**Attachment 9: Objections to the formation of the Union of South Africa.**

Objections to the Union of South Africa by the indigenous people of South Africa are nothing new. Objections arose before the Union was implemented, and have continued until now. However, objectors have been forcefully silenced throughout the history of South Africa. This silencing has overstepped recognized human rights repeatedly.

Tribes in South Africa have been calling for the restitution of their land taken from them forcefully before and after the Union of South Africa was formed.

Although there has been a system put in order whereby people can lay legal claims for their ancestral land, this system has proved inefficient and inadequate. This is discussed further in Attachment 17 - The African National Congress in government, Sub-Section: Land.

The struggle for freedom from the constriction which the Union placed on the lives of South Africans, has been fraught with danger, brought upon the nation itself through ignorance and their turning to desperate measures to win their freedom; as well as danger brought on them from other countries and their mafias who are exploiting the unstable domestic situation South Africans find themselves in. It appears that the help freedom fighters have received has often been given by people, organizations and countries, who have had ulterior motives for self enrichment.

In this document, we discuss the following:

Section A. The Union of South Africa was drafted by the Crown and enforced British supremacy on the nation

Section B. Launch of Union 1910

Section C. South Africans united against the Union of South Africa

Section D. International Objections to the Union of South Africa

**Section A. The Union of South Africa was drafted by the Crown and enforced British supremacy on the nation**

After the Peace Treaty was signed between the Boers and the British in 1902, the Crown set about creating legislation to silence and annex the whole country. Existing British legislation in the Cape and Natal colonies, based on the influence of Sir Alfred Milner, high commissioner of the Cape. Milner was convinced of the superiority of the British and that this gave the British Crown the moral right to rule over other peoples, whether Asian, African, Afrikaners or Boers, according to his way of thinking. Milner was determined to enforce British supremacy on south and southern Africa. 1 Under his leadership, the Kindergarten group set out to realign existing legislation to include all the land and transform South Africa into a colonial colony of the Crown as a complete unit, called the Union of South Africa.

**(i) The legislature on which the Union was based, penalized people based on their skin color**

British segregationist legislation included the Franchise and Ballot Act (1892), which limited the black vote by finance and education; and the Natal Legislative Assembly Bill (1894), which deprived Indians of the right to vote.

Discrimination policies assumed new urgency with the formation of the South African Native Affairs Commission in 1903. That year witnessed the introduction of the pass system that would later be the focus of much resistance by Mohandas Gandhi, among other people. The pass system effectively meant that Africans could not be employed by any farmer, miner or industrialist without a pass.

The following year, indentured Chinese laborers (who were repatriated to their country in 1907) were imported to work on the gold and diamond mines, with the consequence that Black workers’ wages were further eroded. Poor wages together with inhumane working and living conditions were among the major causes of worker disgruntlement at the time and various working class trade unions and groups struggled against this exploitation.

The General Pass Regulations Bill (1905), which denied blacks the vote altogether, limited them to fixed areas and inaugurated the infamous Pass System; and the Asiatic Registration Act (1906) requiring all Indians to register and carry passes.

**(ii) The legislature on which the Union was based, compelled people to pay taxes to the Crown**

The situation was further exacerbated by the introduction of a poll tax (a flat-rate tax levied on all members of the population and often a requirement for voting eligibility) in 1906.

**1. Taxes created slave labor**

Failure to pay taxes, which included taxes on salt and homes (the hut tax), compelled the Black population to seek work in White-owned businesses.

**2. Taxes created war**

Anger around this ‘poll-tax’ culminated in the Bambadha uprising in which 3 000 Black and 30 White men were killed at Nkandla in Natal.

**(iii) The legislature on which the Union was based, created political bodies in South Africa**

As the pro-white policies of the British colonial administrator Alfred Milner carried over from the British colonial government in the Cape into the legislation of the Union, engendered considerable resistance from indigenous people and led to the formation and growth of new political bodies.

**1. Colored objections to British legislation in South Africa**

By the beginning of the twentieth century a number of political organizations initiated by Coloreds existed, most of which dealt with the question of the franchise. The exception was the South African Moslems' Association (SAMA), which mobilized its members around racial segregation in urban areas that was being introduced as a result of the bubonic plague that hit Cape Town in 1901.

SAMA did not restrict its membership to Muslims only. Tobin and W. Collins, a lay preacher In the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church, were both active in that organization. Together they mooted the idea of an organization for Coloreds that would not be organized around a single and specific issue only. This proved to be the hour of birth of the African Political or People's Organization (APO) as it was later known. Its first president was W. Collins. The APO, although it recruited its members from the relatively small group of educated and economically comfortably off Coloreds, was to become the most influential political organization for Coloreds for almost forty years.

Abdullah Abdurrahman, who became the President of the organization in 1904, stressed his organization’s displeasure at the political discrimination to which Coloreds were subjected. By 1910, he had managed to build an organization of 20 000 members, and became a key figure in the establishment of the South African Native National Congress.

Although it collapsed as an organization in the early 1940, has to give way to more radical organizations, the APO shaped black political thought and culture for decades after its demise.

**2. Indian objection to British legislation in South Africa**

In 1906, Indian political activist, Mohandas Gandhi, began a passive resistance campaign against the pass laws, leading Indians in Natal and the Transvaal (they were legally prohibited from living in or entering the Orange Free State) in demonstrations and organizing stop-work protests that won thousands of supporters. In its historical development, passive resistance in South Africa has been closely associated with Mohandas Gandhi and his philosophy of 'Satyagraha', a term he coined in 1906.  This was a new technique of fighting social and political injustice, a campaign method conducted without hatred and without violence.  During the next eight years, he used this method with a measure of success, until 1914, when he reached an agreement with the South African Government and left for India.

It was as the author and sole practitioner of Satyagraha that, in 1919-20, he entered the Indian political scene, which he was to dominate for the next three decades.

3. **Passive resistance campaigns of 1906 and 1913.**

Gandhi's comment on the term ‘satyagraha’ was as follows:

“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 eight 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”.'

After the 1906 Passive resistance campaign, there were further passive resistance campaigns in later decades by Indians, Blacks and progressive Whites in South Africa. Gandhi believed in the effectiveness of what he called the ‘soul force' in passive resistance, maintaining that the suffering experienced by the resisters inspired a change of heart in the rulers.

Constitutional discussions towards Union took place between 1908 and 1909. Numerous meetings organized by Africans, Coloreds and Indians protested the Whites-only exclusivity of these constitutional discussions.

**4. Black objections to British legislation in South Africa**

The Bambadha rebellion was a notable Black South African response to discontent against British legislation in South Africa which was welling up among many black people in Natal, particularly with regard to the allocation of land for sugar plantations and the heavy tax burdens that the colonial British government imposed on blacks in Natal. After Dinizulu was deposed by the Natal government, the traditional way of life of the Zulu people came under renewed pressure, as the colonial administration continued with its policy of subjecting pre-colonial social structures to the colonial purpose. This policy was known as indirect rule.

Among the first indications of a brewing rebellion was the killing of a farmer, Henry Smith, on 17 January 1906 by one of his workers. When questioned during his trail, the worker admitted killing the farmer out of resentment for having to enter in a labor relation with him in order to pay tax. In response to Bambadha’s refusal to pay taxes, the colonial government of Natal sent an armed force to arrest him. Bambadha fled to the Mpanza valley with his family and was given refuge by the Zulu king Dinizulu.

On 14 April 1906, the Natal Government offered a reward of £500 for the capture of Bambadha. On his return to his chieftaincy, Bambadha discovered that the colonial government had installed his uncle as ruler in his place. After deposing his uncle, Bambadha and his followers fled into the Nkandla forests and from there proceeded to wage a guerrilla war against the colonial government. Government measures to suppress this rebellion by Bambadha only served to garner him more support among the Zulu people, and many chieftaincies joined up with him.

On 5 May 1906, Bambina’s forces engaged a colonial force dispatched to end the rebellion for good. The colonials, armed with firearms, inflicted heavy losses on Tabatha’s forces. Bambata was forced to flee, but his forces were tracked to the Mome Gorge. In the battle that followed, Bambadha was captured and killed on 10 June 1906.

The response to this rebellion was to set the tone for the constitutional developments that eventually resulted in the Union of South Africa. The status and views of Blacks were considered a secondary concern, as the British were more concerned with gaining complete ownership of the land of South Africa. This was played out in the National convention of 1908

**a) The National Convention of 1908 excluded equal representation**

The most important reason for the National convention of 1908 was to foster closer relations between the four colonies with regard to policies concerning labor, the relationship between Britain and South Africa, education, fostering equality between Afrikaans/Dutch and English and the question of extending franchise to Black South Africans. However, all tribes of South Africa were not represented by their leaders during this convention as their leaders had not been invited, or were imprisoned. This convention can be considered the prelude to South Africa becoming a Union. It is important to note that each of the colonies that participated in this process were considered self-governing territories. Among the major debates at this convention was the question of whether the unification of the South African Colonies would take on the form of a union or a federation. What the shape of the South African economy would take and legislative procedures that would be followed to empower laws were also debated.

The final concern was the apportioning of constitutional authority in such a way as to avoid a situation in which the political interests of one group would dominate the other. This convention in many regards constituted the foundation for the Union of South Africa, as many of the issues discussed and examined would form part of the laws of the eventual Union.

The African People’s Organization, largely a Cape political formation, the Orange River Colony Vigilance Association and the Transvaal Vigilance Association were all formed during this period.

**b) South Africa Act 1909**

The South African Act of 1909 defined the form on which the Union of South Africa would be based.

In 1909, Lord Elgin, the British Colonial secretary, met with the leaders of the different colonies in South Africa and discussed the issue of a potential union as well as a proposed constitution for the Union of South Africa.

Old divisions hampered this process though, as the smaller and less wealthy colonies feared that the larger and wealthier ones would dominate them.

Natal, on the other hand, wished to retain some of its independence.

When it came to actually forming the Union, an important concern was who would lead the government. Initially Steyn, who was once president of the Orange Free State, was asked to form a government, but he declined the offer.

Thus, it was decided that Botha would form the first government as Prime Minister.

The South Africa Act of 1909 could be considered as an empowering of the decisions reached at the National Convention of 1908 by the British Parliament.

Draft laws, such as language policy and the denial of the franchise to Black South Africans, as well as the eventual form the Union of South Africa were now finalized.

**5. The South African Native National Congress was formed to object to the legislation for the Union of South Africa**

The passing of the South Africa Act of 1909 was opposed by the indigenous people of South Africa.

Different South African political formations, fragmented and each with a ‘provincial’ appeal, forged a unified political movement under the name of the South African Native National Congress. The need for a permanent body to represent indigenous South Africans including the Black, Colored and Indian tribes on a national level was the reason for the transformation of the body into a more representative and dynamic organization.

Pixley ka Isaka Seme, a well educated attorney, and author Solomon Plaatje, pioneered the formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC).

**6. The South African Native Convention of 1909 was held to object to the legislation of the Union**

In 1909, a group of SANNC delegates from the four provinces including John Dube and Dr. Walter Rubusana met in Waaihoek, Bloemfontein to propose a means to object to the draft South Africa Act, and Union Constitution. This was the South African Native Convention (SANC).

**7. A delegation was sent to London in to object to the legislation of the Union**

They decided to send a delegation to London to convince the British government and Crown not to accept the Union in its present form.

This delegation, known as the Schreiner mission, was led by former Cape Prime Minister William Schreiner, and included in this delegation were Dr Abdurrahman, as leader of the Colored deputation, and JT Jabavu, as leader of the African deputation. Apart from sympathetic coverage from the British media to the plight of Blacks, little else was achieved by the delegation. The delegation failed in its aim, and race supremacy was to be entrenched under a unitary state.

**References:**

1 M Wilson and L Thompson: The Oxford history pg 321

**Section B. Launch of Union 1910**

In 1910, the South Africa Act was passed in England granting dominion to the White minority over Native (African), Asiatic (mostly Indian) and “Colored and other mixed races”.  This Act brought the colonies and republics - Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State - together as the Union of South Africa.  Under the provisions of the Act, the Union remained territory of the Crown, but with supposed home-rule for the Boers.  Each of the four unified states was allowed to keep their existing franchise qualifications and the Cape Colony was the only one which permitted voting by (property owning) non-whites.

On the 31 May 1910, exactly eight years after the Boers had made peace with the English through the Treaty of Vereeniging, South Africa became a Union. Despite the mistrust in the Boer camp, the Boers had negotiated and achieved self-determination.

The formation of the Union laid its foundation on the Treaty of Vereeniging. However, the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed by leaders who did not represent any other group inside South Africa except for the British and the Boers.

The British Government was interested in creating a unified country within its Empire; one which could support and defend itself.  It was necessary to have the Boers, the white Afrikaans and English speakers working together, especially following the acrimonious end to the Anglo-Boer War, and the satisfactory compromise that had taken eight years to reach.

By ignoring the wishes of the majority of the population, the formation of the Union of South Africa was illegal, and contributed to the political upheaval and turmoil that would engulf the country until now.

The first Parliamentary election of the Union of South Africa held on 15 September 1910. The Government Party won even though Louis Botha lost his Pretoria East seat.

A union, rather than a federalized country, was more agreeable to the Afrikaans electorate since it would give the country a greater freedom from Britain.  Louis Botha and Jan Christiaan Smuts, both highly influential within the Afrikaans speaking white communities, were closely involved in the development of the new constitution.

Written into the new constitution was a requirement that a two-thirds majority of parliament would be necessary to make any changes to the constitution.

The British High Commission Territories of Basutholand (now Lesotho), Bechuanaland (now Botswana), and Swaziland were excluded from the Union and they remained under direct rule from the Crown.

General Louis Botha, the first Prime Minister of the Union, introduced the policy of formal racial segregation, leading to the further erosion of political rights of opposition in government and the aggravation of the plight of African communities.  Under the new system of government, for example, white magistrates were given increased control of local African communities.  Nelson Mandela would later describe this reform as the capture of the institution of chieftaincy “to suppress the aspirations of their own tribesmen”.

English and Dutch became the official languages.  Afrikaans did not gain recognition as an official language until 1925.  Despite a major campaign by Blacks and Coloreds, the voter franchise remained as in the pre-Union republics and colonies, and only white males could gain election to parliament.

The new Union of South Africa gained international respect with British Dominion status putting it on par with three other important British dominions and allies: Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

**1. Black objections to Union of South Africa**

The response of the African press to the formation of Union was one of undisguised hostility. Much effort was directed at stalling or changing the draft Act of the South African Union. But despite all efforts, the act was passed through the colonial parliaments.

In response, John Tengu Jabavu convened the Cape Native Convention. Jabavu was an important Black political leader, educationist and journalist, and he played an important role in the establishment of what was to become the African National Congress. Despite vocal objections, the establishment of the Union of South Africa went ahead.

After actively petitioning the National Convention and being ignored during 1910 and 1911, delegates to the South African Native Convention (SANC) decided to call a meeting in Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912 to consider the formation of a dynamic and unified movement that would challenge the White government.

**a) The Native Union was formed**

Seme, who later became a founding member of the South African Native National Congress, wrote an article in October of 1911 called ‘[Native Union](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/library-resources/articles_papers/karis/Karis%20_v1_%20pt%202%20doc21.htm)’.2

J.T. Jabavu, the founder of 'Imvo zaBantu' (a mouthpiece for the new Elite's political thinking in the Eastern Cape) was opposed to this move. He described it as a 'dangerous delusion' in that it preached that Africans should have nothing to do with White institutions.

**b) Bloemfontein meeting on 8 January 1912**

On 8 Jan 1912, a conference took place at Maphikela House in Mangaung Township, Bloemfontein by a large group of delegates who represented their areas and organizations.

The inaugural conference was organized by Seme, Alfred Mangena, Richard Msimang and George Montsioa (all lawyers had been educated abroad).

Preliminary drafts of the Union governments Natives’ Land Act were debated in 1911 and the Mines and Works Act which had been passed in 1911. These laws and the formation of the Union were important factors leading to the decision of the delegates to form a unified organization with which to stand up against the South African government. It was agreed to form the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), and decision was made to draft a SANNC constitution so that an umbrella federation of all African organizations could be formed. However, agreement on it could not be found until color, class and gender fell away in 1917, and the constitution was finalized in 1919.

**c) The South African delegation in 1914 to convey the objections of the African people to the 1913 Land Act.**

Although the Colonial Government passed many discriminatory laws against Blacks, the most severe, the 1913 Natives’ Land Act, codified those injustices by preserving the large majority of the Union’s land for the exclusive use of the white minority. The Act effectively meant that access to land and other resources depended upon a person’s racial classification. This legislation caused endemic overcrowding, extreme pressure on the land, and poverty.

A nine man team of representatives from the South African Native National Congress was sent to England as the South African delegation in 1914 to convey the objections of the African people to the 1913 Land Act.

These objections included black dissatisfaction with the South Africa Act of 1910 that established the Union of South Africa, their treatment after the Anglo Boer War and numerous laws that controlled and restricted black movement and labor.

**d) The South African delegation in 1918 to convey the objections of the African people to the Union of South Africa.**

After the end of the First World War on the 11th of November 1918, the SANNC sent an appeal to King George V on the 16th of December 1918, which lists African loyalty in the war to the Crown, and requested the intervention of the King to overturn the policy of the Union government.

**2. White objections to Union of South Africa**

The Peace Treaty of Vereeniging was drawn up in English and negotiated on behalf of the Boers by Jan Smuts. Most of these Boers were illiterate and could not speak English. Once the Treaty had been signed inside a tent, Smuts stepped outside to where the Boers were waiting to hear the outcome of the negotiations. Immediately after Smuts explained the terms of the Treaty to them, they accused him of being a traitor. It has since been discovered that the Treaty was later redesigned at the Melrose House, Pretoria, in secrecy.

South Africa was besieged by British military at that stage. The Boers decided to continue their struggle for independence from the British Crown at the next best opportunity. This presented itself when much of the British military troops were withdrawn to partake in the First World War.

**a) First World War and the Maritz Rebellion**

With the outbreak of the [First World War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_World_War), South Africa along with the other British Dominions, were forced to fight on the side of the British Crown. Hereby the Crown laid claim to the same boys of the Boer nation who survived the British concentration camps during the Second Anglo Boer War, to fight against Germany, a country which was well-disposed towards the Boerevolk.

The Maritz Rebellion (also known as the Boer Revolt) broke out in South Africa in 1914 at the start of World War I, during which men who objected to supporting the Crown called for the reinstitution of the old Boer republics, and rose up against the government of the Union of South Africa.

The South African Government agreed to the withdrawal of British Army units from South Africa, who was planning to invade and annex South West Africa, today known as Namibia, to enable these British units to join the European war, and plans were laid for the South African forces to invade the [German colony of South-West Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_South-West_Africa).

Most of the European descendent Cape Settlers and Boere Volk refused to fight against the against their friends and families who had settled in South West Africa, and along with other opponents of the Government, rose in open revolt.

Many Boers who had fought with the Maritz rebels against the Crown during the Second Anglo-Boer War twelve years earlier, had been left impoverished after that war, and had since found employment in the ‘new’ South African government.

Divided loyalties caused a huge rift amongst the Boer nation.

The Government declared martial law on 14 October 1914, and forces loyal to the Government under the command of Gen Louis Botha and Jan Smuts proceeded to destroy the [Maritz Rebellion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maritz_Rebellion).

The British Crown formed hunting troops against these ‘rebelling’ Boers – who had been labeled as ‘bittereinders3’’.

The rebellion was a failure, and the Boer rebel’s court martialled, disposed, or assessed large fines. The leading Boer rebels received terms of imprisonment of six and seven years and heavy fines. Two years later, they were released from prison, as Louis Botha recognized the value of reconciliation. See Footnote 1 for details of the Maritz Rebellion with reference to Southwest Africa.

**b) Boers enter the political arena to object to the Union of South Africa**

Since the formation of the Union of South Africa, James Hertzog had been an impatient and uncomfortable minister in the Botha cabinet. Despite being the most powerful of the influential Bloemfontein circle, he held only the position as Minister for Justice. Hertzog refused to accept Anglophile influences in the cabinet, and, in that category, he included Smuts. Hertzog was issued an ultimatum, to either put up or shut up. When he refused, Botha dissolved the cabinet and dismissed the rebellious minister. It was exactly as Hertzog had intended, for he sought to be portrayed as a defender of the Boers.

Upon his return to the Free State, ex-Orange Free State Republic President Steyn said that Hertzog had been "martyred for what he had done for the Dutch".

In 1912, General J.B.M. Hertzog pledged to achieve republican independence for South Africa.

Before the 1913 conference of the South African Party, in Cape Town, Hertzog persuaded Christiaan De Wet to support his campaign against Louis Botha and Smuts. Opening the conference, De Wet proposed a motion calling for the two leaders to resign, to be replaced by Steyn. The conference was thrown into disarray.

The Old Boers, led by De Wet, Steyn, and Hertzog, spoke passionately for the expulsion of 'foreign' influences. However, when the motion came to the vote, Botha and Smuts triumphed, pulling through by the skin of their teeth. The Old Boers were outraged, and marched out of the conference.

