

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

SOURCES – POLICY OF APARTHEID

Source 1 *Excerpt from a speech by Prime Minister DF Malan*

Mr. Speaker, today South Africa belongs to us. Where we shall be introducing legislation to implement our policy which we call Apartheid-the separation between the races. Races will live and travel separately. Education will be separate for all groups at all levels. Native reserves will become Black homelands. Work fitting for the White man will be reserved for him and him alone. Apartheid rests on three unarguable foundations - Afrikaner Experience - OUR experience, Scientific Proof that the White man is a superior being, and Biblical Witness. Apartheid represents divine will.

Context statement

Speech by Prime Minister DF Malan after the National Party victory at the polls on 26 May 1948.

Reference: Apartheid becomes official policy. South African History Online, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/apartheid-becomes-official-policy>

Source 2 *Excerpt from a speech by Nelson Mandela on Apartheid rule*

We are extricating ourselves from a system that insulted our common humanity by dividing us from one another on the basis of race and setting us against each other as oppressed and oppressor... that system committed a crime against humanity... In denying us these things the Apartheid State generated the violent political conflict in the course of which human rights were violated.

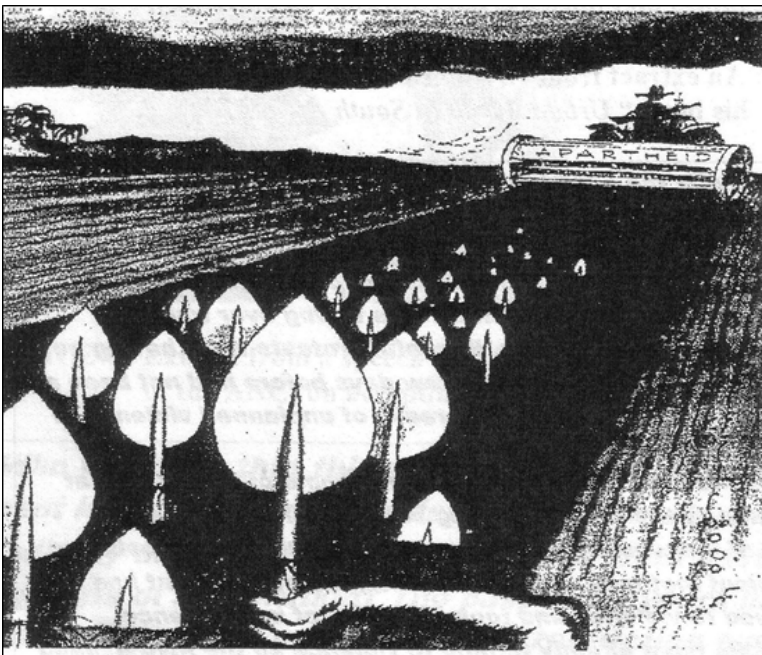
Context statement

Mandela presented a speech in Pretoria upon receipt of a report from the Truth & Reconciliation Commission, which investigated Apartheid-era atrocities, October 29, 1998.

Reference: South African Government Information Website, Statement by Nelson Mandela on receiving Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, http://www.mandela.gov.za/mandela_speeches/1998/981029_trcreport.htm

SOURCES – UMKHONTO WE SIZWE AND RIVONIA TRIAL

Source 3 *Cartoon from British magazine, Punch.*



Context statement

The cartoon, 'As you sow, so shall you reap', by Hawkrigge, appeared in the British satirical magazine, *Punch*, in 1960.

Reference: *Punch*, 1960.

Source 4 Nelson Mandela speaks at Rivonia Trial 1964

Four forms of violence are possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism and there is open revolution. We chose to adopt the first method and to exhaust it before taking any other decision. In the light of our political background the choice was a logical one. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Bitterness would be kept to a minimum and, if the policy bore fruit, democratic government could become a reality ... The initial plan was based on a careful analysis of the political and economic situation of our country. We believed that South Africa depended to a large extent on foreign capital and foreign trade. We felt that planned destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications would tend to scare away capital from the country, making it more difficult for goods from industrial areas to reach the seaports on schedule, and would in the long run be a drain on the economic life of the country, thus compelling the voters of the country to reconsider their position ... This then was the plan. Umkhonto was to perform sabotage, and strict instructions were given to members right from the start, that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations.

