

SOUTH AFRICA 1960-66: UNDERGROUND AFRICAN POLITICS

by

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1. It is necessary at the outset to clarify the purpose of this paper and confine its application to particular events and circumstances that occurred during the years 1960-66. Those years, commencing roughly with the anti-pass law campaign in March 1960 (Sharpeville), mark the emergence of a new phase in the African political struggle, characterized by disillusionment and frustration at the previous methods of reformism and non-violent protest waged by all movements, and the transition to a course of militancy and planned violence, resulting in a series of dramatic events and an arsenal of repressive measures adopted by the South African Government. It is intended to trace briefly the sequence of events that occurred and the steps taken by white South Africa to meet the new situation. This paper purports only to present a chronicle of the events of those years, and leaves the questions of the reasons for their emergence at that particular moment in history, and their short term failure and eclipse by 1966, open for discussion.

The main difficulty in assessing the period is the almost total absence of an objective report covering the whole period, free from the limitations and restrictions imposed on the commentators by their own participation in the sequence of events, and their commitment or partisan involvement in the ideology or politics of a particular stream of African political thought. The history is too recent and the ideological and emotional differences too sharply defined to make the task of assessing the period an easy one. The available literature falls into two mutually antagonistic categories, the accounts written by certain white South Africans, emphasising the violence and potential chaos resulting from the activities of the "great Communist-Liberal conspiracy", and the accounts written by members of the South African underground, often thinly disguised propaganda for their own movement, and nearly all heavily weighted (not necessarily accurately) in favour of the activities of the Congress Alliance.

It is proposed to survey the events of the period based on material drawn from newspapers and periodicals, reports and publications of the South African Institute of Race Relations as well as interviews with members of the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, Non-European Unity Movement, and various publications issued by them,

respectively. Certain use will also be made of reports of Court Proceedings and Statutes passed by the South African Government.

2. The events at Sharpeville in 1960 radically altered the course of South African history. After years of passive resistance and political protest, the country was plunged into five years of sabotage and violence. The South African police acted efficiently and ruthlessly. Nearly all the underground movements were uncovered and savage sentences were imposed on their leaders. The Government passed a series of legislation conferring on the police wide-ranging powers of detention and methods of obtaining information and evidence. Detention without trial, solitary confinement for periods up to 180 days, and the frequent use of torture became features of the police's daily routine. A series of showpiece trials were effectively prepared to placate alarmed white society and virtually destroy the entire leadership of the opposition.

In broad terms, organized opposition in South Africa by and large followed the pattern of racial stratification of the country. The Congress Alliance was compartmentalized into the African National Congress (Black), Congress of Democrats (White), Indian National Congress, Coloured Peoples Congress, and SACTU (the South African Congress of Trade Unions); the Pan Africanist Congress drew an almost exclusively black membership, the Non-European Unity Movement largely relied on Coloured members, the Liberal Party on White. Deep rooted ideological differences separated the movements, but from 1960 at least one consistent pattern emerged. All movements rejected their history of passive resistance, and to a certain extent boycott and reformism; all embraced the necessity and inevitability of direct and violent confrontation with white South Africa.

South Africa has known sporadic racial violence for a long time. The transition to planned violence began after the sequence of events climaxed by the Sharpeville shootings on March 21, 1960. It did not gain much momentum, however, until after the strike called for May 31, 1961, failed to induce the Government to convoke a multiracial national convention to discuss a new constitution. Thus, the deliberate use of force as a weapon to depose the Government is still in its infancy in South Africa. (1)

The Africans' turn towards violence has been reluctant and painful. As late as December 1961, Chief Luthuli said: "We in our situation have chosen the path of non-violence of our own volition." (2)

Witnesses at the Treason Trial insisted that violence was outside the policy of the Congress Alliance (but this may have been legal strategy).