In 1914, this core of Old Boers, together with a few inexperienced politicians, such as Daniel François Malan and Tielman Johannes Roos, formed its own party, opposed to everything for which Smuts and Botha stood. They would become the National Party.

**References:**

2 The constitution outlined the organizations’ five basic aims:

To promote unity and mutual co-operation between the government and the South African Black people;

To maintain a channel between the government and the Black people;

To promote the social, educational and political upliftment of the Black people;

To promote understanding between chiefs, and loyalty to the British crown and all lawful authorities and to promote understanding between white and black South Africans;

To address the just grievances of the black people;

Although the contents of the constitution were not radical, there was no agreement on it and were only finalized in 1919. The SANNC was an elitist rather than a mass movement in its early days, and consisted of members with an education or a position in the community. Much like the African People's Organization (APO) and the Natal Indian Congress, exclusivity along the lines of color were also a norm and women were not initially permitted to be members.

Source: Karis, T & Carter G. M. (1972)

3 **Bittereinders** were a faction of [Boer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boer) [guerrilla](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerrilla) fighters, resisting the forces of the [British Crown](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Empire) in the later stages of the [Second Boer War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Boer_War) (1899-1902).

By September 1900, the conventional forces of the [South African Republic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_African_Republic) and the [Orange Free State](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orange_Free_State) had been largely defeated by the British army. The remnants of Boer government resolved to fight on in a [guerrilla war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerrilla_war), to try to force the British to retreat from the territory. As it became clear that military victory was unlikely, opinion among the guerrillas divided between those who wanted to secure a negotiated peace and those who preferred to fight on to 'the bitter end'. The decision to fight was given particular currency by British use of concentration camps to pacify the Boer population;

The word is derived from the [Dutch language](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_language) upon which the [Afrikaans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrikaans) language of the Boers (later misrepresented by the National Party government [Afrikaners](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrikaners)) is based. The words bitter einder (singular, the final "s" denotes plural) literally mean "bitter-ender" denoting someone who is "willing to fight to the [bitter end](http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/bitter_end)";

At the end of the Second Boer War, all Boer soldiers had been asked to sign a pledge that they would abide by the peace terms. Some, like Deneys Reitz, refused and were exiled from South Africa. Over the following decade many returned home, and not all of them signed the pledge upon returning. At the end of the second Boer War, those Boers who had fought to the end were known as "bittereinders" ("bitter enders"); by the time of the rebellion, those who had not taken the pledge and wanted to start a new war had also become known as the "bitter enders."

Taken more generally, it could be used as another name for a "war party" (a faction within a political or military group favoring the waging of war) or for any group which does not wish to diminish its "fighting spirit" wanting to fight it out to the "bitter end."

**Footnote 1** **Details of the Maritz Rebellion with reference to Southwest Africa.**

Unofficially known as the Third Anglo-Boer War, the Maritz Rebellion has been down sized by historians.

A German journalist who interviewed the former Boer general J.B.M. Hertzog for the Tägliche Rundschau wrote:

Hertzog believes that the fruit of the three-year struggle by the Boers is that their freedom, in the form of a general South African Republic, will fall into their laps as soon as England is involved in a war with a Continental power.

Paraphrasing the Irish Nationalists': "England's misfortune is the bitter enders' opportunity”, the "bitter enders" and their supporters saw the start of World War I as that opportunity, particularly since England's enemy, Germany, had been their old supporter.

The outbreak of hostilities in Europe in August 1914 had long been anticipated, and the government of the Union of South Africa was well aware of the significance of the common border South Africa shared with the German colony of South-West Africa. Prime Minister Louis Botha informed London that South Africa could defend itself and that the imperial garrison could depart for France; when the British government asked Botha whether his forces would invade German South-West Africa, the reply was that they could and would. South African troops were mobilised along the border between the two countries under the command of General Henry Lukin and Lieutenant Colonel Manie Maritz early in September 1914. Shortly afterwards, another force occupied the German port of Lüderitz.

When the South African government had offered to invade the German colonies, the commander-in-chief of the Union Defence Force General Christiaan Beyers resigned, writing "It is sad that the war is being waged against the 'barbarism' of the Germans. We have forgiven but not forgotten all the barbarities committed in our own country during the South African War," referring to the atrocities committed during the Boer War.

A nominated senator, General Koos de la Rey, who had refused to support the government in parliament over this issue, visited Beyers. On 15 September they set off together to visit Major JCG (Jan) Kemp in Potchefstroom, who had a large armoury and a force of 2,000 men who had just finished training, many of whom were thought to be sympathetic to the rebels' ideas.

Although it is not known what the purpose of their visit was, the South African government believed it to be an attempt to instigate a rebellion, as stated in the Government Blue Book on the rebellion. According to General Beyers it was to discuss plans for the simultaneous resignation of leading army officers as protest against the government's actions, similar to what had happened in Britain two years earlier in the Curragh incident over the Irish Home Rule Bill.

On the way to the meeting De la Rey was accidentally shot and killed by a policeman at a road block set up to look for the Foster gang. At his funeral, however, many Nationalist Boers believed and perpetuated the rumour that it was a government assassination, which added fuel to the fire. Their anger was even further inflamed by Siener van Rensburg and his controversial prophecies.

General Maritz, who was head of a commando of Union forces on the border of

German South-West Africa, allied himself with the Germans and issued a proclamation on behalf of a provisional government which stated that "the former South African Republic and Orange Free State as well as the Cape Province and Natal are proclaimed free from British control and independent, and every White inhabitant of the mentioned areas, of whatever nationality, are hereby called upon to take their weapons in their hands and realize the long-cherished ideal of a Free and Independent South Africa."

It was announced that Generals Beyers, De Wet, Maritz, Kemp and Bezuidenhout were to be the first leaders of this provisional government.

Maritz's forces occupied Keimoes in the Upington area.

The Lydenburg commando under General De Wet took possession of the town of [Heilbron](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heilbron), held up a train and captured government stores and ammunition. Some of the prominent citizens of the area joined him, and by the end of the week he had a force of 3,000 men.

Beyers also gathered a force in the Magaliesberg; in all, about 12,000 rebels rallied to the cause.

General Louis Botha had around 32,000 troops to counter the rebels of which about 20,000 were Afrikaans speaking government employees.

The government declared martial law on 14 October 1914, and forces loyal to the government under the command of General Louis Botha and Jan Smuts proceeded to destroy the rebellion. General Maritz was defeated on 24 October and took refuge with the Germans.

The Beyers commando was attacked and dispersed at Commissioners Drift on 28 October, after which Beyers joined forces with Kemp, but drowned in the Vaal River on 8 December.

General De Wet was captured in Bechuanaland, and General Kemp, having taken his commando across the Kalahari desert, losing 300 out of 800 men and most of their horses on the 1,100 kilometre month-long trek, joined Maritz in German South-West Africa, but returned after about a week and surrendered on 4 February 1915.

After the Maritz rebellion was suppressed, the South African army continued their operations into German South West Africa and conquered it by July 1915.

**Section C. South Africans united against the Union of South Africa**

Various organizations formed in the early 1900’s wherein South Africans of all colors, religions and political persuasions demonstrated against the legislation brought about in the Union, and many merged to become political parties. The most famous organization became known as the African National Congress.

**i) The South African Native National Congress changed its name to the African National Congress.**

In 1923, the South African Native National Congress absorbed more political parties, and changed its name to the African National Congress (ANC).

Women were only permitted to be full members of the ANC in 1943.

The African National Congress formed an alliance with the South African Communist Party which is discussed in Attachment 12 - Zionist Jewry supported the pre-1994 reigning National Party South African government and the anti-government movement.

In a joint decision, the African National Congress, Pan African Congress and the National Socialist political parties decided to take an armed stance against the Union of South Africa to bring about a change in system of governance, and destroy the economy of South Africa.

**A. The Armed Struggle to destroy the Union of South Africa**

There have been many violent insurrections to volley against the Union of South Africa, of which we note some of the most well-known occasions in this section. Other African countries were also involved in the struggle to liberate Africans from the constricting rules inflicted on them through the Union of South Africa.

**The Mandela Myth - The 'M Plan' of 1953**

One of the most famous and successful strategies formulated to keep the movement of liberation from the Apartheid system entrenched in the Constitution of the Union of South Africa going, was built on the principle of providing the world with a victimized hero who represented the South African nation, for which the Mandela family was chosen by the leaders of the South African Communist Party. Keeping the idea of Nelson Mandela in prison for as long as possible was pertinent to the momentum of their struggle to gain as much support as possible to ensure as much buying power possible at the time negotiations took place between the government of South Africa, and the representatives of the Crown who acted within the membership of the leaders of the peace negotiations between the South African government and the ‘Freedom Fighters’.

To discuss the strategic value of providing the world with a hero, we refer to “The Principle of Monarchy” discussed in ‘Searchlight South Africa, Vol 3, No 2: (p.08-30) based on an excerpt from the book written by Paul Trewhela called ***Inside Quatro* sub-section** *A Death in South Africa: The Killing of Sipho Phungulwa and the Mandela Monarchy 'M Plan'*, as follows:   
The Mandela myth was mainly the creation of the South African Communist Party. As the most important organizer of African National Congress politics within the country and internationally for thirty years, especially through the media, the South African Communist Party in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s set about the creation of a very specific cult of personality.  
  
“The 'M Plan' of 1953, in which 'M' stood for Mandela, did more to surround the leader's name with a mystique than reorganize the African National Congress on a cell-system, as it was supposed to do. Ten years later, after the arrest of members of the High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe at Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, the emphasis was not principally on a collective call: Free the Rivonia nine.' The fate of an entire generation of political victims was absorbed into the fate of a single individual: Free Mandela.' Such personification of thousands of individual acts of imprisonment by the state might have been good media politics, but it was the negation of democratic accountability. It represented the introduction of the monarchical principle as a staple into modern South African political life. More urgently, it was a trivializing of politics which took the issue away from matters of substance and concentrated attention on the persona of one man.  
  
“... And thus we come to Caesar's wife. As the decades of Mandela's imprisonment went by, the mystique of royalty, the principle of divine right, passed by law of succession to his wife, Winnie Mandela, who became the representative of the idea of the sacral on the earth of township politics. In so far as Mandela in prison was mystically always present through his absence, Mrs. Mandela as consort played a very material Empress Theodora, or perhaps Lady Macbeth. The more the myth grew through Mandela's unworldly situation in prison—alive, yet dead to human contact, the unseen mover in the power play of southern African politics—the more an extraordinary status attached to his wife.”

**The Mandela name became a money spinner for the liberation struggle from the Union**

During the apartheid period Gadhafi’s had actually supported the African National Congress’s bitter rivals, the Pan Africanist Congress. When Nelson Mandela first visited Libya in May 1990 he thanked Gaddafi for giving "military training to South Africans who wanted to obtain their liberation through armed struggle," but this was a polite reference to the support Libya had provided to the Pan Africanist Congress's armed wing, APLA.

**1. The Pan Africanist Congress**

In 1959, the African National Congress lost its most militant support when most of the Africanist, with financial support from Ghana and significant political support from the Transvaal-based Basotho, broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) under the direction of Robert Sobukwe and Potlako Leballo. This was done because leaders within the movement such as Robert McBride felt that the African National Congress were moving too slow and were not visible in its efforts, as well as the fact that the African National Congress had reduced the Black Consciousness representation to one out of 5 equals with just one vote in the Congressional alliance. The Pan Africanist Congress then moved into the townships organizing people to take a stand and burn their pass books, and added greatly to the war against the Union of South Africa, their action mostly accredited to the African National Congress.  

**(i) The ‘potato boycott’ in May 1959.**

The African National Party embarked on a ‘potato boycott’ in May, 1959, after sensational reports in a journal aimed at black readers alleged a potato farmer in the Bethal district had mistreated his workers. A ‘stay-at-home’ was organized as a reinforcement of the boycott.

Simultaneously a crowd of several thousand rioters had gathered at the Cator-Manor slum on the outskirts of Durban. The rioters initially attacked the municipal beer hall.  
The police were called to the scene and rumors spread of the police being vastly outnumbered. Strong suspicion was present of African National Party cadres instigating the beer hall attack. The police would baton charge the attackers, who would retreat and subsequently regroup a short distance away, repeating the attack on the beer hall. The police would withdraw, whereupon the mob would attack the police with stones. The situation was seemingly close to resolution.  
In a sudden turn of events a school bus filled with small black children drove slowly past the rioters. The black mob assaulted the driver of the school bus, smashing the bus windows with the petrified children inside; they set the bus on fire. Two of the rioters stationed themselves at the door of the bus preventing any children from leaving. The children were forced to escape through jagged glass windows, falling to the ground bloodied and bruised, whereupon the mob would beat the small children with sticks.

**(ii) Policemen massacre in Natal, 1950’s.**

Sergeant Shorty de Lange, a fluent Zulu speaker, led a party of policemen to a dagga (cannabis) plantation in Natal. The party was surrounded by approximately a hundred Zulus. The black policemen pleaded with him to command the opening of fire, refusing and opting to negotiate instead. This resulted in all the white policemen, and most of the black policemen, being killed.

**(iii) Policemen massacre at Cato Ridge, Feb 1960**

The Government had implemented the liquor act, forbidding blacks from buying European liquor. The regulation was not distinctly South African. The precursor to the United Nations, The League of Nations mandating the territory of South West Africa to South Africa, specifically forbade South Africa from allowing access to European liquor by the indigenous Black population. Reluctantly the police were obligated to enforce this act, increasingly turning the Black South Africans against them.

The raids in Cato Manor were conducted by black and white policemen and were greatly resented by the black inhabitants. All liquor discovered was destroyed on site.

A raiding party of black and white policemen were surrounded and attacked by a crowd of several hundred blacks. The white policemen were armed with revolvers, the black police carried batons. Despite screams from their black police comrades soliciting them to use their revolvers, the white policemen attempted to reason with the mob, resulting in the entire group being murdered.

**(iv) Attack on Sharpeville Police Station, 21 March 1960.**  
  
The Pan African Congress began their preparations for an attack on the Police Station in Sharpeville during March, 1960. The instigators would confront people at bus stops compelling them to burn their identity documents (Passbooks a form of Passport used by migrant laborers on work contracts in the Republic of South Africa).

On the night of the 20th of March, 1960, the Pan African Congress targeted the residences of the local bus drivers, kidnapping them.

The following morning the township population was impeded from getting to their place of work. The Pan African Congress instigators pressured the general population to head towards the Sharpeville police station. Two Impala Air force Jets patrolled the skies above the crowd of over 5,000 armed people surrounding the police station, for three hours the instigators challenged the police to arrest the intimidating multitude. The police refused and called for reinforcements which arrived in Saracen armored vehicles after midday.

The perimeter fence around the police station was breached by the threatening crowd, and they proceeded to attack the outnumbered police officers with hundreds of sticks and traditional weapons.

The defense of the Police Station was of critical importance, this had been emphasized during their police training, since it was a bastion of the State and a symbol of authority, to be defended at any cost. In defense of a Police Station the use of firearms was rightly justified. For thirty seconds the police fired in self-defense, dispersing the crowd and leaving 67 fatalities and 167 injured.  
  
The attack upon the policemen of Sharpeville was a premeditated attack against the guarantors of the authority of the State; the police were left with no option being confronted with an armed and violent crowd vastly outnumbering the few policemen. The terrorist leaders and instigators achieved their initial objective; by sacrificing the lives of their supporters they could draw the hysteria of the global media. The global outrage was the fact that white policemen had fired upon black rioters

Reference:

The literary work by P.C. Swanepoel titled ‘Really inside BOSS’ was used as a source of reference. During the terrorist attack on the Sharpeville Police Station, Mr. Swanepoel was an employee of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), and was present at the scene which he described in detail, and the causes which led up to the events at Sharpeville on 21 March, 1960.

**2. The National Committee of Liberation**

British South Africans, originally active in the Torch Commando, had by the late 1950’s organized a secret organization which they called the Horticulturalists. The writer, M.Coghlan4, described them as "a highly secretive, Para-military organization ... (with) a pyramidal cell-structure". They referred to themselves as "The Group".

The Group very seriously considered the possibility of Natal seceding from the rest of the country by force and retaining membership of the British Commonwealth. To gauge British support for such a step they sent a delegation to the British High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, who told them that such a move would require them to extend the franchise to all the people of Natal. The Group was not prepared to do this and so the secession scheme was abandoned.

The Group's main activity in Natal was the illegal broadcasting on Sunday evenings of revolutionary propaganda against the government. They called this their Freedom Radio.

 One of their most active leaders was John George Fraser Lang, an attorney who was described as a member of a very prominent South African family.

According to Magnus Gunther, a self-confessed member of the National Committee of Liberation (NCL), the Group ceased to exist after some of their members were arrested in May 1961 for being in possession of explosives.

In reality they did not cease to exist, they had already become part of the NCL and in the process they had taken it over. What these heroes had come to realize was that fighting in support of the Union Jack in South Africa would not get them anywhere. Pretending to fight for political rights for Black Africans, on the other hand, would gain them the support of a vast mass of black people. All that was required was that these hitherto peaceful African people had to be taught that a violent overthrow of the Apartheid government was necessary. To hoodwink Africans, these well-off whites pushed something called African socialism.

Muriel Horrel of the South African Institute of Race Relations wrote of this in an article entitled ‘Action, Reaction and Counter-Action’ as follows:

“At the Rivonia Trial in 1964 the Deputy Attorney-General for the Transvaal stated that, after it had been banned, the ANC went underground. Some of its members decided to embark on a policy of violence and destruction in order to achieve their political aims. The Spear of the Nation was formed for this purpose, as the military wing of the ANC.

“It operated under the guidance of the National Committee for Liberation, a multi-racial body formed in 1962, allegedly led by communists. The High Command was located in Johannesburg, with regional and sub-regional committees and cells under it. A "Freedom Radio" was operated from Rivonia, Johannesburg and from Cape Town...

“Some of those who were named in court, later, as members of the National Committee for Liberation escaped overseas too; among them were D.E. Montague Berman "who was stated to have founded the organization', Randolph Vigne, John G.F.Lang and Neville Rubin".

All three, in addition to their revolutionary activities, were involved in publishing the New African, a radical journal by means of which Africans were incited to revolt against the government. In this enterprise they were financed by the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) via a conduit, the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF).

Explicit details of how exactly the men of the NCL guided Mr. Mandela and his colleagues were not brought to the notice of the public during the Rivonia Trial because these details were a tightly held secret. They only became known to the National Intelligence Service (NIS) in 1974 when it was given an 8-page document by a senior detective who had been involved, after July 1964, in the investigation of the acts of sabotage committed by NCL members.

This document, which Magnus Gunther called the Lang Memorandum, is one of the most revealing accounts of how the secret war against the Union of South Africa was financed and launched.

In his essay about the National Committee of Liberation, which later changed its name to the African Resistance Movement (ARM), Gunther went out of his way to dismiss the Lang memorandum as "an extraordinary mixture of fact and fancy and contains considerable exaggeration as to what the NCL had achieved, plus astonishing claims for more equipment".5

The Lang memorandum does not contain the name of its author or the party to whom it was submitted. There can, however, be no doubt that it was drawn up by John Lang.

At the top of the document the following words were written in long hand: "ex-MI5 documents". National Intelligence Services asked brigadier Fred Van Niekerk, from whom it obtained it, whether this note meant that it came from MI5, but he claimed that he could not recall who had given it to him.

At the time it was given to him the investigations into the acts of sabotage had been completed, so it was not considered necessary to pursue further the information contained in the document. Van Niekerk did not include the Lang memorandum in a docket, but stuck it in a drawer in his desk.

From the contents it is clear that the document was written after the 1st of July 1961, but before the 7th August 1961. Basically the document is a report by a group of revolutionaries to the party which financed them with the sum of £25 000 with which to launch the war against the South African government.

The author described himself and his associates as "The Group" and set out how this money was spent. To note that £25 000 in 1961 must have been the equivalent of many millions of rends today.

Magnus Gunther tried to convince his readers that the money was provided by the government of Ghana. He cited as proof of this a reference by Geoffrey Bing, the Ghanese Attorney General, to £50 000 which had been given to an individual to pay for charter flights for people fleeing from South Africa. However, Bing did not say that the government of Ghana gave the money, but said he knew of such an amount and added that his wife was also involved. In Herbstein's book called ‘White Lies’ we read that Mrs. Bing was given £10 000 on one occasion by Canon Collins to pay for charter flights for people fleeing from South Africa.

In the following paragraphs some of the revelations in the Lang document6 will be listed regarding the following subjects: Carriers; Front companies were established with reference to the Fabian Society; Financing Extra-parliamentary Organizations; Influencing African National Congress leaders to embark on a course of violence and direct action against the government; Training revolutionaries in the use of explosives and resistance methods; Freedom Radio; Manufacture of bombs and Explosives; and Further funding arranged with reference to the Netherlands and David Astor.

**(i) Carriers.**

The first major purchases by The Group were carriers to convey persons and explosives. These included a Piper Comanche aircraft which was bought for £8,896 and a sea-going motor vessel, the Torquil, for which £8,000 was paid. The sum of £1,370 was spent to copper-bottom the vessel, and to equip it with extra fuel tanks.