Context statement

Nelson Mandela speaks at his trial in 1964 and explains the ANC's strategies.

Reference: Nelson Mandela, Statement from the dock at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia Trial, 1964

Source 5 Sentencing of the Rivonia Trialists

I have heard a great deal during the course of this case about the grievances of the non-European population. The accused have told me, and their counsel have told me, that the accused, who are all leaders of the non-European population, have been motivated entirely by a desire to ameliorate these grievances. I am by no means convinced that the motives of the accused were as altruistic as they wished the Court to believe. People who organise a revolution usually plan to take over the government, and personal ambition cannot be excluded as a motive.

The function of this Court, as is the function of a Court in any country, is to enforce law and order, and to enforce the laws of the State within which it functions.

The crime of which the accused have been convicted, that is the main crime, the crime of conspiracy, is in essence one of high treason. The State has decided not to charge the crime in this form. Bearing this in mind, and giving the matter very serious consideration, I have decided not to impose the supreme penalty which in a case like this would usually be the proper penalty for the crime. But consistent with my duty, that is the only leniency which I can show.

The sentence in the case of all the accused will be one of life imprisonment. In the cases of the accused who have been convicted on more than one count. These counts will be taken together for purpose of sentence.

Context statement

On 12 June 1964, Judge Quartus de Wet sentenced Nelson Mandela and seven others to life imprisonment for sabotage in the Supreme Court of South Africa.

Reference: Sentencing of the Rivonia Trialists, 1964. https://www.nelsonmandela.org/uploads/files/12_June_sentence.pdf#

Source 6 *Mandela addresses All-In Africa Conference*



Context statement

The Pietermaritzburg *All-In Africa Conference*, to organize a constitutional convention, March 1961, was Mandela's first public appearance since before the treason trial and his last before he went underground. The conference called for the government to hold a national convention of representatives elected by all people in the country, black and white, to decide on a new political system for South Africa.

Reference: Photograph by Peter Magubane, Bailey's African Photo Archives

Source 7 *Excerpt from Mandela's autobiography*

We began our session at 8pm and it was tumultuous We argued the entire night But towards dawn, there was a resolution. The Congress authorised me to go ahead and form a new military organisation, separate from the ANC. The policy of the ANC would still be that of non-violence. I was authorised to join with whomever I wanted or needed to create this organisation and would not be subject to the direct control of the mother organisation.

This was a fateful step. For fifty years, the ANC had treated non-violence as a core principle, beyond question or debate. Henceforth, the ANC would be a different kind of organisation. We were embarking on a new and more dangerous path, a path of organised violence, the results of which we did not and could not know.

Context statement

In his autobiography, Nelson Mandela writes about the decision made by leaders of the ANC to turn to a policy of violent opposition to the government.

Reference: Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (1994), p.261

Source 8 *Excerpt from the founding manifesto of Umkhonto weSizwe*

It is ... well known that the main national liberation organisations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peacefully at all times, regardless of government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government-inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when 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 within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