Nelson Mandela, after Sharpeville: "If peaceful protests like these are to be put down by mobilisation of the army and the police, then the people might be forced to use other methods of struggle." (3)

Potlaka K. Leballo, in December 1962: "The African People recognise that to effect change in South Africa the present situation, whereby white South Africa holds the monopoly of military power, must be changed. This can be achieved only by our acquisition of the means of challenging that military power." (4)

Patrick Duncan, directly after Sharpeville: "Africans have seen enough of the power of non-violence to make them sure that non-violence has everything that is necessary for their success in the future." (5) But two years later: "Through the unyielding oppressiveness of the apartheid government there is now no chance of a peaceful transition to freedom and democracy. The way to power in South Africa now lies through the use of force." (6)

3. Events leading to the State of Emergency

- a) Tightening of the Pass Laws and consequent demonstrations. Wide-spread demonstrations against passes for women took place throughout the country from 1957 to 1959, particularly in Johannesburg in October 1958 and Pretoria in February 1959. (7) In September 1957 there was rioting in the Zeerust area, resulting from the distribution of passes for women.
- b) Riots in Sekhukhuneland over the introduction of the Bantu Authorities. (8)
- c) Proclamation 67 of 1958 empowered the Government to declare the A.N.C. or any other organizations to be unlawful in African Reserves. (9)
- d) Wide-spread rioting throughout the country resulting from a number of economic and social grievances, particularly in Cato Manor, Durban, Johannesburg, and Paarl. (10)
- e) Emergency regulations in the Transkei (Proclamation 400 of 1960).
- f) Bus boycott at Alexandra Township in 1957.
- g) Establishment of "Africanist" group in the A.N.C. in 1958 dissatisfied with "multi-racial liberalism of the A.N.C., its domination by Communists in the Congress of Democrats and its lack of militancy in implementing the Program of Action of 1949". (11)
- h) Establishment of the Pan-African Congress in 1959 by Sobukwe and Leballo, aiming at "government of the Africans by the Africans and rejecting the idea of a multi-racial society". (12)
- i) Preparation for a campaign against the pass laws on 31st March 1960 by the A.N.C.
- j) National campaign against the pass laws planned by the P.A.C. for the 21st March 1960 on the lines that members

were to present themselves at police stations without their passes, invite arrest, and accept gaol sentences without appealing, in order to disrupt the country but still in a non-violent manner. (13)

4. Emergency Regulations

- a) Unlawful Organisations Act No. 34 of 1960. On the 8th April the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. were declared to be unlawful organizations.
- b) On the 24th March a ban was placed on all public meetings.
- c) Between 30th March and 2nd April the entire Citizen Force and Commandos were mobilized as required.
- d) Proclamation 90 of 30th March declared a State of Emergency, banning publications and gatherings.
- e) A total of 1,907 people were detained under the Emergency Regulations.
- f) P.A.C. leaders were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. (14)

5. During the period immediately after the Declaration of a State of Emergency various strikes and demonstrations were held with varying degrees of success, culminating in the calling of an "All-in" conference in March 1961. (15) The conference was held despite the withdrawal of the P.A.C. (because they opposed the inclusion of organizations representative of other racial groups in formulating a positive alternative to apartheid) and the arrest and intimidation of some of the organizers. The Non-European Unity Movement refused to have any contact with "adventurist and opportunist" politics. A National Action Council was appointed under Nelson Mandela, which called for a "stay-at-home" demonstration which only partially succeeded. The General Law Amendment Act of 1961 was passed, providing, inter alia, for the detention of people for periods of up to twelve days without bail. (16)

It is this chain of events, together with the analysis and discussion between people while in detention during the emergency, which gave rise to the phase of organized violence which swept over South Africa from 1961 to 1966. "It was not the intention of Africans to advocate violence for the sake of violence. That would be outright irresponsibility. All other possible avenues had been explored. Unfortunately, none of the non-violent ones had been found effective. Force is an extension of all the possible non-violent avenues that have been tried and have failed; thus force is a logical sequence in the progression of trying to obtain certain objectives. Force and non-violence are interdependent." (17)

