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Its existence was announced with a series of explosions on that day in Johannesburg and elsewhere, and with the simultaneous publication of the organisation's manifesto - prominently displayed on the walls of buildings where White South Africans could hardly miss seeing and reading it. It said:

"....the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations, without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless...The time comes in the life of any nation where there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom... We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people. The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only. Umkhonto We Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the Government..."

At the Rivonia trial in 1964, Nelson Mandela, speaking in his own defence, readily admitted that he had helped form Umkhonto We Sizwe and had played a prominent role in it until his arrest in August 1962. He declared: that the objective of the organisation was not terrorism but sabotage; injuring and killing people was to be avoided in carrying out operations. "We who formed Umkhonto," he said, "were all members of the A.N.C., and had behind us the A.N.C. tradition of non-violence and negotiations as a means of solving political disputes. Our problem was not whether but was how to continue to fight...The hard facts were that 50 years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights..." Hence the formation of Umkhonto in December, 1961.