**(ii) Front companies were established with reference to the Fabian Society**

Two front companies were registered in London to act as owners of the carriers and of properties to be acquired for the group. The companies were Brijit Transport Limited and Delia Properties Limited. According to the document, the reason for the registration of the companies was that "the equipment would not be connected with the true owners".

Enquiries by the National Intelligence Services revealed that these companies had been registered in London on the 16th of June 1961. Two persons were listed as subscribers, namely Anthony Rampton - a wealthy businessman from Petersham, Surrey and Alexander Warnock Filson from Richmond, Surrey. Filson was a secretary of the Fabian Society. The secretary of both companies was Paul Di Biase of London.

On the 4th of April 1962, the subscribers resigned and were replaced by Anthony Champion de Cráspigny (sic) and Caroline McNaughton. On the 20th of October 1962, these two in turn resigned and were replaced by John George Fraser Lang and Brenda Lang.

**The Brijit Company**

The file on the Brijit Company indicated that a mortgage was raised and registered by the company on the M.V. Torquil on the 5th of February 1963.

In 1976, Anthony Richard Champion de Crespigny, then professor of Political Science at the University of Cape Town, commenced making public statements in support of separate development and gained the confidence of State President P.W.Botha. In his application for South African citizenship he claimed to be performing secret work for the president.

On the 2nd of October 1980, Botha appointed de Crespigny to the President's Council, a multi-racial body replacing the Senate. De Crespigny became the leading figure in the Constitutional Committee, which drafted the proposals for the creation of the tri-cameral parliament. The proposals lead to a split in the National Party and the creation of the Conservative Party.

Investigation by the National Intelligence Services discovered De Crespigny as owner of the ‘Torquil’ after a witness tied De Crespigny to the name of Caroline McNaughton at his wedding in London during 1954.

During questioning by the National Intelligence Services, De Crespigny pretended not to remember anything, not even events which occurred only two years previously, but admitted that his C.V's and application for a post at the University of Cape Town contained untruths and two or three days after the interrogation he fled the country.

**(iii) Financing Extra-parliamentary Organizations.**

‘The Group’ gave the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) £500 each. It also spent £1,000 in organizing a Cape Colored Convention. This united the various Colored groups in opposition to the government. Next it spent £1,000 on air fares when one of its representatives organized a gathering of all the organizations and groups opposed to the National Party.

During this gathering it was decided to work for a National Convention and to this end a working committee was set up. Those invited included a group of Dutch Reformed ministers who had represented the Church at the World Council of Churches at Cottesloe and who had become a dissident group opposed to the government. It was believed that this gathering would lead to the "overthrow of Verwoerd and his government".

The National Intelligence Services found that this gathering had indeed been held in secret in Johannesburg on the 1st of July 1961. Invitations to participants had been sent on behalf of Mr. G.H.R. Edmunds, the chairman of South African Associated Newspapers, which controlled the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Times, the Sunday Express, the Eastern Province Herald and the Evening Post.

Only one small newspaper, Post, carried a report on the meeting in its issue of 2July 1961, headed "Secret Talks begin - All races invited to Rand parley." To note that

Mr. Mandela wrote in his book, ‘Long Walk to Freedom’, that the "National Working Committee" had met secretly in March 1961 to decide on strategy. It was decided that he was "to go underground to travel about the country organizing the proposed national convention". 7

**(iv) Influencing ANC leaders to embark on a course of violence and direct action against the government.**

**Fake kidnapping of tribal leaders with reference to the name Umkhonto we Sizwe**

One activity of the Group in 1960 and early 1961, was the "kidnapping" of African tribal leaders who had been banished from their tribes after taking part in anti-government activities. These people were, with one exception, all taken clandestinely to the present Lesotho. Mention is made in the document of one such trip during which a horse fell on the vehicle they were using.

Gunther, also referring to an incident when an NCL vehicle collided with a horse, states that it happened on a return journey from Lesotho in January 1961. Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were passengers in the vehicle. They had gone on the trip to sort out growing problems with the Basutholand Congress Party which had threatened to repatriate the "refugees".

During the trip Berman mentioned the need for a sabotage organization. "Playing his cards close to his chest Mandela merely noted that any such organization should have an African name". The name Umkhonto we Sizwe was selected. To note, Umkhonto is the isiZulu word for Spearhead. Spearhead was also the name of Frene Ginwala's journal which was published in November 1961. It was advertised in the first issue of New African in January 1962.

It is clear from the document that there were further discussions between the Group and leaders of the African National Congress on the question of sabotage and the Group promised to supply explosives as soon as it was in a position to do so.

**(v) Training revolutionaries in the use of explosives and resistance methods.**

A recurring request in the Lang document by the NCL was for an expert in the use of explosives to be sent to them from Europe. Such an expert duly arrived at the Cape. To note, training in the use of explosives was supplied by a former British Officer, to whom Magnus Gunther referred in his essay on several occasions, and whom he introduced as follows:

 "Training (in the use of explosives) was also supplied by a former British Army officer, Robert Watson, a student at the University of Cape Town who had served in Malaysia and Cyprus during the anti-guerrilla campaigns.

“Watson was something of a swashbuckler, an enigmatic figure, vicariously described as authoritarian and power-hungry. He had been a paratrooper and had valuable knowledge of explosives and military organization and brought sorely needed technical competence to the NCL whose members he would train in both Cape Town and Johannesburg.”

Leftwich and Watson had spent the early part of the year strengthening the NCL's organizational capacity. A manual of detailed procedures for carrying out sabotage was developed while formal escape committees and procedures were established for both Cape Town and Johannesburg.

Watson suggested that five subcommittees should be formed dealing respectively with propaganda, intelligence, medical assistance, escape and action. Each regional committee was to coordinate overall planning.

As a result of disputes around this issue and others Watson left the NCL in June 1963, disgusted not only at its lack of professionalism, as he saw it, but also because it refused to launch attacks that might injure people and was not willing to prepare for guerrilla warfare. He had little tolerance for the fact that everything about sabotage from buying a small flashlight to planning a complicated attack on a pylon had to be learned from scratch.

Both Watson and Leftwich came from environments that emphasized the importance of procedure, specialization and order for getting things done.

Watson had fantasies about being the ‘Lawrence of South Africa' and his rooms were adorned with posters of his hero. He also had a strong penchant for potentially lethal violence. Among his enthusiasms was a proposal to assist some Mpondo who were planning to murder Matamzima.

Magnus Gunther interviewed a host of former NCL-ARM members, but in his essay there is no mention of any interview with Watson. Enquiries have led to the discovery that Watson's real name was William Robert Watson, that he was 40 years old, but looked younger when he trained NCL members, that he died some time ago, but that his file at the British Ministry of Defense is sealed and may only be opened on January 1st, 2031.

**(vi) Freedom Radio.**

The Lang document disclosed that the Group had two sections in Natal.

One section had forty members of which one had been arrested for being in possession of explosives.

It also had three radio transmitters, and had been running a Sunday evening broadcast under the name Freedom Radio. Although some white listeners were complaining about the liberal nature of the broadcasts, this would not be changed.

**(vii) Manufacture of bombs and Explosives.**

The Lang document disclosed that the Group had found a suitable site for a base in Swaziland where explosive devices could be manufactured. It proposed that from an additional £20,000 asked for in the document, the amount of £7,500 was to be used for the purchase of the site and the erection of a building. It further proposed that £800 be spent on equipment to generate electricity.

It was stated in the document that the Torquil would be able to carry 10 to 15 tons of explosives. Repeated requests that the explosives be made available appear in the document.

The document does not identify the party or country from which the Group expected the explosives to be sent, but a footnote in Magnus Gunther's essay provides a clue:

"The NCL did have a valuable supporter in Allard Lowenstein, a well-known left liberal activist who would go on to become a US congressman and lead the ‘Dump Johnson' campaign in 1968. Lowenstein suggested if the NCL found an African government that would make a request to import explosives; he had contacts that would expedite the process. He and Gunther were still working on this when the end8 came".

What Gunther did not tell his readers was that Lowenstein had strong links with the CIA. Richard Cummings, who wrote a book about Lowenstein, provided details about this in the summer 1995 issue of the ‘International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence’.

**(viii) Further funding arranged with reference to the Netherlands and David Astor.**

Immediately after arriving in London in 1961, John Lang obtained a position in Collins's International Defense and aid Fund (IDAF) and worked there, according to both Herbstein and Gunther, until his alleged misappropriation of trust funds in South Africa required him to leave.

Neville Rubin became Collins's main advisor on how to channel funds secretly to the underground in South Africa.

There were times when John Collins's International Defense and aid Fund, as well as his Christian Action9, along with Michael Scott's Africa Bureau, and the

International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), were all three orchestrated by the Establishment via David Astor of the Observer, as they competed to see which would get more millions to South Africa to support rebels against the Union of South Africa in court, to provide bursaries for their children and support for their dependants, to finance propaganda and to nurture Black Consciousness.

The International University Exchange Fund had been the financial arm of the International Student Conference (ISC) which had its headquarters in the Netherlands. When the news leaked out in 1967 that the International Student Conference had been financed by the CIA, it ceased to exist and the International University Exchange Fund was quietly removed to Oslo.

Exactly how much of the money Collins spent on the rebels who took on an armed struggle against the Union of South Africa, and their dependents, came from British and American governments, is not revealed by Herbstein. Collins was appointed a Canon at St. Paul's by the British Labor Party government, and in that position he was unassailable.

Collins died before he could be made a lord or a duke, but in 1999, they compensated for his effort by making his wife a Dame of the British Empire (DBE) for "services to human rights in Southern Africa".

To note that these services did not include giving a single penny towards the dependants of the 406 Black people who were cruelly killed by means of the necklace method, nor the 28 who were injured by it, but escaped death. When Mrs. Mandela, known for her necklace and matches speech, was charged after the death of Stompie Seipei, they agreed, despite opposition in their ranks, to pay for her defense. Fortunately for them a multi-national firm in the USA, which Herbstein refrains from identifying, came up with the cash before they could do so.

In his book ‘Long Walk to Freedom’ on page 360, Nelson Mandela, the husband of Winnie Mandela at that time, wrote: "I confess to being something of an Anglophile", after which he was made a saint.

**3. Rivonia Treason Trial**

Collaboration between different nations and races in their struggle against the Union of South Africa turned the country into a civil war zone. The intensity of the danger South Africans were living in was revealed during the Rivonia Treason Trial, which we summarise in the book **‘Rivonia Unmasked!’ by Lauritz Strydom which carefully documents the evidence from the Rivonia Trial as follows:**

Rivonia was a suburb of Johannesburg where the ten defendants secretly met and hid on a farm. Ethnically they were 3 Jews, 2 Indians and the rest black. Nelson Mandela had masqueraded as a cook and gardener.

The trial began in December 1963 and the verdicts were rendered in July 1964. The trial outlines the conspiracy to violently overthrow the South African government.

It proves how the revolutionaries planned and implemented campaigns of sabotage, intimidation, torture, guerrilla warfare, violence, disruption of transportation and communications, insurrection and revolution against the government with the assistance of the Communists and other radicals. They planned to manufacture or purchase explosives such as 48,000 land mines each containing 5 pounds of dynamite, 210,000 hand grenades each containing 1/4 pd of dynamite as well as petrol bombs, syringe bombs, thermite bombs, 1,500 timing devices for bombs, as well as Molotov cocktails.

Their requirements included 144 tons of ammonium nitrate, 21.6 tons of aluminium powder and 15 tons of black powder. They prepared for a nucleus army of 7,000 soldiers. Many to be trained abroad in Communist countries. The campaign was based on the model of successes previously achieved in Algeria and Cuba. More than ten documents written in Nelson Mandela’s handwriting were submitted as evidence. They contained notes on basic and advanced military training and warfare as well as Communist doctrine. Although Mandela denied being a Communist he admitted that the aims and objectives of the African National Congress and Communist Party were identical. He even spoke of retaliation against non supportive blacks such as murder and cutting off their noses.

The planners were convicted and sentenced to life in prison.

**Operation Mayibuye – a planned coup of government with support from international workers Unions**

Organizations which cooperated in the planning of ‘Operation Mayibuye’ formed part of the Congress Alliance and included the ANC, SACP, SA Congress of Trade Unions, the Colored People’s Congress and the Congress of Democrats.

Goldreich, the author of Operation Mayibuye, was trained in explosive techniques in Russia, China and Germany, and several other of his accomplices received training in the use of various weapons, map and compass reading, radio communication, signalling and the setting of ambushes.

In the detailed strategy all relevant matters such as logistic planning and transport were fully dealt with.  The attacks would take place mainly in the *platteland* (lowveld) and to this end the country was divided into four regions.  Each region would be invaded by a guerrilla force which had to be self supportive for about a month.  On arrival they were to split up into three smaller groups of 10 men each and then, by deception and intimidation, influence the locals to join them.  It also came to light that the ANC grossly deceived their ordinary members as later directives were issued directly from the SACP.

While the local cadres carried on with their undermining activities an external force of 7 000 strong would be equipped and on standby to invade the country.

An interim government were to be appointed, which could rely on the support of international labour unions to isolate the Republic.

The supreme command of Operation Mayibuye (Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and Joe Modise) were convinced that if the plan could be finalised successfully  within six months, a wave of murder and grand scale carnage would follow, which would eventually lead to the achievement of their aim.

**4. The struggle against the Union of South Africa led to infighting between different organizations inside South Africa**

Not only was the armed struggle against the Union of South Africa on her borders, but was also within her borders which led to infighting between different organizations. We quote from a statement made by Dr Buthelezi from the Inkatha Freedom Party on the 11th of July 2012, as follows:   
The tensions that led to the Boipatong massacre and many other incidents of violence between the black liberation organizations were stirred by the ANC. There had been violence and counter violence. According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the ANC was responsible for killings, assaults and attacks on their political opponents, including members of the IFP, PAC, AZAPO and the SAP, and had contributed to a spiral of violence in the country through the creation and arming of SDUs.  
The details of the ANC's low intensity civil war, waged against other black organizations, are contained in Dr Anthea Jeffery's book titled "People's War".  
At that time, Joe Nkadimeng, alias Francis Meli, the editor of the ANC publication  
"Sechaba" unashamedly remarked, "Buthelezi is a snake that poisons South Africa, which must be hit on the head". Many threats were made against Inkatha through Radio Freedom and the ANC warned that they were "coming with bazookas". There were ample threats of violence against us.  
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Two hundred young people were trained in KwaZulu to protect the lives of my Ministers, my family and myself. Later, during an 18 month court case, no evidence was found that this training was intended to equip Inkatha to carry out unlawful killings. Mr. Zakhele Khumalo and General Magnus Malan were acquitted.  
The allegation that Inkatha received funding from the Apartheid Government to commit any act of violence is a despicable lie.” The full statement can be read in Footnote 2 – Statement in response to the vicious attack in President’s Madiba Lecture by Dr Buthelezi

**5. The armed struggle against the Union of South Africa led to infighting within the armed wing of the African National Congress**

Not only did the armed struggle against the Union of South Africa create a dangerous environment for the civilians of the country to live in, but also for those who took part in this armed struggle.

In 1981 began a time of terror and death for African National Congress members in exile. In February a strong African National Congress National Executive Committee entourage which included President Tambo made the rounds of all African National Congress camps in Angola. Cadres were warned of the presence of a spy network and the need for vigilance was emphasized. Enemy agents and provocateurs were rudely warned by Piliso, in Xhosa, ‘... I'll hang them by their balls.' An 'internal enemy' psychosis had been whipped up and whenever African National Congress leaders visited camps they were heavily guarded. Many men and women were apprehended on suspicion of dissidence were to be exterminated in the most brutal manner in the months ahead. Those disillusioned MK cadres who returned from Rhodesia were the first to go.10 MK Soldiers are discussed further in Attachment 14 - MK soldiers

Refer to TRC attachment for SACP

**6. The armed struggle against the Union of South Africa mounted a campaign to make the Bantustans ungovernable**

The African National Congress in exile mounted a campaign to make the country ungovernable. This was focused on the homelands that were administered by African governments. The African National Congress made random threats to attack soft targets, the African National Congress Commission’s report on 'Cadre Policy, political and ideological work, strategy and tactics', issued in June 1985, recommended inter alia, that:

* Armed propaganda should be stepped up in the Bantustans to go hand in hand with mass mobilisation as a first step to make these areas ungovernable.
* We should differentiate between puppet and traditional leaders and then take steps against the former, whereas the latter should be drawn into democratic organizations along their followers.
* By removing the puppet we would bring the people into direct confrontation with the racist, opening up the possibility of transforming these areas into bases for the advancement of People's War.

**7. The armed struggle against the Union of South Africa mounted a campaign to kill South African police and soldiers.**

‘Radio Freedom’, the African National Congress radio broadcaster, went on the offensive and cast the spell: ''Every black area must become a no-go area for any isolated individual or pockets of the enemy's police or armed personnel''. An earlier Radio Freedom broadcaster from Addis Ababa in Ethiopia on 6 September 1985 proclaimed: 'Let the people's war engulf the entire country'. And went on to say: “We must therefore intensify the campaign of taking the struggle into the white areas of our country and (there) attack the apartheid regime and its forces of repression. Police and soldiers must be killed even when they are at their homes.”

**8.** **The extent of the Carnage caused by the armed struggle against the Union of South Africa to civilian life.**

**1984 - 1989**

The extent of the carnage is illustrated by these statistics for the five years September 1984 to August 1989:

1 770 schools, 7 187 homes of black owners suspected to be non-members of the ANC, 10 318 buses, 152 trains, 12 188 private vehicles,1 256 shops and factories, 60 post offices, 47 churches and 30 clinics were destroyed.

During the same period, 300 blacks were murdered, mostly by the barbarous “necklace” method.

To note : The killing and mayhem has never stopped and latest statistics show that 56 persons per day are being murdered in South Africa, not to mention the rapes, armed and transit robberies, hijackings and house breaking.  Two million crimes are being committed annually of which less than half are ever solved, because the security system in place for South Africa is flawed, which allows for an incompetent and corrupt police force.

That crime is rife was acknowledged as early as 2001 by the then Commissioner of Police, Jackie Selebi. A newspaper reported at the time he admitted that 600 crime syndicates are active in South Africa.  Since then regular reports informed us that the Russian and Sicilian Mafia, as well as drug lords from Nigeria and elsewhere are thriving in South Africa, and that this country has indeed become the crime Mecca of the world.  These corrupt systems and syndicates are remnants from the Apartheid struggle and the resistance against it, which is discussed further in Attachment 10 – South Africa is bound as a possession of the Crown;Section G) The Crown kept possession of South Africa through destabilizing the communities when the African National Congress came into power; sub-section ii) Destabilization through internal politics in the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

**B. The economic struggle to destroy the Union of South Africa**

**The African National Congress wanted to destroy the South African economy**

In the 1980’s the African National Congress had campaigned for the disinvestment of all Western companies from South Africa, the cutting of all trade links with the country and comprehensive economic sanctions: The stated goal being to reduce the South African economy "to ruins." As a Radio Freedom broadcast put it in September 1986: "Let us make sure that lesser and lesser products come out of the assembly lines....Let there be no economic growth. The apartheid economy must be brought to its knees."

The liberation movement was not particularly concerned about the consequences of these measures. The short term effects of such a blockade, it acknowledged in one broadcast, may "mean hunger and starvation" for black South Africans "but in the same way it will mean hunger and starvation for the children of Botha, Malan, Louis le Grange and many other white racists of our country."

As for the long term consequences disinvestment meant little to an ANC/SACP still committed to socialism, as it was planning (once power had been seized) to nationalize the entire economy down to barber shop level in order to end the "super-exploitation" of blacks by whites.

At the Commonwealth Summit in Vancouver in October 1987 Margaret Thatcher opposed efforts to impose the stringent sanctions on South Africa that the African National Congress was demanding. In reaction the African National Congress's representative at the conference, Jonnie Makatini, said Britain's refusal to support these measures would result in "the further intensification of the armed struggle" and also in attacks on British corporations in South Africa. (Christian Science Monitor October 19 1987) [In March the previous year MK commissar Chris Hani had warned that the African National Congress was "going to step up attacks against those factories, transnational corporations and monopolies, which exploit and maltreat the South African working class and in the process it is more than probable that white civilians will lose their lives."]

In a press conference Thatcher was asked by Alan Merrydew of BCTV News what her response was "to a reported African National Congress statement that they will target British firms in South Africa?" She replied that: "When the African National Congress says that they will target British companies, this shows what a typical terrorist organization it is. I fought terrorism all my life and if more people fought it, and we were all more successful, we should not have it and I hope that everyone in this hall will think it is right to go on fighting terrorism. They will if they believe in democracy."

**References:**

4 ‘White Lies and London Recruits’, subtitle The Secret War against Apartheid.

5 ‘The Road to Democracy in South Africa’, Vol .1 p.218.