6. Two basic approaches may be discerned in the organized violence up till 1966: (i) sabotage against industrial and communications installations, and (ii) popular outbursts, coupled with sporadic killings

and bombings. Two underground organizations, the National Liberation Committee (later African Resistance Movement) and Umkonto We Zizwe (Spear of the Nation), functioned during that period as sabotage groups, and one, Poqo (alone, only, or pure in Xhosa), fell into the second category. In embryonic form, a third approach, calling for preparation for eventual guerrilla warfare, appeared in the National Liberation Front (Y.C.C. Club), but was never very significant. "There was no co-operation among these groups; they developed acrimonious disputes over tactics, political orientation, racial policy, and competitive approaches to sympathisers in independent Africa and elsewhere." (18)

The five year period immediately following Sharpeville produced a series of rather rash and ill-prepared attempts by the underground organizations to effect a quick and fundamental change in the political structure in South Africa by the use of direct and violent confrontation with white society. It is as if the futility of all the years of protest and passive demonstrations suddenly exploded into a frustrated and, in the short term, vain attempt to obtain political liberation overnight. It is suggested that this period emphasizes the widespread decision amongst all political movements to embark upon a course of violence irrespective of their ideological differences, in accordance with the wave of mass opinion disillusioned with previous methods of struggle. It is also necessary to analyse the reasons for the temporary failure of their action in the light of the measures adopted to combat them by the South African Government.

7. The African National Congress

After its banning many members were in goal, some in hiding, and others left the country to participate in their external mission which had been set up by Oliver Tambo. Those members remaining reorganized underground, in the light of the prevailing opinion on future tactics, formed a specialized militant wing, Umkonto We Sizwe, to undertake a phase of sabotage leading to later stages of guerrilla warfare. "Already there are indications in the country that Africans are turning to deliberate acts of violence and of force against the Government in order to persuade the Government in the only language which this Government shows by its behaviour that it understands." (19) Many members of the A.N.C. claim that the inevitability of violence was foreseen long before Sharpeville and that certain preparations were made for overseas training of members as long before as 1957. (20)

It appears that Umkonto and the A.N.C. were kept apart and operated separately, and that instructions were given to members of Umkonto that in carrying out sabotage operations they were not to kill or injure people. (21) Between December 1961 and the end of 1964 there were sporadic acts of sabotage throughout the country directed at Government Department buildings, pylons and railway lines. The Minister of Justice said in the Senate that up to 10th March 1964 there had been 203 serious cases of sabotage (22) and "nobody will deny that a crisis exists in South Africa. For the first time organized murder is being used as a political weapon". (23)

It is not publicly known exactly how many people were arrested for activities outlined above during this period. According to various

Ministerial statements in reply to questions in Parliament, 2,169 were arrested in 1963. By June 1964, 1,931 had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment. At least 51 people had been sentenced to death and some 15 to life imprisonment. (24)

1. The Rivonia Trial: October 1963

The State alleged 199 acts of sabotage preparatory to guerrilla warfare, coupled with a plan entitled Operation Mayibuye for a preliminary stage of sabotage to be followed by mass revolutionary action. The Court accepted the contention that Umkonto had not adopted this plan but sentenced the leadership to life imprisonment. (25)

2. Trial of V. Mini, Z. Mkaba and others: March 1964

Found guilty of ordering the murder of a witness against Umkonto and sentenced to death.

3. Five major trials of members of Umkonto were held in 1964, 33 persons were convicted, one sentenced to life imprisonment, and the rest to terms up to 20 years.
4. Throughout the period innumerable trials took place in several centres, of Africans charged with membership of the banned A.N.C. Average sentences received were about 3 years.
5. In 1966 Abram Fischer, Q.C., was found guilty on various charges of having conspired with Umkonto to aid and procure the commission of and to commit acts of sabotage, and was sentenced to life imprisonment.
6. The Communist Party of South Africa participated fully in the programme of Umkonto during this period but there is little evidence of separate overt activities on their part other than meeting and discussion.