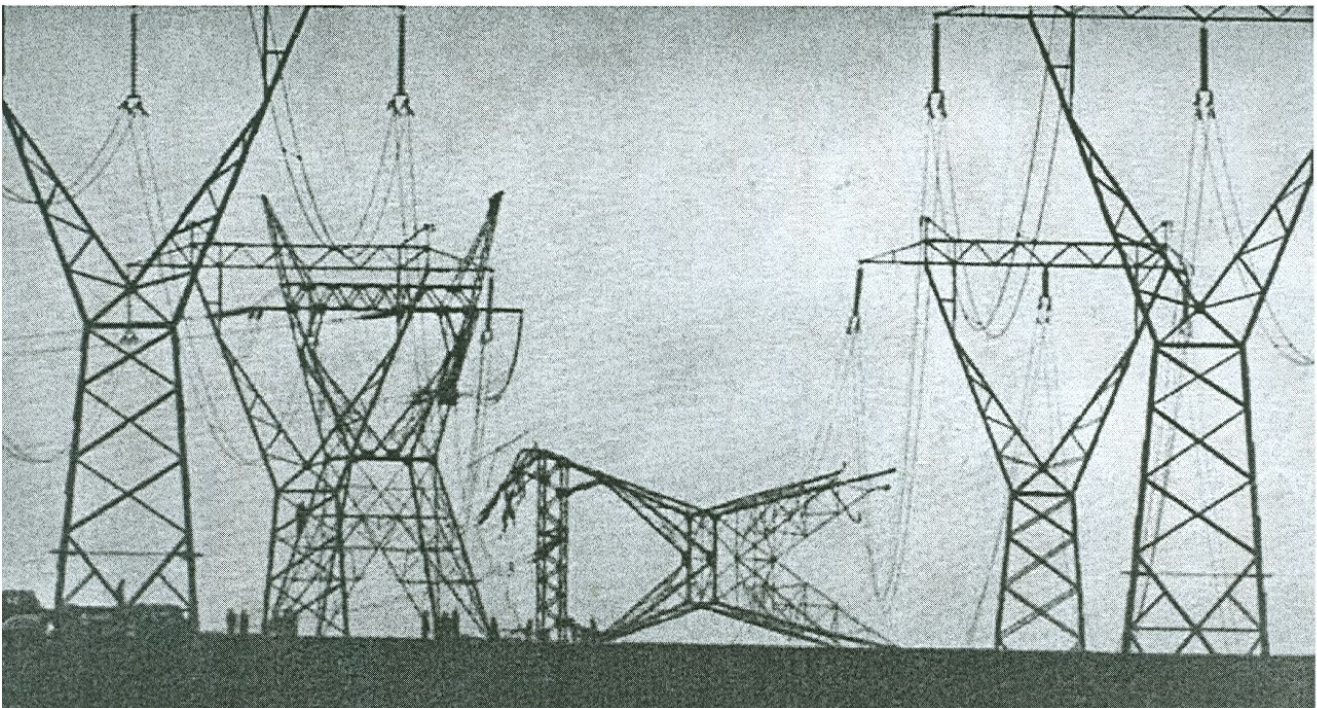
The Government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for Government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the Government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto weSizwe mark a break with that past.

Context statement

In the second half of 1961 the leaders of the ANC and SACP set up a new military organisation which they called Umkhonto weSizwe meaning 'The spear of the nation'.

Reference: Excerpt from the founding manifesto of Umkhonto weSizwe, quoted in: J. Pampallis, *Foundations of a New South Africa* (1991), pp.220-1.

Source 9 *Pylons destroyed by bombs, 1961*



Context statement

On 16 December 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe saboteurs lit explosives at an electricity sub-station. Other acts of sabotage followed over the next eighteen months.

Reference: Professor Douglas O. Linder, *Famous Trials*, <https://www.famous-trials.com/nelsonmandela/690-indictment>

Source 10 *Excerpt from Mandela's speech at the Rivonia Trial*

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Context statement

In the Rivonia Trial Mr Mandela chose, instead of testifying, to make a speech from the dock and proceeded to hold the court spellbound for more than four hours. His speech, which was made at the beginning of the defence case, ended with the above words.

Reference: Nelson Mandela, Pretoria Supreme Court, 20 April 1964, <https://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/i-am-prepared-to-die>

Source 11 *Luthuli comments on the Rivonia Trial*

They are sentenced to be shut away for long years in the brutal and degrading prisons of South Africa. With them will be interred this country's hopes for racial co-operation. They will leave a vacuum in leadership that may only be filled by bitter hate and racial strife.