6 Readers who wish to read the entire document can look it up in the book, Really Inside Boss... (Pp.141-153), which is accessible on the internet through Google Books (see [here](http://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Really_Inside_Boss.html?id=hGY3b3nJO10C)). <http://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Really_Inside_Boss.html?id=hGY3b3nJO10C>

7 p.303-4.

8 Gunther's reference to "the end" should not be seen as having been the end of the secret war against Boers. It was merely the end of a phase. One needs only to read the book by Denis Herbstein called ‘White Lies - Canon Collins and the secret war against apartheid’ to see how it continued.

9 In Lauritz Strydom's book, ‘Rivonia - Masker Af’, a photocopy of a letter written on April 19th, 1963 by Collins to Walter Sisulu is reproduced, of which we refer to the following paragraph:

"Christian Action, through the Defense and Aid Fund, will do everything possible to raise financial assistance to cover the types of circumstances about which you write, particularly the cases which arise as a result of the so-called Sabotage Act".

Note by author: He might as well have added: "So feel free to carry on planting your bombs old chap".

10 The Book ‘Inside Quatro’ page 49

**Footnote 2: Statement in response to the vicious attack in President’s Madiba Lecture by Dr Buthelezi**

Vicious Attack In President's Madiba Lecture  
Response By Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi MP  
President Of The Inkatha Freedom Party  
11 July 2012  
I am stunned that President Jacob Zuma chose the occasion of last night's centennial lecture in honour of former President Nelson Mandela to open old wounds between the ANC and the IFP.  
These two presidents are like chalk and cheese.  
Nelson Mandela is an international icon, and a friend. During my State of the Nation reply on the 15th of February 2011, I placed on record that President Mandela laid the foundation for reconciliation. History records that I have given my heart and soul to reconciliation.  
In stark contrast, under President Zuma's leadership, reconciliation has been muscled off the agenda.  
This is not an easy criticism to make. But President Zuma has proven to be extremely hostile to the concept of reconciliation, certainly more so than any ANC leader before him.  
Even as the ANC prepared to celebrate its centenary, the IFP sought an audience with the ruling Party to address the unfinished business between our two organizations. The ANC has failed to respond.  
If he were committed to reconciliation and nation-building, President Zuma would have had the courage to acknowledge during the Mandela lecture that I and the IFP held more "Free Mandela" rallies that anyone else, and that I alone was named as having convinced former President FW de Klerk to release Mandela.  
Madiba had the courage to speak the truth. He admitted in Parliament that he had given the shoot-to-kill order, when Zulu people marched pass Shell House in support of the King in 1994, and nineteen people were killed.  
But the truth remains a foreign concept to President Zuma who ignores all that I and the IFP have done, but uses an opportunity like this to allege that the IFP received funding from the Apartheid regime to undertake the Boipatong massacre.  
The fact that he has done this in a live lecture on primetime TV, in front of millions of  
South Africans, gives the lie to his commitment to continuing Madiba's legacy.  
The ANC is hell-bent on distorting history to fit its own narrative. Yet a country that  
denies its own history is destined for failure. If President Zuma cannot speak the truth, let those of us who can, speak.  
The tensions that led to the Boipatong massacre and many other incidents of violence between the black liberation organizations were stirred by the ANC. There had been violence and counter violence. According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the ANC was responsible for killings, assaults and attacks on their political opponents, including members of the IFP, PAC, AZAPO and the SAP, and had contributed to a spiral of violence in the country through the creation and arming of SDUs.  
The details of the ANC's low intensity civil war, waged against other black organizations, are contained in Dr Anthea Jeffery's book titled "People's War".  
At that time, Joe Nkadimeng, alias Francis Meli, the editor of the ANC publication  
"Sechaba" unashamedly remarked, "Buthelezi is a snake that poisons South Africa, which must be hit on the head". Many threats were made against Inkatha through Radio Freedom and the ANC warned that they were "coming with bazookas". There were ample threats of violence against us.  
I rejected independence for KwaZulu, which rendered the grand scheme of Apartheid untenable. But I sought protection for myself and my Ministers whose lives were being threatened.  
Two hundred young people were trained in KwaZulu to protect the lives of my Ministers, my family and myself. Later, during an 18 month court case, no evidence was found that this training was intended to equip Inkatha to carry out unlawful killings. Mr. Zakhele Khumalo and General Magnus Malan were acquitted.  
The allegation that Inkatha received funding from the Apartheid Government to commit any act of violence is a despicable lie. I cannot fathom where Mr. Zuma comes up with the idea. Indeed, the only time money changed hands between Inkatha and the Apartheid regime was when Inkatha discovered that R200 000 had been donated by the Department of Foreign Affairs for a rally. We immediately returned the money in full.  
Throughout the TRC process, not one single shred of evidence was found to suggest that I ever ordered, authorized, condoned or ratified a single human rights' violation. That is because I never did. Though I suffer the wound of the 20 000 victims of the People's War, my conscience is clear. Can Mr. Zuma say the same?  
Inkatha was never the aggressor. I challenge Mr. Zuma once and for all to speak the truth.  
Yet Zuma cannot be trusted. He is conveniently forgetting that I also began in the ANC Youth League and my mentors were leaders like Inkosi Albert Luthuli, who often visited my uncle, the Zulu Regent, at the palace where I grew up. Before 1979, I worked closely with the President of the ANC's mission-in-exile, Mr. Oliver Tambo, during a period in which I was already the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Government.  
In fact, at the unveiling of Mr. Tambo's tombstone some years ago, the late Mr. Cleopas Nsibande, an interim ANC leader in Gauteng, admitted in the presence of President Nelson Mandela and the leadership of the ANC that he was present when, Inkosi Luthuli and Mr. Tambo asked my late sister, Princess Morgina Dotwana, to encourage me to take over the leadership which the Government was foisting on the people; which was the KwaZulu Government.  
It was at Mr. Cleopas Nsibande's funeral that the Deputy President of the ANC, Mr.   
Kgalema Motlanthe, spoke of Mr. Nsibande's persistence in visiting Luthuli House every Monday to appeal for a dialogue between the ANC and the IFP. Deputy President Motlanthe assured us at Mr. Nsibande's funeral that they as the leadership of the ANC were committed to carry out what he had implored them to do. Yet this too has been muscled off the agenda under Mr. Zuma's leadership.  
In 1999, when President Thabo Mbeki offered me the position of Deputy President, it was Zuma who torpedoed discussions in order to secure the position for himself. In turn, I was expected to handover the Premiership of KwaZulu Natal, a proposal which they knew would have been impossible for me to accept.  
After years of the propaganda machine running, it is difficult for some in the ANC to step out of the mould and be honest about the past. There are still truths that they would like to sweep under the carpet. But the facts remain. The question arises as to whether this propensity to belittle anything associated with me and the IFP is really just an old habit, or expresses a more sinister agenda.  
There is a world of difference between Nelson Mandela and Jacob Zuma. Mandela had the integrity to admit in 2002 to the ANC's long agenda of destroying me. In his own words, he said, "We have used every ammunition to destroy (Buthelezi), but we failed. And he is still there. He is a formidable survivor. We cannot ignore him."  
It is time for Zuma to be just as candid. He headed up the ANC's military camps and was Head of Intelligence for the ANC. It is time for him to tell South Africa, and the world, who ferried Soviet weapons to South Africa. It is time for him to tell the truth about who was responsible for the systematic assassination of thousands of IFP members, and 400 of our IFP leaders. Does Mr. Zuma think people do not know what role he played before 1994? Or what role he played in the low intensity civil war that brought South Africa to its knees in the nineties?  
I have said before that people have the right to defend themselves. But I never  
authorized the use of violence. I have never condoned violence. I wonder, Mr. President, if you could say the same?  
President Zuma has much to answer for. This generation knows that Zuma is not a  
Mandela. History will record that he was not a Buthelezi either.  
PRINCE MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI MP

**Section D. International Objections to the Union of South Africa**

**IN 1990, Nelson Mandela told Bob Hawke in Australia: “I want you to know, Bob that I am here today, at this time, because of you.”**

The former South African president, who had recently been released from prison, uttered those words before his ascent to his country’s top job

<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/new-book-reveals-freed-mandela-told-hawke-i-owe-it-to-you/story-e6frg6nf-1225889562684>

Ironically it was the Western countries like England, America and the Scandinavian countries that financed the terrorist movements in Southern Africa to bring about changes in governance systems in later years.  They also actively participated with the international Communist network in building the Mandela image, referring to him as the man who would save South Africa – the black Messiah to come.  This active support of the African National Congress by the Western powers was thus also the reason why, worldwide, there was hardly any criticism against the African National Congress’s campaign of violence.  How deeply the West was involved is borne out by the fact that the African National Congress headquarters were not in a Communist country, but in London.

In this section, we discuss the support of the USSR, and the Netherlands, of liberation movements against the Union of South Africa. Further, a list of organizations against the Apartheid system by which the Union of South Africa was governed is listed as sub-section C.

**A.** **Soviet Russia support for the struggle against the Union of South Africa**

The Soviet Russia, abbreviation USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) ensured that the young men and women of the Soweto generation had a home when they left the country in order to get training and fight. No other country gave them as much inspiration, direction and assistance for the next generation which led mass democratic movement in the 1980’s.

The support from the USSR for the armed struggle of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers against the Union of South Africa has left a lasting legacy, as described by Garth Strachan, a communist and an MK veteran, who said in one his interviews: "Although it has become popular not to admit this now, at the time - at least in the circles where I moved and up to the mid or late 1980’s - the reality was that in African National Congress... there was a kind of pro-Soviet hysteria".1

There was a lot of admiration for the Soviet Union - its achievements, its ideology and its policy among the African National Congress leadership, rank and file cadres in exile. Songs were sung and poetry composed about the Soviet people.

Support was expressed for Soviet initiatives and policy moves. Messages of appreciation and gratitude were read at various Soviet gatherings where African National Congress and South African Communist Party delegations were present. Lenin was a household name among the leadership of both organizations, and the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was thoroughly and passionately studied and discussed.

For the African National Congress and South African Communist Party leadership - just as for the leadership of many other communist and national liberation organizations all over the world - the Soviet Union was the embodiment of progress and justice, the bright future of humanity.

In celebration of the 90th anniversary of the South African Communist Party, their deputy general secretary Jeremy Cronin noted: "In the 20th century we were not alone... We had a sense of being a part of shaping world history. Individually, many of us might not survive, but, so it seemed, we were on the side of history in the struggle for a better future...” 2

For the older generation of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress leadership and cadres, the Soviet Union was a model for a future South Africa - the South Africa after the African National Congress's victory.

**a) Support for the armed struggle against the Union of South Africa**

Soviet support for the armed struggle against the Union of South Africa came in many forms and shapes.

For three decades, from 1961 till 1991, the USSR supplied Umkhonto we Sizwe with arms, ammunition and equipment and gave military training to its cadres and leadership like no other country did. A few other socialist countries, particularly the GDR, also contributed, but the scale was simply incomparable.

Without Umkhonto we Sizwe the African National Congress in exile would have been a very different organization, and without the USSR there would have been no Umkhonto we Sizwe to speak of.

**(i) The evacuation of training camp from Tanzania to Russia**

In 1969, the government of Tanzania ordered the African National Congress to vacate its military camp in the country. This followed the Lusaka Manifesto passed by the Organization of African Unity which demanded that South Africa's liberation movements desist from armed struggle, which should have meant the liquidation of Umkhonto. However, the Soviets evacuated the whole Umkhonto contingent to the USSR and maintained and trained it there for three years. Umkhonto cadres started to return back to Africa in 1972.

**(ii) Supplies delivered to Umkhonto in Angola**

The USSR came to the rescue of Umkhonto again in the late 1970’s when, after the Soweto uprising, many young South Africans started to leave the country in order to take up arms and fight. The African National Congress had simply no facilities to accommodate these new cadres, feed them and provide them even with bare necessities. First aid - equipment, food, clothes and arms came from the USSR, delivered by Soviet planes to Angola.

**(iii) ‘Armed forces’ Propaganda**

The armed struggle against the Union of South Africa was greatly enhanced by propaganda with regard to the armed support the Soviet was giving Umkhonto. This "armed propaganda" was indispensable: it helped to maintain the image of the African National Congress as the only South African liberation organization that was carrying the torch of a real, serious, struggle against apartheid.

**iv) Political Support**

The USSR also supported the African National Congress's armed struggle by creating and maintaining the international anti-apartheid movement.

Essop Pahad, minister in the presidency during Thabo Mbeki's term, rightly stressed that "the Soviet Union was also critical in building mass anti-apartheid movement... Through international organizations, such as the Afro-Asian Peace and Solidarity Committee, 3 through the World Peace Council, through the International Union of Students, through the World Federation of Democratic Youth, women's organizations. It was quite clear that the Soviet Union played a large part in keeping these organizations alive. So, whilst we recognize the military support, we must never forget the political support that we received consistently from the Soviet Union, and then the other socialist countries, which, I think, played a very big role in enabling us to develop this very broad, very powerful anti-apartheid solidarity movement throughout the world. ...Of course, there were other things... But it was these two elements that really were absolutely critical".4

The most important organization that Pahad did not mention in this connection was the United Nations.

The USSR also played a very important role in introducing resolutions against colonialism and apartheid. Every year from 1963 to 1989 the USSR proposed resolutions for sanctions against South Africa in the Security Council. Some were passed, some were not. But the process itself helped to create an atmosphere of intolerance towards the Apartheid regime.

Mikhail Gorbachev, as prime minister of Russia, played a huge role in the "unblocking" of the Angolan conflict, and in Namibia's achievement of independence; both neighboring countries created pressure on the Apartheid government of South Africa to enter negotiations with leaders of the liberation struggle.

**v) Financial Support**

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union supported the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party financially. Compared to the donations that the African National Congress received from Scandinavian countries, the Soviet contributions were small. They were also smaller than the donations which the Soviet Union allocated to some West European and Asian communist parties, though South Africa was important enough for the combined donation to the African National Congress and South African Communist Party to put it, in some years, in 7th and 9th place among about 70 to 80 recipients.

But irrespective of the scale of this support, Soviet financial assistance was very important in two respects. First, it began in 1960, when no other country or international organization was willing to render such support. In the early 1960’s Soviet financial assistance was a make-or-break matter for both the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress in exile.

Second, according to Vladimir Shubin, (who was for many years a key contact of the African National Congress, and the South African Communist Party, at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as a specialist in the history of Soviet ties with these organizations), the funding was unconditional, as he describes, "as a matter of mutual trust the South African Communist Party and other friendly parties have never been asked to account for these donations".5 This meant that the funding could be used in whichever way the leadership saw fit. The purposes of Western financial assistance, on the other hand, were usually strictly defined, leaving very little room for maneuver.

**vi) Donations of non-military goods**

The USSR supplied the African National Congress with food, and with non-military equipment and goods. It provided air tickets for leaders or representatives of the African National Congress and South African Communist Party to enable them to attend various international events. It invited them to its hospitals and sanatoriums "for rest and treatment" and provided venues for some of the parties' meetings. It also gave scholarships to African National Congress students, as did many other countries. Uniquely, the Soviets provided the African National Congress with huge numbers of false documents and in some cases helped to change the appearance of Umkhonto operatives.

For three decades the Soviet Union provided the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party with a safety net which could not protect their cadres from the hardship and dangers of exile and struggle, but helped both organizations to survive and triumph. In the late 1980’s this safety net started to sag, but military assistance continued unabated.

**b) The ongoing support of the Soviet Russia against the Union of South Africa**

The support by the Soviet Union for the struggle against the Union of South Africa continued after the collapse of the Apartheid government in 1992 still continues through the liberation movement of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The history of the National Democratic Revolution is discussed in Footnote 3 – The Origins of the National Democratic Revolution with reference to the South African Communist Party.

**c) The African National Congress is continuing with the Soviet National Democratic Revolution to alter the Union of South Africa to a Soviet colony of Russia**

The African National Congress has changed its strategy from an armed struggle against the Union of South Africa, to changing the legislature of South Africa within its Constitution to dissolve the foundation upon which the Union of South Africa was formulated.

As the African National Congress did not seize power, but was given control of South Africa by the Apartheid regime, it had to settle on a much slower process of achieving the National Democratic Revolution's stated goals than it had hoped for.

The debate about the National Democratic Revolution in South Africa has centered not on whether this ideology is correct or even needed for fast development and job creation - both these notions are accepted as indisputable truths by the African National Congress and its allies - but rather on the pace of its implementation, and on its concrete contents, at every stage. These aspects of the National Democratic Revolution may be differently understood and interpreted by different groups within the African National Congress and among its partners - but its ultimate goals are the same. Whatever the arguments about details, it is ideology and not economic reality, that dictates much of the African National Congress's thinking and policy. This fixation with ideology, even at the expense of reality, was one of the most important factors that killed the Soviet economy. Yet in South Africa the core of the Soviet legacy stands.

**Footnote 3: The Origins of the National Democratic Revolution with reference to the South African Communist Party.**

**(i) The early roots of the National Democratic Revolution**

The origins of the National Democratic Revolution date back to Lenin's theory of the national liberation movement, which was first formulated in his Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Question for the Second Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) 6 in 1920.

The main idea of the Theses was that Soviet Russia and anti-colonial movements were natural allies against imperialism, despite the fact that such movements could only be bourgeois ("bourgeois-democratic") by nature.

At the Congress itself the term "national-revolutionary movements" was substituted for "bourgeois-democratic" to stress that only those national movements that were "truly revolutionary", i.e. prepared to allow "us" (communists) "to educate and organize the peasantry and the broad exploited masses in the spirit of revolution", could be the allies of Soviet Russia. Led by the international Communist movement, even the most "backward" colonial peoples, i.e. those that had not reached the capitalist stage of development, could move straight to building socialism, avoiding the evils of capitalist exploitation.

**a) The Soviet theory of the National Democratic Revolution developed to gain allies from colonies**

After the Second World War, when one colony after another gained independence, the Soviet leadership came to the conclusion that the anti-colonial movement as a whole, irrespective of its character in each country, could become an important ally of the Soviet Union in its struggle against imperialism, particularly in the context of the unfolding Cold War. It was against this background that Lenin's ideas were developed into the theory of the National Democratic Revolution.

The National Democratic Revolution first appeared in the Soviet political vocabulary in the late 1950’s. According to Karen N. Brutents, one of its authors and, in the 1970-1980s, a deputy head of the Central Committee's Foreign Department, it was put forward by the CPSU and "widely accepted" by the international Communist movement. 9

Brutents explained that: "the introduction by the Communist parties... of the category of "national democratic revolution" into their militant political vocabulary, and... the use of its socio-economic and political content... for elaborating strategy and tactics resulted from... the new features of national liberation revolutions in our day... These revolutions which lead to the elimination of colonial and semi-colonial oppression are also latent with anti-capitalist tendency... When [their] leadership comes from political forces representing the interests of the proletariat, these revolutions... grow directly into socialist revolutions. When leadership comes from non-proletarian democratic forces... these revolutions produce, alongside important anti-imperialist and anti-feudal changes, anti-capitalist transformations, paving the way for transition to socialist reconstruction... The national democratic tendency of development in the revolution can gain the upper hand either at the first or at the second phase of the revolution". 10

So, according to the theory, the National Democratic Revolution, if correctly implemented, could only have one outcome, socialism, which could either emerge directly from a radical anti-colonial revolution, or develop after it through a radical transformation during a transitional period.

**(ii) The South African Communists joined the Russian Comintern, with reference to an ‘independent native republic’**

The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) is the predecessor of the South African Communist Party. It joined the Comintern in 1921, but it was only in 1927 that this international organization got directly involved in South African affairs. After several meetings with the Communist Party of South Africa's representative, the Comintern adopted a new line for the party. The Communist Party of South Africa had to work towards "an independent native South African Republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic with full rights for all races, black, colored and white."7

This formula was far from clear (for example, it did not explain the class nature of the "independent native republic"), but the Comintern imposed it on the party, despite fierce opposition within its ranks. In 1935 the Comintern cancelled the slogan of the "independent native republic" as abruptly and as harshly as it had introduced it, but the idea of a link between national liberation and socialism through a two-stage revolution remained intact both in its documents and in the minds of its followers in South Africa.

It was to have a lasting effect on the nature of the ideological debate within the party and the African National Congress. **Its historical importance is fully realized by South African communists today.**

Dominic Tweedie, the host of the South African Communist Party's "Communist University" blog, writes: "It is possible to make out a clear list of texts from the 1920’s, approximately one per decade, and to demonstrate that the argument built up through these texts has determined South Africa's history... This list could start with the Comintern's "Black Republic Resolution of 1928".8

**(b) The National Democratic Revolution's road to South Africa**

The authors of a book on relations between the African National Congress and the GDR wrote: "Of all national liberation movements the political leadership of the GDR had always considered the South African one particularly important. From the viewpoint of Marxist-Leninist ideology and revolutionary theory they perceived South Africa as the country in sub-Saharan Africa which, because of its level of development, offered the greatest potential for fundamental changes in the direction of socialism.