It should be emphasized that throughout the period the policy of Umkonto was directed specifically against installations and property, and considerable care was taken to avoid the possibility of death or injury to persons. (27) During the first five years of A.N.C.'s transition from its old policies to direct and violent militancy, there was extreme reluctance on the part of its leaders to commit themselves fully to the inevitability of full "military" confrontation. By the end of 1966 it was accepted within Umkonto that the first phase of sabotage had ended. Owing to the efficiency of police methods, it had to a large extent failed. It had certainly failed to make any inroads into white opinion, and by 1967 the decision was taken to embark upon a policy of full and open violent confrontation with white South Africa. (28)

8. The Pan-Africanist Congress

It has always been claimed by leaders of P.A.C. that from their formation in 1959 they always envisaged the inevitability of direct violence in their struggle, and that their Disciplinary Code made

provision for its adoption as a direct tactic. (29) Evidence of this, however, does not really appear till late in 1961. The methods and policy adopted by P.A.C. during its anti-pass law campaign in 1960 do not appear to be radically different from those waged by the A.N.C. since the Defiance Campaign. The events at Sharpeville, however, seem to have ended any further attempts at waging a non-violent struggle. "The people were impatient and thought only in terms of direct confrontation. They wished to seize weapons and kill whites", suggest some leaders now, in retrospect. (30) According to Mr. Frank Barton, editor of Drum and Post, giving evidence before the Snyman Commission in 1963, Philip Kgosana said in March 1960: "The march (on Capetown) had been the government's last chance to come to terms with legitimate African demands. When the Government refused to negotiate, it cast the die for a bloodbath."

Unlike the A.N.C., P.A.C., in the form of Poqo, rejected the concept of symbolic sabotage and immediately embarked upon a policy of terrorism and killing in a futile attempt to obtain "freedom by 1963". Some doubts have been expressed as to the direct link between P.A.C. and Poqo. It certainly is clearly claimed today by P.A.C. leadership that Poqo was the continuation of P.A.C. activities after the banning of the movement. A.N.C. members have explained the Poqo outbreak as sporadic and isolated violence occurring as a result of frustration and merely capitalized upon by P.A.C. leaders after its clear emergence.

The evidence seems clearly to indicate that Poqo nevertheless was the continuation of P.A.C. activities underground. The use of the term Poqo had frequently been used by members of the Africanist section of A.N.C. prior to 1958, to separate them from "the multi-racial" outlook of other members. Most members of Poqo who gave evidence at trials exposing them admitted that the movement had been started by P.A.C. The Snyman Commission appointed to enquire into the Paarl riots of 1962 issued an interim report in March 1963, in which Mr. Justice Snyman found Poqo to be an arm of the banned P.A.C. "People who address Poqo gatherings previously addressed P.A.C. gatherings. The entrance and subscription fees are the same. The aims are the same. The division of the work is the same." (31) The P.A.C. leadership in exile was quick to endorse these claims. P. K. Leballo, the acting head of P.A.C., claimed at an interview on March 25, 1963, in Maseru, that P.A.C. and Poqo were synonymous. He announced that a large scale uprising would be launched during 1963 and that the P.A.C. were discussing the time and manner in which it would be launched. He credited the outburst in Paarl as "impatient P.A.C. members disobeying orders to wait until instructions were given". He was critical of A.N.C. sabotage, claiming it was the result of lack of mass following. He claimed Poqo's strength lay in its membership, which he estimated at 150,000. (32) To a certain extent, the Snyman Commission found evidence to support the existence of some of the highly exaggerated plans: a membership list containing 15,000 names was discovered in a raid by police on Leballo's office in Maseru. (33)