Context statement

ANC President, Chief Albert Luthuli, made this statement following the sentencing of the Rivonia trialists.

Reference: T. Karis and G. Carter, *From Protest to Challenge*, Volume 3 (1977), p799.

Source 12 *Excerpt from George Bizos, member of defence at Rivonia Trial*

Nelson Mandela's commitment to the struggle for freedom started more than 15 years before he and many others decided, towards the end of 1961, that peaceful resistance was no longer the only option available to the oppressed people of South Africa.

The decision to form Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) to attack symbols of apartheid was not easily taken. But as a result of the Sharpeville massacre – during which 69 people were killed and 180 were injured by police at a non-violent protest for the abolition of the pass laws – on March 21 1960, the banning of the African National Congress, and the detention of the leaders of the ANC – and particularly those facing a charge of treason – they were persuaded that the decision was inevitable...

The apartheid regime attempted to fully exploit the ANC's decision to use violence. It compared the ANC with criminal gangs such as the Red Brigades of Italy and the Baader-Meinhof Gang of Germany. The regime ignored MK's limitation of violence to symbols of apartheid, and sparing of human targets.

The arrest in Rivonia at the Liliesleaf Farm on the outskirts of Johannesburg, and the documents implicating Mandela found hidden on the farm, were celebrated as a triumph by the security police and considered by Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd's government as a death blow to the struggle.

History proved them wrong.

Context statement

George Bizos is a human rights lawyer who campaigned against apartheid in South Africa, most notably during the Rivonia Trial.

Reference: George Bizos. 'Mandela's trial and tribulations', *Mail & Guardian*, December 2013, <https://mg.co.za/article/2013-12-06-00-george-bizos-mandelas-trial-and-tribulations>

Source 13 *Cartoon on negotiation process*



Context statement

Cartoon, drawn in December 1991, by South African cartoonist, Len Sak, comments on the negotiation process between the National Party government and the African National Congress (ANC)

Reference: Dugmore, Francis & Rice (eds). *Nelson Mandela A Life in Cartoons*. 1st ed. (1999), p100.

Source 14 *Extracts from the CODESA talks*

At the opening meeting of the CODESA talks, in December 1991, the two leaders clashed.

De Klerk attacked the ANC

“An organisation which remains committed to an armed struggle cannot be trusted completely when it also commits itself to peacefully negotiated solutions.”

Nelson Mandela lashed back

“I am gravely concerned about the behaviour of Mr de Klerk today. He has launched an attack on the ANC and in doing so he has been less than friendly. Even the head of an illegitimate, discredited minority regime as he, has certain moral standards to uphold. If a man can come to a conference and play this type of politics...very few people would like to deal with such a man. We must make allowances for the fact that he is a product of apartheid.”

Context statement

At the opening meeting of the CODESA talks, in December 1991, Mandela and De Klerk had conflicting views.

Reference: C. Culpin, *South Africa Since 1948: A Study in Depth*, (2000).

Source 15 *Extract from Newspaper article, 1990*

De Klerk heralds a new era

South Africa's President, Mr FW de Klerk, took his country into a new political era yesterday with a package of sweeping reforms that earned plaudits from around the world.

The President, addressing the opening of parliament, announced the immediate unbanning of the African National Congress and said the government would release unconditionally Mr Nelson Mandela ... "The time for talking has arrived," said Mr De Klerk.

Spontaneous celebrations broke out in townships around the country ... Some of the most outspoken critics of the government in the domestic anti-apartheid community reacted with incredulity to the sweep of Mr De Klerk's announcements. "He has taken my breath away," said Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Prize winner. "I'm surprised and encouraged," said another anti-apartheid leader, Dr Allan Boesak.

Context statement

Newspaper article written after the ANC was unbanned and many rejoiced.

Reference: *Guardian*, 3 February, 1990.

Source 16 *Photograph of De Klerk supporter*



Context statement

Photograph of De Klerk supporter taken in 1994.

Reference: J Harker, *The Legacy of Apartheid*, (1994).