The ongoing process of social differentiation, in particular the emergence of a comparatively strong industrial proletariat, was seen, in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, to provide the conditions for a national democratic revolution and for a subsequent revolutionary transition to socialism". 11

The concept of the National Democratic Revolution's road to South Africa became the basis of ideological elaborations by the South African Communist Party and then the African National Congress from the early 1960’s right up until the present day.

**(iii) The Soviet changed the movement for colonies from an ‘independent native republic’ to ‘a colony of Russia’.**

In 1960 the South African Communist Party visited Moscow twice, met representatives of the Soviet leadership and actively participated in the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, and even in its editing commission. Joe Matthews, one of South Africa's delegates, said that he and Michael Harmel spent months in the USSR, discussing theoretical issues with representatives of other communist parties.

In 1961, a South African Communist Party delegation visited Moscow again, and this time the conclusion of their theoretical discussions with the Central Committee of the CPSU was that the ideas of the 1960 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, including the National Democratic Revolution, should be applied to the South African situation. According to Shubin, the 1962 South African Communist Party's programme itself was at some stage discussed with Moscow. 14

**a) The 1962 Programme of the SACP**

The 1962 programme was a stark departure from South African Communist Party's previous documents. To begin with, no previous programme had treated South Africa as a colony, but rather as a common society in need of political equality and social justice. Many statements and the general analysis in the 1962 programme were either direct quotes or verbatim renditions of the documents of the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties which took place in Moscow in 1960 and which entrenched new Soviet approaches to the national liberation movement.

**1) The 1962 Programme of the SACP introduced the National Democratic Revolution**

The National Democratic Revolution's road to South Africa first made its official appearance in South Africa in the ‘1962 Programme of the South African Communist Party’.

**2) The 1962 Programme of the SACP declared South Africa a colony of Russia**

The programme declared that South Africa was a colony of Russia, although of a "special kind" and proclaimed that the national democratic revolution was the party's "immediate and foremost task".

Its main content was “the national liberation of the African people". Achieving it would be "the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundations of a classless, communist society." 12

**3) The 1962 Programme of the SACP supported the call of the Freedom Charter for nationalization**

The program further stated that the African National Congress was a national-liberation organization and pledged the South African Communist Party's "unqualified support for the Freedom Charter" which it considered to be "suitable as a general statement of the aims of a state of national democracy". The Charter, the document ran, "necessarily and realistically calls for profound economic changes: drastic agrarian reform to restore the land to the people; widespread nationalization of key industries... which will answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people and lay the indispensable basis for the advance of our country along non-capitalist lines to a communist and socialist future". 13

**(iv) The National Democratic Revolution was officially adopted by the African National Congress**

The National Democratic Revolution was officially adopted by the African National Congress at its Morogoro conference in 1969 - the first one in exile. The conference passed a resolution, in fact, a programme, Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress, which opened with the following words: "The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition to the Socialist system, of the breakdown of the colonial system as a result of national liberation and socialist revolutions... We in South Africa are part of the zone in which national liberation is the chief content of the struggle." 15

This document was also a departure from African National Congress's previous programs. To note, the Freedom Charter, with its call for nationalization of the mines and land, and for establishing state regulation of the rest of the economy, is a socialist document, which treated South Africa as a common society, not as a colony, with the goal of full political equality and social justice, not colonial liberation.

**a) The Morogoro Strategy and Tactics for speeding up the revolution**

The ideas and language of the Morogoro Strategy and Tactics were very close to those of the South African Communist Party's 1962 programme. But there was an important difference. The Morogoro resolution spoke of achieving "a speedy progression from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation" already during the national-democratic stage, which would be guaranteed by "a large and growing working class whose class consciousness complements national consciousness." 16

Those who are familiar with Marxist terminology know that "genuine and lasting emancipation" could never be achieved under capitalism. The authors of this document had decided to merge the two stages of the revolution into one. This was, indeed, what was related to their Soviet colleagues.16 this was also exactly how many African National Congress cadres, even those who were not communists, saw it. To point, Oliver Tambo spoke of socialism as a goal of South Africa's national liberation in his address to the 24th CPSU's congress in 1971, when he said that the African National Congress was leading the masses towards revolution for the overthrow of the fascist regime, the seizure of power and the building of a "socialist society". 17

The Soviet theory of national democratic revolution with its socialist-orientated goals was transplanted virtually whole into the African National Congress's ideology and mass perceptions.

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1 <http://www.liberationafrica.se/intervstories/interviews/strachan/?by-name=1>

2 Sunday Times, Johannesburg, edition on 31/07/11.

3 The correct name of the organization was the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization. Its Soviet branch was called the Soviet Solidarity Committee of Asian and African Countries, or Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

4 I. Filatova: Interview with E. Pahad. 08/05/2000.

5 V. Shubin: ‘ANC. A View from Moscow’. Cape Town: Mayibuye Books -UWC, 1999. P. 37.

6 An international communist organization centered in Moscow (1919-1943). Member Communist parties (that is most Communist parties throughout the world) were considered branches of the Comintern and had to implement its directives.

7 A. Davidson, I. Filatova, V. Gorodnov, S. Johns, eds. ‘South Africa and the Communist International: a documentary history (1919-1939)’. London: Frank Cass, 2003. Vol. I. Document 66.

8 DomzaNet. Communist University: <http://groups.google.com/group/Communist-University>, 27/03/07.

9 K. N. Brutents: ‘National Liberation Revolutions Today’, Some Questions of Theory. Part I, Moscow. Progress Publishers, 1977. P. 146-147.

10 K. N. Brutents. Op. cit. P. 148-149.

11 H. G. Schleicher, I. Schleicher: ‘Special Flights: The GDR and Liberation Movements in Southern Africa’. Harare, Sapes Books, 1998. P. 7.

12 ‘The Road to South African Freedom’. Programme of the South African Communist Party. The African Communist. 1963, vol. 2, no. 2. P. 24, 26-27.

13 The Road.., P. 62, 64.

14 V. Shubin. Op. cit. P. 39-41; I. Filatova. Interview with Joe Matthews, 04/11/2004; I. Filatova. Conversation with V.G.Shubin, 06/09/08, Cape Town.

15 Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, adopted by the Morogoro Conference of the ANC, Tanzaniа, 25 April - 1 May 1969. ANC official website: <http://www.anc.org.za/>.

16 Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, adopted by the Morogoro Conference of the ANC, Tanzaniа, 25 April - 1 May 1969. ANC official website: <http://www.anc.org.za/>.

17 The Soviet encyclopedia Afrika noted that "according to African communists" "of all countries on the continent the transition to socialism directly through a socialist revolution, by-passing or shortening to the minimum the stage of the national democratic revolution and socialist orientation... is only possible in South Africa, where employed labor constitutes more than half of the economically active population.., and where the proletariat led by the SACP numbers more than 2 million. However, even here a transitional period is not excluded". Afrika. Entsiklpedicheskii spravochnik... P. 389.

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The lasting legacy: The ANC's Soviet connection by Irina Filatova, 2011

**B. The Netherlands support for the struggle against the Union of South Africa**

From studying the archives of Comité Zuid-Afrika, it is clear that the Crown of England sent members from London to Holland to instigate anti-South African movements from the ground up in the Dutch communities. We refer to an open letter by Esau du Plessis who organized anti-Apartheid movements in the Netherlands to point out the following:

* Esau du Plessis was involved in the struggle against apartheid abroad ever since September 1959 when he arrived in London
* Esau du Plessis moved from London to Netherlands in 1965 to mobilize the Dutch against South Africans, and left Netherlands in 1995, the year after the African National Congress took governance in South Africa
* Esau du Plessis attended the Reformed Ecumenical Synod (RES) in August 1968 in the Dutch village Lunteren
* Esau du Plessis believed in violence as a medium for changing government systems

The open letter by Esau du Plessis can be read in Footnote 1 – Open Letter of Esau du Plessis with regard to his anti-South African activities.

The Dutch government did give some money to the freedom movements and to the freedom struggle, although was not in favour of direct support for armed movements, and preferred to give donations via other organizations.

The first donation was made in 1965, when an amount of 100 000 guilders was put aside for the Defence and Aid Fund. The Defence and Aid Fund Nederland came out of the Comité Zuid-Afrika. It was affiliated with the International Defence Aid Fund. When the Defence and Aid Fund was banned by the South African government, the Dutch government decided to give the money to the United Nations (UN) Trust Fund for South Africa. Money was also given to other countries developing in Africa, and for black development and education inside South Africa.

The non-government anti-apartheid movements were most important in establishing the Netherlands as an anti-apartheid country.

There was a wide range of anti-apartheid organizations active in the Netherlands, often organized according to (formal or informal) political affiliation. Besides the anti-apartheid groups at national and local level, there were also many other organizations with anti-apartheid activities.

Trade unions, churches, local governments and development organizations all played an active role, as did organizations focused specifically on solidarity with Southern African struggles. Dutch groups were active not only in building pressure to change Western policy and isolate South Africa but also in directly supporting Southern African liberation movements. The groups often worked together in coalition, despite rivalries and strategic disagreements. Together they reached into all sectors of Dutch society, having a powerful impact on public opinion.1

**The Dutch People should be held responsible for the deaths of many South Africans**

The Dutch sponsored and financed the terrorist movements in South Africa that led to the murder of many South Africans, and in particular, the Boer descendents. It has been said that the Dutch People have should be held directly responsible for the killing of many Boers, by having supported, financed and supplied weaponry to terrorist organizations for use against the Boers..2

**Non-government anti-apartheid movements included Christian organizations**

The anti-apartheid movement in the Netherlands was one of the strongest and most effective in the world, which effectively placed a constraint on bilateral contact with the Apartheid governments in many spheres.

The non-government anti-apartheid movements were most important in establishing the Netherlands as an anti-apartheid country.

The three largest organizations were Werkgroep Kairos, the Anti-Apartheidsbeweging Nederland (AABN) and the Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA). Werkgroep Kairos came into being in 1970 as a result of a connection with the Christian Institute (CI) of Beyers Naude that was based in South Africa. Cor Groenendijk, J. Verkuyl and Erik van den Bergh held influential positions in the movement. Kairos decided to fill the need for a Christian anti-apartheid organization in the Netherlands as well as focus on informing the Dutch public. As a Christian organization, Kairos’ aim was to give information to the churches on developments in South Africa. It did not have a broad following, but was very important in church circles, both inside the Netherlands and South Africa.

The Comité Zuid-Afrika (CZA) was the first anti-apartheid organization to be formed in the Netherlands in 19573, with the aim of informing the public of discrimination against Blacks in South Africa. The AABN came into existence after some of the more radical elements within the CZA broke away under C. Braam, B. Schuitema and P. Juffermans in 1971. The leaders of the AABN highlighted the role World War II played in their interest in apartheid, outlining their task as supporting those fighting apartheid and disseminating information on the apartheid situation. Unlike the Netherlands’ government and many other organizations, the AABN did not find the question of whether to support the armed struggle a moral dilemma, but rather felt that support for and solidarity with the freedom movements was the most important facet of its work.

The KZA was the last of the three organizations to be founded, but in many ways it was the most effective. The KZA is often identified as the biggest of the committees working with southern Africa, and, unlike the AABN and Kairos, it did not develop initially with the aim of fighting apartheid. In 1961 the Angola Comité (AC) was established to support the freedom struggle in Angola, with Sietse Bosgra and Trineke Weijdema as leaders. Aside from just supporting Angola, the whole of southern Africa became a zone of concern growing out of its interest in the decolonisation process. With its aim being reached in Angola in 1975, the committee decided to change its name and focus. The KZA was established in 1976, and decided to concentrate its actions on the South African, Zimbabwean and Namibian freedom movements. For the KZA the most important element of the struggle was to increase international awareness of the situation in South Africa, and in this way increase international criticism of apartheid. The KZA focused on the ending of diplomatic, economic and friendly relations with the white South African government.

These groups, together with smaller and more local groups influenced the public opinion of apartheid and continually tried to get the government to take more concrete steps. It was also these organizations that developed ties with groups fighting apartheid either from within South Africa or from exile. They gave moral and monetary support to these groups, and in this way developed the anti-apartheid character of the Netherlands. They also took action against companies trading in South Africa and tried to break all contact with South Africa on the level of sport, culture and economic activity.

It can therefore be seen that it was these anti-apartheid organizations that gave the Netherlands an anti-apartheid character. Monetary and moral support from other countries, such as the USSR exceeded that of the Netherlands.

After the end of apartheid, Nelson Mandela, on a trip to the Netherlands, thanked them for their support during apartheid.

**Netherlands had anti-apartheid movements included student organizations**

The Netherlands established a student organization called Stucoza in Amsterdam which took part in the boycotts of South African products such as Outspan oranges as well as protest meetings. Stucoza also worked in co-operation with the Comité Zuid-Afrika which can be seen in Footnote 2 - Archief Stichting Comité Zuid-Afrika

**The Netherlands funded arms and terrorist organizations to make war on South Africans**

The Netherlands does not have any anti-terrorism laws – and thus openly allowed fundraising and arms purchase exporting by terrorist and communist support groups during the anti-apartheid movement's support of the terrorist cells for the African Nationalist Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) before 1994.   
Many Dutch citizens – such as the head of the now-defunct "Anti-apartheid movement Netherlands," the journalist Connie Braam – even actively participated in smuggling weapons and bombs into South Africa from Dutch territory and without any intervention from the Dutch government, which also provided government funding for this terrorist support group.   
As long as the Muslim-fundamentalist terrorist support groups do not misbehave inside The Netherlands, they can therefore continue to use the Dutch territory from which to garnish economic and material support – including purchasing highly sophisticated weaponry from the local arms industry – even if these directly lead to terrorist attacks outside The Netherlands, as also happened during the terrorist campaign conducted by the ANC and the PAC against the apartheid government in South Africa prior to 1994.4

**The Netherlands opened an action committee in Angola to assist terrorist organizations to make war on South Africans**

The Netherlands opened an action committee in Angola named the Angola Comité which was active at least in 1962 and 1963 to support guerrilla warfare against South Africans as can be seen from the Bulletins held at the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA) Repository

**The Netherlands had protest meetings to free leadership of Treason against South Africans**

The Netherlands had protest meetings against the Treason Trial in South Africa. The Treason Trial unveiled a full scale war which had been planned against the South African nation and is discussed in Footnote 3 – The Treason Trial with reference to Operation Mayibuye.

**The Netherlands funded the defense of political prisoners and their families**

As can be seen according to the letters of correspondence at the Repository of the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA) by A. Paton to J. Buskes in Amsterdam on of 30 December 1957 with regard to the South African Treason Trial Defense Funds, the Comité Zuid-Afrika (CZA, Committee South Africa) existed in 1957 already, at least two years before the date generally accepted of 1959. The Comité Zuid-Afrika dissolved in 1971.

Reference: [Defense and Aid Fund Nederland - African Activist Archive](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/organization.php?name=Defence+and+Aid+Fund+Nederland)

Defense and Aid Fund Netherlands (DAF Nederland) was affiliated to the IDAF and existed from 1965 till 1991.  It concentrated on fundraising for the defense of political prisoners and support to their families in South Africa. It also published informational materials.

In her studies into the role of the anti-apartheid organizations in the Netherlands, the South African scholar Genevieve Lynette Klein draws the following conclusion:

“It needs to be remembered that the white South African apartheid regime identified the Netherlands’ anti-apartheid actions as highly dangerous and effective. This is another reason why the Netherlands’ actions are considered so important, but it has little to do with the actual nature of the actions. Already in 1965, when the Netherlands’ government offered 45.000 euro to an organization that gave legal assistance to political prisoners, the South African government reacted very extremely. This was because South Africa interpreted actions by the Netherlands’ government and public as much more serious than actions by other countries. The Afrikaner still looked to the ‘blood-bond’ experienced at the start of the 20th century, and in the light of this, expected the Netherlands to support them.”

**The Netherlands waged an economic war against South Africa**

In the Netherlands they spoke of sanctions as a form of “economic war”. Economic sanctions had to be real with bite, and not merely cosmetic.  At a sanctions conference held in Amsterdam in 1975 there was a clash on this terminology with a riled Abdul Minty saying that they would be destroying the tolerances of exile host countries with such language, let alone actual action. This despite the fact that in Amsterdam they were already doing pioneering work with “low key intelligence” by infiltrating firms, using unorthodox methods that led to direct results.5 .

In the 1990s, Mohamed served as general secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, a liberation movement outlawed under apartheid, along with the now-ruling African National Congress party. Because of his underground political activities, Mohamed -- whose mix of Malaysian, African and European ancestors classified him as "colored" under the apartheid system -- was forced to occasionally go into exile. Among the places he visited was Holland in the 1960s.   
"We were running from the police in our country, and the Dutch took us in and protected us," he said. "I went to a supermarket in Leiden and couldn't' believe my eyes -- Dutch people giving out stickers protesting oranges grown in South Africa under apartheid. They said, 'If you eat this orange it's like sucking the blood of black South Africans,'" he said.   
"I'll tell you, of all the European countries I've been to, I love the Dutch most," said Mohamed, a dark-skinned native Afrikaans speaker. "It was the Dutch who supported us in our struggle. They gave us millions of rand (South African currency) -- maybe out of a bit of guilt, but mostly out of generosity I think."6

**Public Campaigns in the Netherlands to destroy cultural and sports activities in South Africa.**

In the Netherlands there is a rich history of public boycott campaigns against South Africa between 1960 and 1990.  
In February 1985, the sale of Kruger Rands was entirely stopped in the Netherlands.  
Sanctions and boycotts against apartheid South Africa have been the subject of many studies in relation to their impact in South Africa and the Netherlands.  
A campaign in the Netherlands to isolate South Africa through a sports boycott was inspired by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee. There were also calls for a cultural boycott and an academic boycott. 7  
In 1987, the Dutch soccer legend Ruud Gullit dedicated his footballer-of-the-year award to the leader of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, who was in prison at the time for treason. The next year, Mr. Gullit recorded an anti-apartheid song, “South Africa,” with the reggae band Revelation Time. It was a striking, unusually political statement for a European soccer star.8

**The Netherlands provided the African National Congress with a head office in South Africa**

Luthuli House is a 22-floor high-rise building. The African National Congress headquarters are officially located on the 7th floor, while the 6th floor houses the office of the Secretary-General.  
Previously known as Shell House, it was bought by the party from Royal Dutch Shell upon its unbanning and returns to South African politics in 1993 for R20, 000,000. It was renamed in 1998 after Chief Albert Luthuli.  
Note: It was no coincidence that the ANC Head Quarters were housed in Shell House and later bought from the Royal Dutch Shell Company.9  
  
  
**Netherlands gave the leader of the African National Congress an Honorary Doctorate**

The Mandela Scholarship Fund was established at Leiden University, Netherlands when President Nelson Mandela received an Honorary Doctorate from the University on 12 April 1999. Here, African (post) graduate students will have the possibility to study for a period of a year at Leiden University through bursaries and scholarships.10

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(http://www.aluka.org/action/showCompilationPage?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.COMPILATION.COLLECTION-MAJOR.NIZA&)

.2 Article dated Thursday 27 October 2011 “The Afrikaners' Misguided Attachment to the Netherlands”:

Due to ignorance the Afrikaner have this passionate emotional attachment to the Netherlands and their "SO-CALLED" Dutch heritage.  
Whereas most other countries saw their Governments spearheading the anti-apartheid drive. In the Netherlands, while the Government was more talk than action, this drive came mostly from the public. The Dutch as a nation was against the Afrikaner, the National Party and Apartheid.  
Notwithstanding, the Afrikaners to this day, persist in their attachment to the Netherlands, the nation that sold whites in South Africa out more times and with more ferocity than any other nation. No other country of origin had betrayed the Afrikaner as much as the Netherlands.   
It is true that the blood of the Dutch fills the veins of the Afrikaner, because clean blood fills the arteries. While the Afrikaner is not Dutch, but rather a mixed breed of European nations, they do not have this same attachment to their other nationalities of origin, like Germany, France, Portugal, UK, Italy, Greece, etc. The Dutch always looked down upon the Afrikaner and always distinguished themselves from the Afrikaner.  
During the Apartheid years very few nations supported South Africa and Netherlands, the beloved blood-country of the Afrikaner, was not one of those countries.  
The Dutch sponsored and financed the terrorist movements in South Africa that led to the murder of many white Afrikaners, yet the Afrikaner continues to hail their Dutch heritage? The Dutch People should be held directly responsible for the killing of many Afrikaners, by having supported, financed and supplied weaponry to terrorist organizations for use against the Afrikaner.  
There are literally thousands of sources supporting the above, but the following articles provide sufficient evidence to the case.  
[Relations between South Africa and the Netherlands](http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/bilateral/netherlands.html)  
(<http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/bilateral/netherlands.html>)

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5 [Differences British and Dutch Anti Apartheid Movements](http://schuitemaberend.blogspot.com/2011/04/differences-british-and-dutch-anti.html)  
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Resistance to apartheid - International resistance  
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6 [South Africa Embraces Dutch Fans Despite Past](http://www.aolnews.com/2010/07/11/south-africa-embraces-dutch-fans-despite-past/)  
(<http://www.aolnews.com/2010/07/11/south-africa-embraces-dutch-fans-despite-past/>)