Activities attributed to Poqo

1. Langa. Murder in February 1963 of three African policemen and a white businessman.

2. Paarl. Two whites and eleven Africans were killed (five Africans were shot by the police).
3. Transkei. Several attempts were made on the life of pro-Government chiefs and several African informers were killed. At Bashee Bridge five whites were killed.
4. Many small uprisings took place in areas such as Capetown, Victoria West, Benoni, East London, Worcester, etc., most of which were anticipated and apprehended by the police. (34) According to information given by the Minister of Justice in June 1964, by that date 202 members of Poqo had been found guilty of murder and 1,724 members had been found guilty of lesser crimes. (35)

During the period 1962 to 1965 hardly a day passed in the South African legal calendar without there being a trial involving members of Poqo. "Poqo was certainly the best publicized movement in the '60s, thanks in part to the number of people involved in its activities, in part to the dramatic, sometimes brutal, nature of these activities, and in part to the Government's selection of Poqo as its chief adversary." (34)

However, by 1965, again owing to successful police infiltration and tactics adopted as well as the crude and unplanned tactics of Poqo and their lack of any clear policy, by and large the movement was broken and P.A.C. received a critical set-back from which it has hardly recovered. Wide dissension has appeared in its leaderships abroad and there is extreme dissatisfaction with the leadership of Leballo. Whatever final assessment is made of it, there is no doubt that it provoked widespread enthusiasm amongst Africans, such as no movement had hitherto been able to promote, as well as genuine terror amongst white South Africans. "Nevertheless it is doubtful that these episodes were part of a general plan aimed toward any specific short-range goals and it is now clear that the organisation was neither strong nor cohesive enough to survive police retaliation." (37) "There can be no doubt that Poqo is the live embodiment of virulent black nationalism which thrives on the poverty, degradation, rightlessness and political immaturity of the black masses. Its primitive appeal to anti-white racialism finds a ready response in the locations and townships of South Africa. It has discarded non-violence as a method of struggle and elevated terrorism to a position of supremacy. Since its internal organisation is the most haphazard and undisciplined imaginable, it will be clear that the terrorism of Poqo while it can very well upset the ruling class, is not able to unseat it. And yet it is clear also that the State considers this Poqo to be the most immediate danger to its security and its continued existence." (Liberation, April 1963.)

It is interesting to note that a report appeared in Newsweek on April 8, 1963: "Ghana's President, Kwame Nkrumah, is believed to have contributed U.S.\$70,000 as well as weapons to the terrorist organisation Poqo." The validity of this appears to be doubtful.

9. Non-European Unity Movement

After the boycott of the activities after Sharpeville by the various bodies belonging to the Unity Movement, for a number of reasons not relevant to this paper, the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA) was formed in 1961, under the leadership inter alia of I. M. Tabata. The policies and tactics appeared to be little more than a continuation of Unity programmes over previous years, with strong emphasis placed on economic analysis and membership small and confined to Coloured people in the Cape and some African support in the Transkei. It is not necessary to outline the development of their policy, save in so far as it gave rise to a break-away group in 1962 falling into line with the pattern of development of the other movements. It should be mentioned here that it is now alleged by APDUSA that their policy always envisaged the adoption of violent revolutionary tactics (38), but that until 1971 little evidence has appeared to support this. In 1962 a section of APDUSA under Dr. N. Alexander and Dr. K. Abrahams broke away in the Cape to form the Y.C.C. club, later known as the National Liberation Front. Reasons given at the time were dissatisfaction with the sterile leadership of APDUSA and lack of a clear plan to introduce preparations for the commencement of armed struggle in accordance with the trends shown by other movements. "Revolution does not exclude the possibility of peaceful change. However, this depends on the attitude of the Government in power. Events had taken a revolutionary turn. I realized that the masses would soon lose faith in passive methods. What worries me most of all was the fact that the traditional leadership of the whole non-white movement had firmly believed in non-violent methods of struggle." (39)

The movement studied ways of securing a united front and investigated literature on guerrilla warfare, considering it necessary to have a knowledge of this in case armed conflict should occur between the Government and the masses. Various attempts were made to form cells in country areas, but very little was achieved before virtually all the members were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for periods ranging between five and ten years. Meetings had been held and a large quantity of revolutionary literature produced, but activities never proceeded far beyond what would only be described as a discussion group.