7 [Sanctions against apartheid South Africa should inspire the Palestinian people](http://electronicintifada.net/content/sanctions-against-apartheid-south-africa-should-inspire-palestinian-people/5366#.TqmdQYbJCN0)  
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(<http://db.nelsonmandela.org/tributes/pub_view.asp?pg=results&opt=guided&strGenre=Bursaries>)

**Footnote 1: Open Letter of Esau du Plessis with regard to his anti-South African activities.**

AN OPEN LETTER

by Esau du Plessis (formerly coordinator of the Boycott Outspan Action), to Sietse Bosgra, author of the report the Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 3, International Solidarity Part 1, published by South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET). *My open letter is therefore directed both to Sietse Bosgra and SADET.*

*Now I wish to turn to the inaccuracies and distortions attributed to the BOA and to me personally as recorded in chapter 2 – The Dutch anti-apartheid organizations.*

*On page 19, he claims that I came to the Netherlands in 1968. I actually came to Holland from the UK in 1965 and left that country for Sweden in 1995. He describes me as a “colored South African”. I wonder what went through his brain when he wrote this. I do not wish to disown my ancestry or my people, but this is a term used in the racist classification of the apartheid regime. Besides, Bosgra is not consistent. Thus he mentions James Phillips, Reg September and Allan Boesak elsewhere in the report without referring to them as ´colored`. The last person as far as I know who described me as a `colored´ was Dr. Koot Vorster, the brother of the then S.A. Prime Minister, in the Dutch village Lunteren at a conference of the ultra-conservative Reformed Ecumenical Synod (RES) in August 1968.*

*For his information Barack Obama, Tiger Woods and Lewis Hamilton would also have been classified as `colored´ by the apartheid regime, so would, for example, half the population of Brazil.*

*He falsely continues “When he arrived in the Netherlands in 1968 (?) he offered his*

*support to the Comité Zuid-Africa (CZA), but it annoyed him that this organization*

*refused to recognize that change in South Africa was impossible without the use of*

*violence.” This matter is far more complex than the simplistic assertion by Bosgra. The truth is that I soon became so bitterly disappointed and frustrated by the CZA that I never joined it and did not become a member. I contributed one or two articles to the bulletin. My position has always been that if the West did nothing against apartheid then violence would become inevitable. However, this does not mean that I rejected the work of the militant wing of the ANC, The Spear of the Nation. I make a clear distinction between the violence of oppression and the violence of liberation. I believe that any occupied and oppressed people have the right to free themselves by means of violence, if necessary.*

*What I have done in practice ever since I came to the Netherlands was to inform*

*people at meetings and discussion groups about the crimes and evil of apartheid. In 1968 I joined a series of meetings with Jan and Karina Wolkers and Annemarie Prins, together with her theatre group “Theater terzijde” (off the beaten track) consisting of about ten actors. We came together every Sunday at the home of Jan and Karina Wolkers out of disappointment with the CZA. Not much came out of these meetings, but it served to channel my frustration into something creative and positive. However, in August 1968 I was approached by Ben van Kaam with the request to support some critical Reformed Christians who were protesting in Lunteren against the pro-apartheid synod of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod (RES). A pro-apartheid delegation led by Koot Vorster and Gericke was to be present. There people like Ad Zeillemaker, James Ravell and Faith de Haas and I, amongst others, installed an anti-apartheid exhibition in a building close to the conference of the RES. Professor J. Verkuyl and the Rev.. R.J. van der Veen was the only people who presented an anti-apartheid view. This campaign organization led to the*

*tentative formation of the working group Cottesloe, the forerunner of the working group Kairos. I remained a member of Kairos until the mid-seventies, but continued to serve on the editorial committee of the bulletin of Kairos, until it later joined the monthly Amandla. Also I assisted the PPR (Political Party Radicals), especially Bas de Gaay Fortman, the leader of this party in the Dutch Parliament. For example, I helped Bas the Gaay Fortman to render his speech in parliament into Afrikaans which he delivered to a S.A. parliamentary delegation. We organized on behalf of the local group, WZA-Leiden, picket-lines, whenever a S.A. parliamentary delegation visited and we gave Bakker, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Transport, a critical send-off to S.A. at Schiphol in 1970.*

*This aroused interest of the media and they followed his visit critically whilst in South*

*Africa.*

*Furthermore, in 1970, together with Karel Roskam, I drew the attention of the media*

*to the plight of black people in the resettlement areas during a severe drought in S.A. It was on this occasion that I had the opportunity to expose the false propaganda*

*disseminated to the Dutch media by Eschel Rhoodie of the S.A. Embassy. In the*

*meantime, the Boycott Outspan Action (BOA) was formed. These and other activities*

*illustrate convincingly that far from advocating “violence”, all my activities in the*

*Netherlands from 1965 until 1995 were simply meant to make Dutch people aware of*

*the crimes and evil of apartheid.* ***To this end no other organization in that country***

***published more books, brochures, leaflets and posters against apartheid****. The Outspan boycott campaign itself served as an exemplary action that will stand model for future consumer boycotts. Sietse Bosgra only briefly mentions Outspan, but the word `Outspan` became a symbol of apartheid. It served as a hall-stand on which other targets of apartheid could be hanged. For example, we organized the successful anti-emigration campaign of 1975; the national bus tours through the Dutch cities, the international trades’ union conference in Leiden at which worker organizations from Belgium, Holland, Italy, France, SACTU and ICFTU etc. participated.*

*Most significantly, the urban campaigns (referred to as `city campaigns´ by Bosgra)*

*were in fact the culmination and climax of the BOA work. We continued to mobilize the grassroots of Dutch society as we believed that real change can only come from the bottom and rarely from the top. Each city was divided into different target groups, for example, schools, universities, trade unions, libraries, youth groups, women groups, political parties, artists and writers, etc. In this model it is clear that each target group has specific possibilities which are at times very different from others. Thus a workers organization can by definition manifest itself differently from political parties. We strongly felt that the grassroots, the base, are largely ignored by the more populist and opportunistic campaigns generally conducted. The Outspan Campaign was, for example, a campaign that required a personal decision by each and every consumer to decide wither to buy an Outspan orange or to leave it. In a nutshell, this was the strength of the campaign. It was not important for the Angola Comité of Sietse Bosgra or the anti-apartheid movement (AABN) of Connie Braam to support it or to refuse to support it. The public decided whether to support it or not.*

*S. Bosgra refers further to my criticism of the Dutch government’s policy towards*

*apartheid. He then adds “And yet the same government had subsidized the BOA´s*

*boycott campaign.” This is an extremely colonial and paternalistic view. Does he think that Dutch people should not have criticized the USA for the war crimes committed in Vietnam because Holland had received massive Marshall Aid after the 2nd World War?*

*For his information, we were very disappointed in the policies to apartheid by various*

*Dutch governments. Of course, the Den Uyl left of Centre government was the most*

*progressive ever. Joop Den Uyl himself remained a personal periodic donor of the BOA right until his death. The same applies to his wife Liesbeth Den Uyl, who continued to be a BOA donor until she died. We never had problems in our personal relations with the Dutch government at the time. But evidently Sietse Bosgra had problems with the BOA.*

*Bosgra´s remarks about the BOA´s position on apartheid in S.A. and racism in the*

*Netherlands are laughable. He writes “BOA virtually became an anti-racist organization … as a consequence the government terminated its subsidy in 1992.” What arrant nonsense! The BOA consistently maintained that the struggle against racism is indivisible.*

*We believed that a person cannot compartmentalize racism, i.e. divide it into segments or compartments. To fight apartheid far away at a remote distance, while allowing and promoting racism at home, is very easy. However, charity begins at home. It is easy to see the splinter in another person’s eye, but not the beam in one´s own. Admittedly, it is painful and it requires courage to look into one´s own bosom. Racism is racism, no matter under which name it parades. In South Africa, it was known as apartheid, in the USA as segregation, in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) as partnership, etc, but in essence racism is fundamentally the same. The more people in Holland who show such confused and woolly thinking as S. Bosgra the more racism will continue to flourish.*

*On page 32, Bosgra makes another fantastic claim, without any basis whatsoever. He writes: “When BOA organized an action week in Rotterdam, it had to accept co-operation with the Azania Komitee, but in other cities BOA excluded them.” This is also absolutely not true. BOA never excluded the Azania Komitee. It is true that the BOA supported the ANC and SACTU. But in Rotterdam it was possible to find common ground with that organization, but not in the city of Breda. We have in fact encountered the Azania Komitee only in these two cities and our experience was that they existed only in these cities and definitely not in “in other cities” as Bosgra claims.*

*I could continue pointing out the inaccuracies, pertinent untruths and distortions in*

*Bosgra´s report. This is in my view unnecessary. However, this only reinforces my request for a rectification. After all, I myself was involved in the struggle against apartheid abroad ever since September 1959 when I arrived in London. It is therefore completely unacceptable for Sietse Bosgra to try do diminish my work by stepping on it with his wooden clogs. Far from diminishing my work, Bosgra has only managed to reveal his own mentality. Besides, by concentrating solely on me by name, when referring to the BOA, is an offence to the many devoted and sincere Dutch persons who worked extremely hard and completely free of pay. To mention only a few: Rob van der Aa, Felix Luitwieler, Theo Veerman, Wil v.d. Giesen-Scherpenzeel, Gerard van Dijk, Ad Zeillemaker, Ben van Kaam, Karel Roskam and many others scattered all over the country.*

*Besides the BOA was a foundation (stichting) with a chairman, secretary, treasurer and other members. The first chairman was the MP of the PPR (Political Party Radicals) Dolf Coppes. Considering my earlier co-operation with Bas the Gaay Fortman, the leader of this party, it was almost obvious that somebody from this quarter should be BOA´s first chairman. Dolf Coppes was followed as chairman by a progressive catholic pastor Jan Ruijter who later became director of the cultural- social Moses and Aaron Church in Amsterdam. Tjitte de Vries, journalist and a co-founder of the BOA succeeded Jan Ruijter. The BOA held weekly meetings, every Monday evening, at which all the volunteers also attended. In fact, everybody who did some work for the BOA attended these meetings. It is therefore highly incorrect of Sietse Bosgra to create the impression that I was the only person in the organization. Other than an attempt on his part to create a rift between me and the Dutch participants, I cannot think of any other reason.*

*This reminds me of a nasty event soon after the release of Nelson Mandela and the*

*Unbanning of the ANC. Sietse Bosgra went to South Africa on his first visit ever. And in South Africa surprise, surprise. He told a Dutch journalist confidentially (!) that Conny Braam, the executive secretary of the Dutch Anti –Apartheid Movement (AABN) had bodily contact (`lifelike contact`) with the ANC. Instead of keeping this news a secret, the journalist concerned reported it to his newspaper. Consequently, it appeared in the rest of the Dutch media. Just imagine, going to South Africa at such a momentous time for the first time. This incident discredited Sietse Bosgra for ever in my eyes. I mention this incident not only because it is true, but because he knocked me below the belt in the SADET report.*

*It is also painful to note that Bosgra does not pay tribute to the two giants of the anti-*

*Apartheid struggle, namely Dr. B.B. Buskes and Dr. Karel Roskam. These two men, more than anyone else, paved the way for anti-apartheid work at an extremely difficult time in Holland, when almost every person was still pro-apartheid.*

*In this regard, he even fails to mention the significant role played by South Africans*

*in exile in the struggle against apartheid. To mention only a few: Darius Dhlomo, Vernie February, Mpo Ntoane, Camu and Joe Kajee, Thelma and James Ravell, Rita Isaacs-Jonathan and Faith de Haas, etc. Without their work no serious anti-apartheid activities of any importance would have occurred in Holland. I know that Sietse Bosgra preferred to work with exclusively Dutch people in his organization. This tells me that he never really felt and understood what was happening in South Africa.*

*Esau du Plessis*

**Footnote 2: Archief Stichting Comité Zuid-Afrika**

[IISG](http://www.iisg.nl/index-nl.php)

Archief Stichting Comité Zuid-Afrika

Periode (1956- ) 1960-1971   
Omvang   0.7 m.   
Raadpleging Vrij

Geschiedenis

In 1957 ontplooide een groep mensen onder de naam 'Comité Zuid-Afrika' (CZA) m.n. in Amsterdam een aantal activiteiten, maar de organisatie kreeg pas werkelijk vorm in voorjaar 1960, toen op initiatief van ds. Buskes en Karel Roskam een bestuur werd gevormd, vanaf begin1962 onder voorzitterschap van Joop Voogd; vanaf 1963 werd nauw samengewerkt met Studenten Comité Zuid-Afrika (Stucoza) en vanaf 1965 met Nederlandse afdeling van Defence and Aid Fund, dat in 1968 samenging met CZA; eind 1971 werd het comité omgevormd tot Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland; Defence and Aid Fund Nederland ging zelfstandig verder. Eerste helft 60er jaren tal van activiteiten tegen de apartheid, voor vrijlating van politieke gevangenen en voor (gedeeltelijke) boycot van Zuid-Afrika. Secretariaat gevestigd in Amsterdam. Voor meer informatie over Comité Zuid-Afrika: "Nederland tegen apartheid", red. Carry van Lakerveld, SDU/Amsterdams Historisch Museum,1994 (pag.43-57 – artikel van Martin Harlaar).

Inhoud

Verslagen van bestuursvergaderingen 1960-1967, correspondentie 1960-1967, financiële en andere organisatorische stukken uit hele bestaansperiode en correspondentie en andere stukken over diverse activiteiten (al dan niet in samenwerking met Stucoza) in m.n. eerste helft 60er jaren; stukken over samenwerking met en activiteiten van Stucoza 1960-1971; krantenknipsels uit Nederlandse pers over Nederland en Zuid-Afrika vooral 1960-1965.

Ordening

Archiefmateriaal waarschijnlijk afkomstig van Chris van Draanen, secretaris CZA 1965-1966, met aanvulling van Jaap de Visser, actief in CZA en Stucoza rond 1970; materiaal enigszins geordend in series verslagen, correspondentie, etc. maar oorspronkelijke indeling in hoge mate gehandhaafd; volledige serie "Informatiebulletin Comité Zuid-Afrika" aanwezig in bibliotheek IISG.

Bewerking Inventaris door Kier Schuringa in 2010.

**Footnote 3: The Treason Trial with reference to Operation Mayibuye**

When it became known that South Africa would become a republic, the ANC convened the All African Conference where it was decided to insist on a national convention, representative of all South Africans, before it became a reality.  Should it be denied, a countrywide strike would be staged.  This did take place in May 1961 but was effectively squashed by the government.  The ANC then decided to continue its protest by means of violence and for this reason MK (Spear of the Nation) was established.

On the 16th of December 1961 the ANC issued a manifest, displayed mostly on posts in the black areas, in which it detailed its strategy for violence against government institutions by means of sabotage.  On the same day the country was rocked by sabotage attacks, which escalated progressively in the years to come.  During 1963 pamphlets were even distributed amongst Whites.  Most of the early acts of sabotage were planned and coordinated from Ronnie Kasrils’ flat in Johannesburg with Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo actively involved.

Initially the South African Police were unaware of the existence of MK but in due course they determined that this organization was responsible for the sabotage attacks.  Although they managed to arrest many of the insurgents who had received military training outside South Africa, often as soon as they re-entered the country, they were in the dark as to who the leaders were.  Meanwhile the ANC became more arrogant and started with revolutionary broadcasts on Radio Freedom from mid-1963.  The situation changed overnight when an informant supplied the Johannesburg Security Police with details of the whereabouts of the MK leaders.  On the 11th of July 1963 in broad daylight, 15 policemen commanded by a Lt van Wyk raided Liliesleaf, the 28ha farm of Arthur Goldreich in Rivonia, 16km north of Johannesburg, and rounded up the surprised bunch of communists consisting of eight Jews, four blacks and one Indian.  Since Mandela was already in jail, Goldreich had taken over as the main conspirator.  With him and his wife Hazel, the listed communist Lionel Bernstein, adv Bob Hepple, Dennis Goldberg, attorney James Kantor and his brother-in-law and partner Harold Wolpe, Dr. Fernstein, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba and Ahmed Kathrada were arrested.  Goldreich, Wolpe and Hepple managed to skip the country.  The SACP moved its underground headquarters from Lilliesleaf to London.

Thanks to more information gained the police were able to swoop on another farm, Travallyn, 14km from Lilliesleaf, a few weeks later.  This turned out to be not only a second hideaway but an arms factory as well.  A third hide-out was uncovered in Mountain View, Pretoria.

These raids rendered many incriminating documents, the most important being the one which described Operation Mayibuye (“come back”) in detail  –  the master plan for subverting the South African government.  The documents revealed ample evidence that Mandela was the chief conspirator.  Some of Mandela’s diaries were found, containing evidence of his subversive activities, his involvement with sabotage, his visits to and discussions with African leaders, his participation in meetings of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa and his speech imploring these states to become involved in his struggle against White rule in South Africa.  In addition a large collection of equipment to be used in the launching of Operation Mayibuye.

The accused first appeared in court on the 9th of October 1963, and again on 29 October and 25 November, but due to legal technicalities the case only started in earnest on the 3rd of December 1963.  The accused were Mandela, Sisulu, Goldberg, Mbeki, Bernstein, Hepple, Mhlaba, Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni.  To save his own skin Hepple turned state witness but escaped overseas before the session on 3 December, after he and his family received all sorts of threats.  Vernon Ezra, Julius First (brother of Slovo’s first wife Ruth), Kasrils, Slovo, Oliver Tambo (first president of the ANC) and Strachan also fled the country before they could be accused.

The accused faced charges of sabotage, including deeds of sabotage, committing of illegal deeds, canvassing persons for training in warfare, manufacture and use of explosives with the aim to commit violence and cause destruction (altogether 153 acts of violence were listed) and conspiracy to engage in guerrilla-warfare with the aid of foreign armies.  Plans included the manufacture of 48 000 land mines and large quantities of hand grenades, pipe, petrol and bottle bombs.   These were to be unscrupulously applied; camouflaged in the most innocent packages like fruit boxes, coffee and jam tins and placed in soft spots like footpaths and entrances to gardens, with the aim to achieve maximum deaths, maiming and destruction.

Dr Percy Yutar appeared for the state, while Justice Quartus de Wet, Justice President of Transvaal presided.  The accused were represented by advocates A (Braam) Fischer, VC Berrange, both listed communists, A Chaskalson, G Bizos and JF Coaker (for Kantor). JJ Joffe was the counseling attorney.  Although the state identified 270 witnesses, it was only necessary to summon 173 of them, since the documentary evidence was so damning and at no stage during the trial did the accused ever challenge the authenticity of the documents seized, nor their revolutionary aims.  Amongst the documents were 10 papers in Mandela’s own handwriting, explaining basic warfare, Chinese guerrilla warfare, Israeli-Philippine underground military operations and how the Witwatersrand locations were to be divided into four groups.  Further divisions into zones were to facilitate the formation of underground cells.

An alarming scheme unfolded itself during the hearing.  Operation Mayibuye was without doubt a master plan for full scale war and it was clear that the designers were experts in revolutionary warfare.   Most probably it originated in some communist country like Russia, Red China, Cuba or Algeria, which already had a history of revolution.  Both Mandela and Goldreich were regular visitors to these countries, where many ANC conscripts were trained in the manufacture and application of destructive instruments.  For example, Goldreich, the author of Operation Mayibuye, was trained in explosive techniques in Russia, China and Germany, and several other of his accomplices received training in the use of various weapons, map and compass reading, radio communication, signaling and the setting of ambushes.

In the detailed strategy all relevant matters such as logistic planning and transport were fully dealt with.  The attacks would take place mainly in the platteland and to this end the country was divided into four regions.  Each region would be invaded by a guerrilla force which had to be self supportive for about a month.  On arrival they were to split up into three smaller groups of 10 men each and then, by deception and intimidation, influence the locals to join them.  It also came to light that the ANC grossly deceived their ordinary members as later directives were issued directly from the SACP.  Mandela also stated in one of his papers that South Africa under communist rule would be a land of milk and honey.

While the local cadres carried on with their undermining activities an external force of 7 000 strong would be equipped and on standby to invade the country.  An interim government was to be appointed, which could rely on the support of international labor unions to isolate the Republic.

The supreme command of Operation Mayibuye (Mandela, Slovo and Joe Modise) were convinced that if the plan could be finalized successfully  within six months, a wave of murder and grand scale carnage would follow, which would eventually lead to the achievement of their aim.

Organizations which cooperated in the planning of this diabolical scheme formed part of the Congress Alliance and included the ANC, SACP, SA Congress of Trade Unions, the Colored People’s Congress and the Congress of Democrats.

Most witnesses refused to testify under oath, thus avoiding cross examination.  Mandela, as accused number one, had a typed speech of 60 pages, which was distributed beforehand through leftist channels in order to rouse sympathy for the accused, and which he dramatically recited at conclusion of the court proceedings.

During an interview in 1990 it was revealed that the “I am prepared to die” speech was not written by himself, but that all the accused and most probably their legal representatives had a hand in it, and that Anthony Sampson, former editor of Drum magazine and good friend of archbishop Trevor Huddleston, at the request of Braam Fischer, was responsible for the final editing.

On the 4th of March 1964, the state closed its case and the court went into recession for a month to give the defense time to prepare their case.  On the 11th of June 1964, exactly 11 months after the raid on Lilliesleaf, Justice De Wet delivered his verdict in three minutes flat.  The final version given later comprised 72 pages.  Only Bernstein was found not guilty but he was arrested again as he left the court, on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.  Even the editor of the Rand Daily Mail, fierce opponent of apartheid, had to agree that “the sentences pronounced by Mr. Justice de Wet yesterday at the conclusion of the Rivonia trial were both wise and just”.

This did not conclude the police investigation.  Within a month after the case they closed in on more than 100 homes and arrested another 40 persons, 30 of them Whites.

Although this was a classic case of high treason and punishable under the law of the day by death, the whole world was surprised when Dr Yutar announced at the start of the trial that the state had decided to lay charges of sabotage only.  To this day it is not known why – no one has ever offered an explanation for this decision. Justice De Wet also stated that although the accused were guilty of high treason he could only pass sentence on the charge of conspiracy, the maximum for which was life imprisonment.

The verdict set in motion a world-wide vitriolic reaction and even the UN insisted that the accused should be indemnified because they were only opposing apartheid, yet Amnesty International declared that Mandela could not claim to be a political prisoner, since he was guilty of sabotage and violence.  The South African government did not yield to any pressure and Dr. HF Verwoerd severely criticized the world for their double standards, using several examples to prove his stance.  He made this prophetic statement:  “When they say they are glad Mandela was not sentenced to death and he may still, like Kenyatta [the Mau-Mau leader of Kenya] become the leader in the future – then I say: God forbid.”

Reference: [Anti-Apartheid Movement Archives - Netherlands](http://www.nelsonmandela.org/index.php/aama/country/category/netherlands/)  
(http://www.nelsonmandela.org/index.php/aama/country/category/netherlands/)

**C. List of anti-Apartheid organizations.**

The list of anti-Apartheid organizations which we offer clearly shows that the world was united in their displeasure with the Union of South Africa, as follows:

**Inside America:**

[Action Against Apartheid [North Carolina]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Action_Against_Apartheid)

[Action Against Apartheid (Washington University) [Missouri]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Action_Against_Apartheid_(Washington_University))

[Ad Hoc Committee Against Bank Loans to South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Ad_Hoc_Committee_Against_Bank_Loans_to_South_Africa)

[Ad Hoc Committee Against Racism [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Ad_Hoc_Committee_Against_Racism)

[Ad Hoc Committee to Oppose Apartheid in U.S. Tennis [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Ad_Hoc_Committee_to_Oppose_Apartheid_in_U.S._Tennis)

[Ad-hoc Group to End Northwestern Investments in South Africa [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Ad-hoc_Group_to_End_Northwestern_Investments_in_South_Africa)

[The Africa Fund [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_Fund;_The)

[Africa Information Service [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_Information_Service)

[Africa Network [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_Network)

[Africa News Service [North Carolina]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_News_Service)

[Africa Policy Information Center [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_Policy_Information_Center)

[Africa Research Group [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_Research_Group)

[Africa Today Associates [Colorado]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_Today_Associates)

[African Affairs Association [Connecticut]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=African_Affairs_Association)

[African American Solidarity Committee [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=African_American_Solidarity_Committee)

[African American Students Foundation [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=African_American_Students_Foundation)

[African Awareness [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=African_Awareness)

[African Liberation Support Committee](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=African_Liberation_Support_Committee)

[African Liberation Support Committee of New Hampshire-Vermont [New Hampshire]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=African_Liberation_Support_Committee_of_New_Hampshire-Vermont)

[African Students and Workers for African Liberation [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=African_Students_and_Workers_for_African_Liberation)

[African Students for Angolan Liberation [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=African_Students_for_Angolan_Liberation)

[Alexander Defense Committee [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Alexander_Defense_Committee)

[American Committee on Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=American_Committee_on_Africa)

[American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=American_Coordinating_Committee_for_Equality_in_Sport_and_Society)

[American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=American_Federation_of_State,_County_and_Municipal_Employees)  [American Friends Service Committee [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=American_Friends_Service_Committee)

[American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=American_Negro_Leadership_Conference_on_Africa)

[American Society of African Culture](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=American_Society_of_African_Culture)

[American Student Council for Action Against Apartheid [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=American_Student_Council_for_Action_Against_Apartheid)

[Ames Coalition Against Apartheid [Iowa]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Ames_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Amilcar Cabral Study Group [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Amilcar_Cabral_Study_Group)

[Amnesty International USA](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Amnesty_International_USA_)

[Angola Solidarity Coalition [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Angola_Solidarity_Coalition)

[Angola Support Conference [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Angola_Support_Conference)

[Ann Arbor Southern Africa Committee [Michigan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Ann_Arbor_Southern_Africa_Committee)

[Anti-Apartheid Committee for Selective Purchasing [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Anti-Apartheid_Committee_for_Selective_Purchasing)

[Anti-Apartheid Movement of the USA [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Anti-Apartheid_Movement_of_the_USA)

[Anti-Apartheid Solidarity Committee [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Anti-Apartheid_Solidarity_Committee)

[Anti-Apartheid Support Group [North Carolina]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Anti-Apartheid_Support_Group)

[Arizona Coalition Against Apartheid [Arizona]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Arizona_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Art Against Apartheid [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Art_Against_Apartheid)

[Artists United Against Apartheid [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Artists_United_Against_Apartheid)

[Artists for a Free South Africa [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Artists_for_a_Free_South_Africa)

[Association of Concerned Africa Scholars](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Association_of_Concerned_Africa_Scholars)

[Atlanta Coalition of Conscience [Georgia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Atlanta_Coalition_of_Conscience)

[Atlanta Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism [Georgia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Atlanta_Student_Coalition_Against_Apartheid_and_Racism)

[Baltimore Revolutionary Workers' Organization [Maryland]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Baltimore_Revolutionary_Workers'_Organization)

[Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bay_Area_Anti-Apartheid_Network)

[Bay Area Free South Africa Labor Committee [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bay_Area_Free_South_Africa_Labor_Committee)

[Bay Area Free South Africa Movement [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bay_Area_Free_South_Africa_Movement)

[Bay Area Namibia Action Group [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bay_Area_Namibia_Action_Group)

[Bay Area Southern Africa Coalition [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bay_Area_Southern_Africa_Coalition)

[Berea College Students United Against Apartheid [Kentucky]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Berea_College_Students_United_Against_Apartheid)

[Bishop Tutu Refugee Fund [Connecticut]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bishop_Tutu_Refugee_Fund)

[Black Student Communications Organizing Network [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Black_Student_Communications_Organizing_Network)

[Bloomington Coalition for a Free South Africa [Indiana]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bloomington_Coalition_for_a_Free_South_Africa)

[Bloomington South Africa Committee [Indiana]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bloomington_South_Africa_Committee)

[Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Boston_Coalition_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Boston Mobilization for Survival [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Boston_Mobilization_for_Survival)

[Bostonians Allied for South African Resistance [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bostonians_Allied_for_South_African_Resistance)

[Boycott Del Monte Coalition [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Boycott_Del_Monte_Coalition)

[Boycott Gulf Coalition [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Boycott_Gulf_Coalition)

[Boycott Shell Campaign [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Boycott_Shell_Campaign)

[Brandeis Divestment Coalition [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Brandeis_Divestment_Coalition)

[Brooklynites Against Apartheid [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Brooklynites_Against_Apartheid)

[CANICCOR [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=CANICCOR)

[California Newsreel (Southern Africa Media Center) [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=California_Newsreel_(Southern_Africa_Media_Center))

[Cambridge Anti-Apartheid Coalition [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Cambridge_Anti-Apartheid_Coalition)

[Campaign Against Apartheid [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Campaign_Against_Apartheid)

[Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Campaign_to_Oppose_Bank_Loans_to_South_Africa)

[Campuses United Against Apartheid [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Campuses_United_Against_Apartheid)

[Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Capital_District_Coalition_Against_Apartheid_and_Racism)

[Center for International Policy [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Center_for_International_Policy)

[Center for the Study of Sport in Society [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Center_for_the_Study_of_Sport_in_Society_)

[Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Champaign-Urbana_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Charlotteans for a Free Southern Africa [North Carolina]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Charlotteans_for_a_Free_Southern_Africa)

[Chicago Coalition on Southern Africa [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Chicago_Coalition_on_Southern_Africa)

[Chicago Committee for a Free Africa [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Chicago_Committee_for_a_Free_Africa)

[Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Chicago_Committee_for_the_Liberation_of_Angola,_Mozambique_and_Guinea-Bissau)

[Chicago Committee in Solidarity with Southern Africa [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Chicago_Committee_in_Solidarity_with_Southern_Africa)

[Chicago Mozambique Support Committee [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Chicago_Mozambique_Support_Committee)

[Children United Against Apartheid [Texas]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Children_United_Against_Apartheid)

[Church Project on United States Investments in Southern Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Church_Project_on_United_States_Investments_in_Southern_Africa)

[Cincinnati Coalition Against Apartheid [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Cincinnati_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[City Workers Against Apartheid [Connecticut]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=City_Workers_Against_Apartheid)

[Clergy and Laity Concerned [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Clergy_and_Laity_Concerned)

[Coalition Against Apartheid (John Hopkins University) [Maryland]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_Apartheid_(John_Hopkins_University))

[Coalition against Apartheid (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_Apartheid_(Massachusetts_Institute_of_Technology))

[Coalition Against Apartheid (Yale University) [Connecticut]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_Apartheid_(Yale_University))

[Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_Apartheid_and_Racism)

[Coalition Against Apartheid and White Supremacy [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_Apartheid_and_White_Supremacy)

[Coalition Against Corporate Involvement in Southern Africa [North Carolina]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_Corporate_Involvement_in_Southern_Africa)

[Coalition Against Racial Exploitation [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_Racial_Exploitation)

[Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_Racism_and_Apartheid_)

[Coalition Against Rhodesian Imports [Maryland]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_Rhodesian_Imports)

[Coalition Against South African Trade [Washington]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_Against_South_African_Trade)

[Coalition for Divestment (University of Missouri) [Missouri]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_for_Divestment_(University_of_Missouri))

[Coalition for Illinois' Divestment from South Africa [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_for_Illinois'_Divestment_from_South_Africa)

[Coalition for Responsible Banking [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_for_Responsible_Banking)

[Coalition for Social Responsibility [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_for_Social_Responsibility)

[Coalition for Total Divestment [New Jersey]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_for_Total_Divestment)

[Coalition for a Free South Africa [Florida]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_for_a_Free_South_Africa)

[Coalition for a Free South Africa (John Hopkins University) [Maryland]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_for_a_Free_South_Africa_(John_Hopkins_University))

[Coalition for a Free Southern Africa (Columbia University) [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_for_a_Free_Southern_Africa_(Columbia_University))

[Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_for_a_New_Foreign_and_Military_Policy)

[Coalition in Solidarity with South African Liberation [New Jersey]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_in_Solidarity_with_South_African_Liberation)

[Coalition of Black Trade Unionists](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_of_Black_Trade_Unionists)

[Coalition to End Cultural Collaboration with South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_to_End_Cultural_Collaboration_with_South_Africa)

[Coalition to Free South Africa and Namibia [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_to_Free_South_Africa_and_Namibia)

[Coalition to Stop N.U. Investments in South Africa [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_to_Stop_N.U._Investments_in_South_Africa)

[Coalition to Stop Rhodesian and South African Imports [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_to_Stop_Rhodesian_and_South_African_Imports)

[Coalition to Support the Liberation of Southern Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Coalition_to_Support_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Colorado Coalition Against Apartheid [Colorado]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Colorado_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Columbia Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Columbia_Coalition_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Committee Against Investment in South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_Against_Investment_in_South_Africa)

[Committee for Divestment from South Africa [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_for_Divestment_from_South_Africa)

[Committee for Health in Southern Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_for_Health_in_Southern_Africa)

[Committee for Justice in South Africa [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_for_Justice_in_South_Africa)

[Committee for a Free Mozambique [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_for_a_Free_Mozambique)

[Committee for a Free South Africa [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_for_a_Free_South_Africa)

[Committee for a Free South Africa (NYC) [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_for_a_Free_South_Africa_(NYC))

[Committee of Blacks Against Oppression [Louisiana]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_of_Blacks_Against_Oppression)

[Committee of Concerned Citizens on Mercenary Activities [Colorado]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_of_Concerned_Citizens_on_Mercenary_Activities)

[Committee of Returned Volunteers [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_of_Returned_Volunteers)

[Committee on Southern Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[Committee on Southern African Liberation [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_on_Southern_African_Liberation)

[Committee to End Apartheid [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_to_End_Apartheid)

[Committee to Save New England Fisheries [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_to_Save_New_England_Fisheries)

[Committee to Support the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_to_Support_the_Patriotic_Front_of_Zimbabwe)

[Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_to_Support_the_Republic_of_Guinea-Bissau)

[Concerned Citizens' Committee on Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Concerned_Citizens'_Committee_on_Africa)

[Concerned Students and Faculty for Divestment [Montana]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Concerned_Students_and_Faculty_for_Divestment)

[Connecticut Anti-Apartheid Committee [Connecticut]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Connecticut_Anti-Apartheid_Committee)

[Consultative Council on South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Consultative_Council_on_South_Africa)

[Cornell Coalition for Divestment [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Cornell_Coalition_for_Divestment)

[Corporate Data Exchange [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Corporate_Data_Exchange)

[Council on African Affairs [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Council_on_African_Affairs)

[D.C. Bank Campaign [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=D.C._Bank_Campaign)

[DC Divest [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=DC_Divest)

[DC Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=DC_Student_Coalition_Against_Apartheid_and_Racism)

[Dartmouth Community for Divestment [New Hampshire]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Dartmouth_Community_for_Divestment)

[Delaware Committee for a Free South Africa [Delaware]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Delaware_Committee_for_a_Free_South_Africa)

[Dennis Brutus Defense Committee [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Dennis_Brutus_Defense_Committee)

[Divestiture Working Group [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Divestiture_Working_Group)

[East Tennessee Committee Against Racism and Apartheid [Tennessee]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=East_Tennessee_Committee_Against_Racism_and_Apartheid)

[Educators Against Racism and Apartheid [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Educators_Against_Racism_and_Apartheid)

[Endowment for Divestiture (Harvard University) [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Endowment_for_Divestiture_(Harvard_University))

[Endowment for Divestiture (Princeton University) [New Jersey]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Endowment_for_Divestiture_(Princeton_University))

[Episcopal Churchpeople For A Free Southern Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Episcopal_Churchpeople_For_A_Free_Southern_Africa)

[Evangelical Lutheran Church in America [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Evangelical_Lutheran_Church_in_America)

[Faculty Committee Against Apartheid [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Faculty_Committee_Against_Apartheid)

[First Congregational Church Committee on Southern Africa [Wisconsin]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=First_Congregational_Church_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[First World Research Association [Georgia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=First_World_Research_Association)

[Free Bunch Federation [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Free_Bunch_Federation)

[Free South Africa Coordinating Committee [Michigan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Free_South_Africa_Coordinating_Committee)

[Free South Africa Movement [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Free_South_Africa_Movement)

[Free Southern Africa Committee [Colorado]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Free_Southern_Africa_Committee)

[Friends for Freedom in South Africa [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Friends_for_Freedom_in_South_Africa)

[Fund for a Free South Africa [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Fund_for_a_Free_South_Africa)

[Genesee Ecumenical Ministries [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Genesee_Ecumenical_Ministries)

[Georgia Coalition for Divestment in South Africa [Georgia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Georgia_Coalition_for_Divestment_in_South_Africa)

[Gulf Boycott Coalition [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Gulf_Boycott_Coalition)

[Hampshire College Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Hampshire_College_Committee_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Harvard and Radcliffe Alumni/ae Against Apartheid [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Harvard_and_Radcliffe_Alumni/ae_Against_Apartheid)

[Harvard-Radcliffe Southern Africa Solidarity Committee [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Harvard-Radcliffe_Southern_Africa_Solidarity_Committee)

[Hawaii Committee on Africa [Hawaii]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Hawaii_Committee_on_Africa)

[Haymarket People's Fund [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Haymarket_People's_Fund)

[Houstonians Against Apartheid [Texas]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Houstonians_Against_Apartheid)

[Human Rights Watch [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Human_Rights_Watch)

[Hunter College Coalition for a Free South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Hunter_College_Coalition_for_a_Free_South_Africa)

[Idaho Coalition for Peace and Justice [Idaho]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Idaho_Coalition_for_Peace_and_Justice)

[Illinois Labor Network Against Apartheid [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Illinois_Labor_Network_Against_Apartheid)

[Impact Visuals [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Impact_Visuals)

[Indiana Southern Africa Committee [Indiana]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Indiana_Southern_Africa_Committee)

[Institute for Policy Studies [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Institute_for_Policy_Studies)

[Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Interfaith_Center_on_Corporate_Responsibility)

[International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa United States Committee [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=International_Defense_and_Aid_Fund_for_Southern_Africa_United_States_Committee)

[International Oil Working Group](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=International_Oil_Working_Group)

[International Possibilities Unlimited [Michigan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=International_Possibilities_Unlimited)

[Iowa Coalition Against Apartheid [Iowa]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Iowa_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Kansas City Anti-Apartheid Network [Missouri]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Kansas_City_Anti-Apartheid_Network)

[Kansas University Committee on South Africa [Kansas]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Kansas_University_Committee_on_South_Africa)

[Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Lawyers'_Committee_for_Civil_Rights_Under_Law)

[Liberation Support Movement [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Liberation_Support_Movement)

[Louisiana State Committee Against Apartheid [Louisiana]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Louisiana_State_Committee_Against_Apartheid)

[Lutheran Coalition on Southern Africa [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Lutheran_Coalition_on_Southern_Africa)

[Lutheran Committee on Namibia [Wisconsin]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Lutheran_Committee_on_Namibia)

[MPLA Solidarity Committee [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=MPLA_Solidarity_Committee)

[Macalester Anti-Apartheid Coalition [Minnesota]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Macalester_Anti-Apartheid_Coalition)

[Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa [Wisconsin]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Madison_Area_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[Maine Project on Southern Africa [Maine]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Maine_Project_on_Southern_Africa)

[Martin Luther King Anti-Apartheid Coalition [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Martin_Luther_King_Anti-Apartheid_Coalition)

[Massachusetts Citizens Against Apartheid [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Massachusetts_Citizens_Against_Apartheid)

[Massachusetts Coalition for Divestment from South Africa (MASS Divest) [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Massachusetts_Coalition_for_Divestment_from_South_Africa_(MASS_Divest))

[Medical Aid to Zimbabwe [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Medical_Aid_to_Zimbabwe)

[Mennonite Central Committee [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mennonite_Central_Committee)

[Michigan Coalition for Human Rights [Michigan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Michigan_Coalition_for_Human_Rights)

[Midwest Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (Chicago) [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Midwest_Coalition_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa_(Chicago))

[Midwest Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (Detroit) [Michigan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Midwest_Coalition_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa_(Detroit))

[Mills Student Coalition for Divestment [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mills_Student_Coalition_for_Divestment)

[Milwaukee Committee on Southern Africa [Wisconsin]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Milwaukee_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[Minnesota Committee on Southern Africa [Minnesota]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Minnesota_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[Missourians Against Apartheid [Missouri]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Missourians_Against_Apartheid)

[Morningside Heights Committee on South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Morningside_Heights_Committee_on_South_Africa)

[Mozambique Education Fund [Minnesota]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mozambique_Education_Fund)

[Mozambique Film Project [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mozambique_Film_Project)

[Mozambique Resource Center [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mozambique_Resource_Center)

[Mozambique Solidarity Office [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mozambique_Solidarity_Office)

[Mozambique Support Network [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mozambique_Support_Network)

[Namibia Peace Center [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Namibia_Peace_Center)

[National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=National_Anti-Imperialist_Movement_in_Solidarity_with_African_Liberation)

[National Black Coalition On Southern Africa [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=National_Black_Coalition_On_Southern_Africa)

[National Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=National_Coalition_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[National Council of Churches [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=National_Council_of_Churches)

[National Lawyers Guild [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=National_Lawyers_Guild)

[National Liberation Struggles Support Committee](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=National_Liberation_Struggles_Support_Committee)

[National Namibia Concerns [Colorado]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=National_Namibia_Concerns)

[National Student Coalition Against Racism [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=National_Student_Coalition_Against_Racism)

[New Castle County Coalition for Divestment from South Africa [Delaware]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_Castle_County_Coalition_for_Divestment_from_South_Africa)

[New England Students Against Apartheid [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_England_Students_Against_Apartheid)

[New Haven Free South Africa Coalition [Connecticut]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_Haven_Free_South_Africa_Coalition)

[New Jersey Anti-Apartheid Mobilization Coalition [New Jersey]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_Jersey_Anti-Apartheid_Mobilization_Coalition)

[New Jersey Committee on Southern Africa [New Jersey]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_Jersey_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[New World Resource Center [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_World_Resource_Center)