10. African Resistance Movement

Shortly after the detention of members of various organizations following the Emergency Regulations post Sharpeville, a National Committee for Liberation was formed, consisting mainly of white former members of the Liberal Party, the Congress of Democrats, and various persons not known to have previously been involved in politics. The activities were confined to sabotage, largely along the same lines as Umkonto, but no attempts were made to co-ordinate activities. The organization which later became the A.R.M. saw itself largely as expressing sympathy and solidarity with African Movements as well as a badly defined attempt to shock white South Africa into a state of partial economic chaos and collapse to impress upon them the seriousness of the changing pattern of events in the country. The general response of the white community was entirely to reject their activity. To a certain extent they gained some respect from Africans by their gesture and personal involvement in similar methods of struggle. "Herein lay the bitterest

irony: at the moment when the Liberals had at last won the sympathy and trust of large numbers of non-whites, they had almost totally alienated themselves from the white community." (J. Robertson: Liberalism in South Africa 1948-1963)

Six major A.R.M. trials were held in 1964, which disclosed that the conspiracy had been a small one, not seeking mass support. It appeared that several acts of sabotage had taken place, mainly in Capetown and Johannesburg, and twelve A.R.M. members were sentenced to periods of imprisonment ranging from four to fifteen years. One member, John Harris, was hanged after planting a bomb in the Johannesburg railway station. The Movement appeared to have enjoyed little support and had little impact on white South Africans.

11. Various other attempts at sabotage not directly connected with any specific organizations took place during this period, representing to a large extent the mood of the period and largely the frustration experienced over all the long years of passive resistance.

12. Measures introduced by the Government to deal with the situation

It is suggested that the legal measures passed by the South African Parliament during this period, together with the abundance of informers and pressures brought to bear on some members, empowered the police effectively to curb and largely end the period of open violent confrontation.

1. General Law Amendment Act of 1962

This created the offence of sabotage, widely defined, and empowered the Government to issue special proclamations when the need arose, to ban organizations, meetings, periodicals and persons. It laid down penalties varying from a minimum of five years to the death penalty, and also introduced the system of house arrest.

2. General Law Amendment Act of 1963

Following directly on the Snyman Commission Report relating to the activities of Poqo, the main provisions were:

- a) Any organization which had been in existence since April 1960 would be declared unlawful.
- b) Poqo was equated with P.A.C.
- c) Persons convicted of certain offences of a political nature could be held in detention after completion of their prison sentences, for periods of twelve months at a time (the Sobukwe clause).
- d) Detention for interrogation for periods up to ninety

days without warrant (renewable) of anyone suspected of having information about political offences. The terms of detention were in solitary confinement.

- e) Preparatory examinations in trials of a political nature were dispensed with.
- f) Bail may be refused without any reasons.
- g) Any act furthering the aims of communism or an unlawful organization became an offence retrospective to 1950.

3. General Law Amendment Act of 1964

After the reluctance of many witnesses, particularly in the trial of Dr. Alexander, to give evidence, it became an offence to refuse to give evidence, punishable by imprisonment for a period of twelve months at a time.

The Congress of Democrats was banned, Umkonto equated with the A.N.C. and thus banned, and a large number of private individuals were placed under house arrest or banned from attending any gatherings.

By the end of 1964, 48 people had been placed under house arrest and 352 received banning orders.

4. The General Law Amendment of 1965 substituted 180 days for the 90 days clause.

The evidence to obtain convictions against members of underground organizations was largely obtained under these provisions.