[New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_York_Anti-Apartheid_Coordinating_Council)

[New York Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_York_Committee_to_Oppose_Bank_Loans_to_South_Africa)

[New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_York_Labor_Committee_Against_Apartheid)

[New York Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_York_Southern_Africa_Solidarity_Coalition)

[Northeast Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa [Connecticut]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Northeast_Committee_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Northeast Ohio Anti-Apartheid Committee [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Northeast_Ohio_Anti-Apartheid_Committee)

[Northeast Southern Africa Solidarity Network [Connecticut]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Northeast_Southern_Africa_Solidarity_Network)

[Oberlin Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Oberlin_Coalition_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Oberlin Committee on Southern Africa [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Oberlin_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[Ohio Coalition Against Apartheid [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Ohio_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Operation Namibia [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Operation_Namibia)

[Oregonians for Responsible State Investments [Oregon]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Oregonians_for_Responsible_State_Investments)

[PAIGC-USA Support Committee [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=PAIGC-USA_Support_Committee)

[Pacific Northwest Research Center [Oregon]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Pacific_Northwest_Research_Center)

[Pan-African Liberation Committee [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Pan-African_Liberation_Committee)

[Patrice Lumumba Coalition [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Patrice_Lumumba_Coalition)

[Penn Anti-Apartheid Coalition [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Penn_Anti-Apartheid_Coalition)

[Penn Coalition for Divestment [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Penn_Coalition_for_Divestment)

[Pension Members for Divestment [Minnesota]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Pension_Members_for_Divestment)

[People for Peace and Justice [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=People_for_Peace_and_Justice)

[People for Southern Africa Freedom [Oregon]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=People_for_Southern_Africa_Freedom)

[People for a Free South Africa [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=People_for_a_Free_South_Africa)

[People's Front for the Liberation of Southern Africa [New Jersey]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=People's_Front_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Phelps-Stokes Fund [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Phelps-Stokes_Fund)

[Philadelphia Namibia Action Group [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Philadelphia_Namibia_Action_Group)

[Pitt Divestment Committee [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Pitt_Divestment_Committee)

[Pittsburgh Committee on Southern Africa [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Pittsburgh_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[Pittsburghers Against Apartheid [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Pittsburghers_Against_Apartheid)

[Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Polaroid_Revolutionary_Workers_Movement)

[Portlanders Organized for Southern African Freedom [Oregon]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Portlanders_Organized_for_Southern_African_Freedom)

[Princeton Coalition for Divestment [New Jersey]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Princeton_Coalition_for_Divestment)

[Progressive Students for the Liberation of Southern Africa [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Progressive_Students_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Rest of the News [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Rest_of_the_News)

[Rhode Island Divest [Rhode Island]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Rhode_Island_Divest)

[Rochester Ad-Hoc Committee Against Bank Loans to South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Rochester_Ad-Hoc_Committee_Against_Bank_Loans_to_South_Africa)

[Rochester Committee for Justice in Southern Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Rochester_Committee_for_Justice_in_Southern_Africa)

[Rutgers Coalition for Total Divestment [New Jersey]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Rutgers_Coalition_for_Total_Divestment)

[SU Coalition to End Racism and Apartheid [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=SU_Coalition_to_End_Racism_and_Apartheid)

[Saharan Peoples Support Committee [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Saharan_Peoples_Support_Committee)

[San Antonio Committee Against Mercenary Recruitment and U.S. Intervention in Foreign Countries [Texas]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=San_Antonio_Committee_Against_Mercenary_Recruitment_and_U.S._Intervention_in_Foreign_Countries)

[San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=San_Francisco_Anti-Apartheid_Committee)

[Santa Cruz Anti-Apartheid Organization [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Santa_Cruz_Anti-Apartheid_Organization)

[Seattle Coalition Against Apartheid [Washington]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Seattle_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Seattle Committee To Oppose Bank Loans To South Africa [Washington]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Seattle_Committee_To_Oppose_Bank_Loans_To_South_Africa)

[Sisters Against South African Apartheid [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Sisters_Against_South_African_Apartheid)

[Social Action Committee on South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Social_Action_Committee_on_South_Africa)

[South Africa Action Group [Connecticut]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_Africa_Action_Group)

[South Africa Catalyst Project [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_Africa_Catalyst_Project)

[South Africa Divestment Coalition [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_Africa_Divestment_Coalition)

[South Africa Freedom Action Committee [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_Africa_Freedom_Action_Committee)

[South Africa Freedom Committee [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_Africa_Freedom_Committee)

[South Africa Support Committee (Amherst College) [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_Africa_Support_Committee_(Amherst_College))

[South African Awareness Committee [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_African_Awareness_Committee)

[South African Concerns Committee [Oregon]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_African_Concerns_Committee)

[South African Freedom Day Coalition [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_African_Freedom_Day_Coalition)

[South African Military Refugee Aid Fund [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_African_Military_Refugee_Aid_Fund)

[South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_African_Non-Racial_Olympic_Committee)

[South African Solidarity Committee [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_African_Solidarity_Committee)

[South African Solidarity Organization [Michigan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_African_Solidarity_Organization)

[South African Support Committee (Boston University) [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_African_Support_Committee_(Boston_University))

[South Indiana United Methodists and Others In Support of Southern Africans [Indiana]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_Indiana_United_Methodists_and_Others_In_Support_of_Southern_Africans)

[Southern Africa Anti-Mercenary Coalition [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Anti-Mercenary_Coalition)

[Southern Africa Coalition [North Carolina]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Coalition)

[Southern Africa Committee [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Committee)

[Southern Africa Freedom Action Committee [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Freedom_Action_Committee)

[Southern Africa Group for Education [Rhode Island]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Group_for_Education)

[Southern Africa Liberation Committee [Michigan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Liberation_Committee)

[Southern Africa Liberation Committee (Ann Arbor) [Michigan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Liberation_Committee_(Ann_Arbor))

[Southern Africa Organizing Committee [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Organizing_Committee)

[Southern Africa Relief Fund [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Relief_Fund)

[Southern Africa Resource Project [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Resource_Project)

[Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Solidarity_Coalition)

[Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (Brown University) [Rhode Island]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Solidarity_Committee_(Brown_University))

[Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (San Francisco) [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Solidarity_Committee_(San_Francisco))

[Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (Seattle) [Washington]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Solidarity_Committee_(Seattle))

[Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (University of Minnesota) [Minnesota]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Solidarity_Committee_(University_of_Minnesota))  [Southern Africa Support Coalition of Massachusetts [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Support_Coalition_of_Massachusetts)

[Southern Africa Support Committee [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Support_Committee)

[Southern Africa Support Project [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Support_Project)

[Southern Africa Task Force [Texas]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Task_Force)

[Southern Africa Task Force (Boston University) [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Task_Force_(Boston_University))

[Southern African Liberation Committee [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_African_Liberation_Committee)

[Southern Regional Africa Peace Coordinating Network [Alabama]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Regional_Africa_Peace_Coordinating_Network)

[Southwide Coalition to Stop South African Coal [Georgia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southwide_Coalition_to_Stop_South_African_Coal)

[St. Louis Committee on Africa [Missouri]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=St._Louis_Committee_on_Africa)

[Stanford Coalition Against Apartheid [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Stanford_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Stanford Committee for a Responsible Investment Policy [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Stanford_Committee_for_a_Responsible_Investment_Policy)

[Stanford Out of South Africa [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Stanford_Out_of_South_Africa)

[Stanford Students for a Free South Africa [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Stanford_Students_for_a_Free_South_Africa)

[Steve Biko Coalition for Full Divestment [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Steve_Biko_Coalition_for_Full_Divestment)

[Steve Biko Committee [Texas]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Steve_Biko_Committee)

[Steve Biko Memorial Committee [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Steve_Biko_Memorial_Committee)

[Steve Biko Memorial Committee (Boston) [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Steve_Biko_Memorial_Committee_(Boston))

[Steve Biko Memorial Committee (Northwestern University) [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Steve_Biko_Memorial_Committee_(Northwestern_University))

[Stockholders for Majority Rule in Southern Africa [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Stockholders_for_Majority_Rule_in_Southern_Africa)

[Stop Banking on Apartheid [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Stop_Banking_on_Apartheid)

[Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour Coalition [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Stop_the_Apartheid_Rugby_Tour_Coalition)

[Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Student_Coalition_Against_Apartheid_and_Racism)

[Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism (University of Florida) [Florida]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Student_Coalition_Against_Apartheid_and_Racism_(University_of_Florida))

[Student Committee on South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Student_Committee_on_South_Africa)

[Student and Community Coalition Against Apartheid [Indiana]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Student_and_Community_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Students Against Apartheid (Arizona State University) [Arizona]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Students_Against_Apartheid_(Arizona_State_University))

[Students Against Apartheid (University of Utah) [Utah]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Students_Against_Apartheid_(University_of_Utah))

[Students Against Apartheid (University of Washington) [Washington]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Students_Against_Apartheid_(University_of_Washington))

[Students for a Democratic Society](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Students_for_a_Democratic_Society)

[Students for a Democratic South Africa [Texas]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Students_for_a_Democratic_South_Africa)

[Task Force on Southern Africa, Church Council of Greater Seattle [Washington]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Task_Force_on_Southern_Africa,_Church_Council_of_Greater_Seattle)  [Tchuba, the American Committee for Cape Verde [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Tchuba,_the_American_Committee_for_Cape_Verde)

[Tennessee Coalition Against Apartheid [Tennessee]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Tennessee_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Trade Union South Africa Committee [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Trade_Union_South_Africa_Committee)

[TransAfrica [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=TransAfrica)

[Triangle Students Against Apartheid [North Carolina]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Triangle_Students_Against_Apartheid)

[Tufts Committee for South African Divestment [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Tufts_Committee_for_South_African_Divestment)

[U.S. Out of Angola Committee [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=U.S._Out_of_Angola_Committee)

[UC Faculty for Full Divestment [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=UC_Faculty_for_Full_Divestment_)

[Union Ad Hoc Committee on South Africa [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Union_Ad_Hoc_Committee_on_South_Africa)

[Union of American Hebrew Congregations [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Union_of_American_Hebrew_Congregations)

[United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America [Michigan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_Automobile,_Aerospace_and_Agricultural_Implement_Workers_of_America)

[United Church of Christ [Ohio]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_Church_of_Christ)

[United Front on South Africa [New Jersey]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_Front_on_South_Africa)

[United Methodist Church [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_Methodist_Church)

[United Mine Workers of America [Virginia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_Mine_Workers_of_America)

[United People of Color [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_People_of_Color)

[United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism [Pennsylvania]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_People's_Campaign_Against_Apartheid_and_Racism)

[United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_Presbyterian_Church_in_the_U.S.A.)

[United States - South Africa Sister Community Project [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_States_-_South_Africa_Sister_Community_Project)

[United States Out of Southern Africa Network [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_States_Out_of_Southern_Africa_Network)

[Unity in Action [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Unity_in_Action)

[Unity in Action Network [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Unity_in_Action_Network)

[University of Chicago Action Committee on South Africa [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=University_of_Chicago_Action_Committee_on_South_Africa)

[Upper Valley Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa [New Hampshire]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Upper_Valley_Committee_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Vermont Committee on Southern Africa [Vermont]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Vermont_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[Washington Committee on Southern Africa [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Washington_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[Washington Office on Africa [Washington, DC]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Washington_Office_on_Africa)

[Westchester People's Action Coalition [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Westchester_People's_Action_Coalition)

[Williams Anti-Apartheid Coalition [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Williams_Anti-Apartheid_Coalition)

[Williams Coalition Against Apartheid [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Williams_Coalition_Against_Apartheid)

[Winnie Mandela Solidarity Coalition [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Winnie_Mandela_Solidarity_Coalition)

[Women's International League for Peace and Freedom [Massachusetts]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Women's_International_League_for_Peace_and_Freedom)

[Workers Defense League [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Workers_Defense_League)

[ZANU Support Committee (Chicago) [Illinois]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=ZANU_Support_Committee_(Chicago))

[ZANU Support Committee (New York) [New York]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=ZANU_Support_Committee_(New_York))

[ZANU Support Committee (Norfolk) [Virginia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=ZANU_Support_Committee_(Norfolk))

[Zimbabwe Action Campaign [California]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Zimbabwe_Action_Campaign)

**Organizations Outside America**

[The Africa Bureau [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_Bureau;_The)

[Africa Groups of Sweden [Sweden]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_Groups_of_Sweden)

[Africa Groups' Recruitment Organization [Sweden]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Africa_Groups'_Recruitment_Organisation_)

[Aktiekomitee Zuidelijk Afrika [Belgium]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Aktiekomitee_Zuidelijk_Afrika)

[Anti-Apartheid Bewegung [Germany]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Anti-Apartheid_Bewegung)

[Anti-Apartheid Movement [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Anti-Apartheid_Movement)

[Anti-Apartheid Movement: Scottish Committee [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Anti-Apartheid_Movement:_Scottish_Committee)

[Anti-Apartheid, Melbourne [Australia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Anti-Apartheid,_Melbourne)

[Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Anti-Apartheids_Beweging_Nederland_)

[Arbeiderbevegelsens Internasjonale Støttekomité [Norway]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Arbeiderbevegelsens_Internasjonale_St%C3%B8ttekomit%C3%A9)

[Artists Against Apartheid [New Zealand]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Artists_Against_Apartheid)

[Association of Western European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Association_of_Western_European_Parliamentarians_Against_Apartheid_)

[Austrian Anti-Apartheid Movement [Austria]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Austrian_Anti-Apartheid__Movement)

[Bahamas Committee on Southern Africa [Bahamas]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bahamas_Committee_on_Southern_Africa)

[Berne Declaration Group [Switzerland]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Berne_Declaration_Group)

[Birmingham Anti-Apartheid Movement [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Birmingham_Anti-Apartheid__Movement)

[Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Bishop_Ambrose_Reeves_Trust)

[Boykot Outspan Aktie [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Boykot_Outspan_Aktie)

[Brödet och Fiskarna [Sweden]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Br%C3%B6det_och_Fiskarna)

[Campaign Against Racial Exploitation [Australia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Campaign_Against_Racial_Exploitation_)

[Christian Concern for Southern Africa [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Christian_Concern_for_Southern_Africa)

[Citizens Association for Racial Equality [New Zealand]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Citizens_Association_for_Racial_Equality)

[Comité Zuid-Afrika [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Comit%C3%A9_Zuid-Afrika)

[Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_for_Freedom_in_Mozambique,_Angola_and_Guine)

[Committee for the Release of Nelson Mandela [Sweden]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Committee_for_the_Release_of_Nelson_Mandela)

[Defence and Aid Fund Nederland [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Defence_and_Aid_Fund_Nederland)

[Eduardo Mondlane Stichting [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Eduardo_Mondlane_Stichting)

[End Loans to Southern Africa [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=End_Loans_to_Southern_Africa)

[Exeter and District Anti-Apartheid Group [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Exeter_and_District_Anti-Apartheid_Group)

[Frauen Gegen Apartheid [Germany]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Frauen_Gegen_Apartheid)

[Ghana National Committee Against Apartheid [Ghana]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Ghana_National_Committee__Against_Apartheid)

[Halt All Racist Tours [New Zealand]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Halt_All_Racist_Tours)

[Information Centre on Southern Africa [Germany]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Information_Centre_on_Southern_Africa)

[International Banking Campaign Against South Africa [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=International_Banking_Campaign_Against_South_Africa)

[International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=International_Defence_and_Aid_Fund_for_Southern_Africa_)

[Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement [Ireland]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Irish_Anti-Apartheid__Movement)

[Isolera Sydafrika-Kommitteé [Sweden]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Isolera_Sydafrika-Kommitte%C3%A9)

[Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee [Japan]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Japan_Anti-Apartheid_Committee)

[Kaempfendes Afrika [Switzerland]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Kaempfendes_Afrika)

[Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Komitee_Zuidelijk_Afrika)

[Lawyers Against Apartheid [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Lawyers_Against_Apartheid)

[Luthuli Group of Canberra [Australia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Luthuli_Group_of_Canberra)

[Maritime Unions Against Apartheid [Denmark]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Maritime_Unions_Against_Apartheid)

[Medisch Komitee Angola [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Medisch_Komitee_Angola)

[Mouvement Anti-Apartheid [France]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mouvement_Anti-Apartheid)

[Mouvement Anti-Apartheid Suisse [Switzerland]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mouvement_Anti-Apartheid_Suisse)

[Mouvement contre le Racisme et pour l'Amitie entre les Peuples [France]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Mouvement_contre_le_Racisme_et_pour_l'Amitie_entre_les_Peuples)

[Namibia Christian Communications Trust [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Namibia_Christian_Communications_Trust)

[Namibia Support Committee [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Namibia_Support_Committee)

[National Committee Against Apartheid [Nigeria]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=National_Committee_Against_Apartheid)

[New Zealand Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa [New Zealand]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=New_Zealand_Defence_and_Aid_Fund_for_Southern_Africa)

[Organization in Solidarity with the People of Africa, Asia, and Latin America [Cuba]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Organization_in_Solidarity_with_the_People_of_Africa,_Asia,_and_Latin_America)  [Rencontre Nationale Contre l'Apartheid [France]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Rencontre_Nationale_Contre_l'Apartheid)

[Samrådskommittén för Södra Afrika [Sweden]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Samr%C3%A5dskommitt%C3%A9n_f%C3%B6r_S%C3%B6dra_Afrika)

[Shipping Research Bureau [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Shipping_Research_Bureau)

[South Africa/Namibia Association [Belgium]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=South_Africa/Namibia_Association)

[Southern Africa Action Coalition [Canada]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Action_Coalition)

[Southern Africa Information Group [Canada]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Information_Group)

[Southern Africa Solidarity Campaign [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Southern_Africa_Solidarity_Campaign)

[Special Committee Against Apartheid [United Nations]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Special_Committee_Against_Apartheid)

[Stödföreningen för Vita Skuggor [Sweden]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=St%C3%B6df%C3%B6reningen_f%C3%B6r_Vita_Skuggor)

[Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility [Canada]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Taskforce_on_the_Churches_and_Corporate_Responsibility)

[Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa [Canada]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Toronto_Committee_for_the_Liberation_of_Southern_Africa)

[Toronto Support Committee for MPLA [Canada]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Toronto_Support_Committee_for_MPLA)

[United Church of Canada [Canada]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=United_Church_of_Canada)

[Werkgroep Kairos [Netherlands]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Werkgroep_Kairos)

[Western Australia Campaign Against Racial Exploitation [Australia]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=Western_Australia_Campaign_Against_Racial_Exploitation)

[World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa [Norway]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=World_Campaign_Against_Military_and_Nuclear_Collaboration_with_South_Africa)

[World Council of Churches [Switzerland]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=World_Council_of_Churches)

[World Federation of Democratic Youth [Hungary]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=World_Federation_of_Democratic_Youth)

[World Gold Commission [United Kingdom]](http://africanactivist.msu.edu/browse_results.php?category=organization&field=organization&member=World_Gold_Commission)

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 (http://www.iisg.nl/collections/anti-apartheid/history/)

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* ‘[Jan Smuts and the Old Boers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Smuts_and_the_Old_Boers)’-[Leliefontein massacre](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leliefontein_massacre" \o "Leliefontein massacre) (also involved Manie Maritz).
* "Agter Die Skerms met Die Rebelle" by C. F. McDonald, (1949) provides Coenrath Frederik McDonald's inimitable 5 volume account of his adventures on the South African frontier, between 1895 and 1915, has acquired cult status. Collectively, his account is probably the finest and most informative frontier memoir ever to appear in South Africa. It covers experiences in the Boer War, on the Orange River among the Trekboers, the Nama–German war, 1914 Rebellion and aftermath. This volume is an insider account of Maritz's Rebellion in the North-West, the alliance with the Germans, the clashes on the Orange River (including the little-known Battle of Kakamas), and the arrival of Kemp's commando. Much also on Siener van Rensburg and his prophecies;
* The "Blue Book" was issued by the Union of South Africa government on 26 February 1915, entitled "[The] Report on the Outbreak of the Rebellion and the Policy of the Government with regard to its Suppression."(Orford 1971);
* Report on the Outbreak of the Rebellion and the Policy of the Government With Regard to its Suppression, HMSO, 1915, Cd.7874.

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ATTACHMENTS AVAILABLE IN BOOK FORM:

BUNDLE 1: Attachments 1 - 3 <https://www.createspace.com/4392573>

BUNDLE 2: Attachments 4 - 8 <https://www.createspace.com/4398589>

BUNDLE 3: Attachments 9 - 10 <https://www.createspace.com/4416061>

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BUNDLE 6: Attachments 15a <https://www.createspace.com/4497969>

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BUNDLE 8: Attachments 19 - 26 <https://www.createspace.com/4416010>

BUNDLE 9: Attachments 27 - 30 <https://www.createspace.com/4416021>

BUNDLE 10: Brief <https://www.createspace.com/4437109>

BUNDLE 11: Brief Concordance <https://www.createspace.com/4497991>

BUNDLE 12: Attachment 15b, update of

genocide records, 2013 will be available

during April 2014 on <https://www.createspace.com/4498007>