According to the Minister of Justice, by 29th January 1965 altogether 1,095 persons had been detained under the 90 days clause; of these 575 had been charged with offences, of whom 272 were convicted and 241 gave evidence for the State in criminal trials. (41)

13. The above represents a very brief survey of the events that took place between 1960 and 1966, by which time by and large the outbreaks of sabotage and violence were brought to an end. There have since then been sporadic attempts at both methods from time to time, but nothing on the scale represented by those years. An entire section of the leadership of the African movements are now either abroad or in various gaols throughout the country. All movements have since gone through various phases of regrouping and reorganizing internally and externally, both their membership and their tactics, for the next period of political struggle. It remains to consider in discussion the significance of this period in the development of African politics and the reasons for its emergence and effective suppression by the South African Government. On the one hand, there were the efficient and successful measures adopted by the police at the time, on the other hand, the movements can be considered

to be largely self-destructive, as evidenced by the lack of preparation undertaken by each, the underestimating of the ability and determination of the police, and the comparative ease with which the police were able to ascertain the presence of the leadership and effectively curb their activities. (42)

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Notes

- (1) G. Davis and G. Baker: Southern Africa in Transition, p. 258.
- (2) Africa Digest, February 1962.
- (3) Letter from Mandela to Sir de Villiers Graaff (quoted Africa South, Oct. 1961).
- (4) Africa Digest, December 1962.
- (5) Africa Today, May 1960.
- (6) The New Republican, March 1963.
- (7) Survey of Race Relations in South Africa: 1959.
- (8) Ibid: 1959.
- (9) Union Statutes: 1958.
- (10) Survey of Race Relations in South Africa: 1959.
- (11) P. Raboroko: Article in Africa South, March 1959.
- (12) Basic documents of the P.A.C.
- (13) Newspaper reports during that period.
- (14) Survey of Race Relations in South Africa: 1959.
- (15) Ibid: 1960.
- (16) M. Horrell: Action, Reaction, and Counter-Action, p. 48.
- (17) M. Nkosi, Vice President P.A.C., 1960: Interview.

- (18) Davis and Baker: Southern Africa in Transition, p. 262.
- (19) N. Mandela: Speech in Court, November 1962.
- (20) T. Makiwane: Interview.
- (21) N. Mandela: Speech in Rivonia Trial, 1964.
- (22) Hansard 8 of 1964.
- (23) The Times, March 27 1963.
- (24) M. Horrell: op. cit., p. 76.
- (25) L. Strydom: Rivonia Unmasked
- (26) I. Vermaak: The Red Trap. Mr Fischer was charged, together with others, for continuing the activities of the illegal Communist Party of South Africa at the same time.
- (27) W. Sisulu: Evidence in Rivonia Trial, 1964.
- (28) T. Letlaka: Interview.
- (29) P. K. Leballo: Interview.
- (30) M. Nokoana: Interview.
- (31) Snyman Commission Report: March 1963.
- (32) The Times, March 26 1963.
- (33) Snyman Commission, March 1963.
- (34) M. Horrell: op. cit., p. 83.
- (35) Hansard 20 of 1964.
- (36) Davis and Baker: op. cit., p. 262.
- (37) Ibid.
- (38) I. M. Tabata: Interview.
- (39) Dr N. Alexander: Evidence at his trial, February 1964.
- (40) M. Horrell: op. cit., p. 71.
- (41) Hansard 1 of 1965. For a full discussion of the effects of the legislation of this period, see A. S. Matthews: Law, Order and Liberty in South Africa.
- (42) T. Makiwane: Interview. F. Meer: "African Nationalism: Some Inhibitive Factors", in H. Adam South Africa: Sociological Perspectives.

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General Notes

1. Interview with members of A.N.C., P.A.C., A.R.M. and Unity Movement.

2. Publications

SECHABA

THE AFRICANIST

AZANIA NEWS

APDUSA

LIBERATION

AFRICA SOUTH

CONTACT

NEW AGE

SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA

PAMPHLETS of various organizations