INTIMIDATION AS A FACTOR IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BELA BELA (WARMBATHS): AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

By

LETITIA VAN NIEKERK

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the subject

ANTHROPOLOGY

At the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: Professor F. C. DE BEER

CO-SUPERVISOR: Professor L. P. VORSTER

JULY 1999

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology at the University of South Africa (UNISA), Pretoria. It has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination to any other University or Department within UNISA.

L. van niekerk

L. VAN NIEKERK

On this 30 day of July 1999.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the completion of my degree, I wish to express my gratitude towards the following individuals and institutions for their contributions:

To Professor Frik de Beer (supervisor) and Professor Louis Vorster (co-supervisor) a special word of gratitude for their tremendous help, guidance and timeless efforts with this study. Your input and critique have helped to shape the format of this study and have challenged me to come to new insights. To my editor, Mrs Dawn Costello, thank-you for your time, interest, efforts and modifications, done sometimes within very limited time.

Another special word of gratitude to my parents, to my fiancé Dawie de Wet and to my daughter Nadia, who have had to bear the brunt of my frustrations. Thank-you for your continued support, real understanding, patience, motivation and interest without which I would not have been able to complete this study. I dedicate this study to all of you.

To the people of Bela Bela who were prepared to invite me into their homes, trusted me and provided me with information required for this study, thank you very much. You also have my sincerest gratitude. Thank you to the members of the former SAP and the SADF who were willing to provide indispensable information for this study.

A word of gratitude also to my employer who provided annual financial assistance in the form of bursaries, understanding and study leave. Furthermore, the financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development (CSD) of South Africa towards research in this study is hereby acknowledged. The opinions and conclusions derived at in this study are that of the author and not necessarily attributed to the CSD.

ABSTRACT

INTIMIDATION AS A FACTOR IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF SOUTH AFRICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BELA BELA (WARMBATHS): AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The cultural revitalisation or adjustment model of Anthony Wallace provides a basis for interpreting religious, political and other revitalisation movements. This study focuses on political revitalisation movements. Participation in the activities of revitalisation movements does not always occur voluntarily. Leaders of such movements apply techniques and methods of intimidation enforcing change and participation. In South Africa, political revitalisation was inter alia brought about by the ANC as political liberation movement who used methods of violent and non-violent intimidation to force people, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, to support the movement and enforce political change. The ANC inter alia used charactersitic cultural phenomena and components of Bantu-speakers as resources for intimidation to ensure unanimity, participation and ultimately to achieve political liberation. Cultural components that were exploited included communality, group solidarity, administration of justice, songs and dances.

EKSERP

INTIMIDASIE AS 'N FAKTOR IN DIE VRYHEIDSTRYD IN SUID-AFRIKA MET SPESIALE VERWYSING NA BELA BELA (WARMBAD): 'N ANTROPOLOGIESE PERSPEKTIEF

Kulturele vernuwing is 'n universele verskynsel. Anthony Wallace se model van kulturele vernuwing of -aanpassing bied 'n raamwerk vir die verduideliking en interpretasie van die fases waardeur kulturele vernuwingsbewegings van 'n godsdienstige, politieke of ander aard ontwikkel. In hierdie studie word daar uitsluitlik gefokus op vernuwingsbewegings van 'n politieke aard.

Aangesien deelname aan die aktiwiteite van kulturele vernuwings- en aanpassingsbewegings nie noodwendig vrywillig geskied nie, het leiers van hierdie bewegings gebruik gemaak van tegnieke en metodes van intimidasie om deelname en vernuwing op die massas af te dwing. In Suid-Afrika is politieke vernuwing onder andere teweeggebring deur die ANC as politieke bevrydingsbeweging. Die ANC het gebruik gemaak van gewelddadige (harde of direkte) sowel as nie-gewelddadige (sagte of indirekte) intimidasie om mense, ongeag hulle etniese aanhorigheid, te dwing om die beweging se oogmerke aktief te ondersteun om politieke verandering te weeg te bring. As deel van die strategie om deur intimidasie mense tot deelname aan massa-aksies soos optogte, betogings en massa-vergaderings te dwing, het die ANC gebruik gemaak van bepaalde kultuur verskynsels en -komponente wat eie is aan die lewensbeskouinge en lewenswyse van Bantoe-sprekendes.

Kultuurkomponente wat suksesvol benut is deur die leiers en lede van bevrydingsbewegings omvat, onder andere verskynsels soos kommunaliteit, groep solidariteit, die regspraak, liedere en danse. Hierdie kultuurkomponente en verskynsels is verander en aangepas om ten eerste eenheid en deelname te bewerkstellig en te verseker en uiteindelik om die hoofdoelwit van politieke bevryding te bereik.

KEY TERMS

Acculturation

Bela Bela

Cultural adjustment

Freedom Charter

History

Intimidation

Kenya

Liberation or freedom songs

Liberation struggle

Mau Mau

Necklacing

Ostracism

People's courts

People's justice

Punishment

Revitalisation movement

South Africa

Toyi-toyi dances

Traditional songs

Traditional dances

Traditional courts

Warmbaths

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 2: CULTURE CHANGE AND RESISTANCE

CHAPTER 3: RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION IN AFRICA: THE MAU MAU MOVEMENT IN KENYA

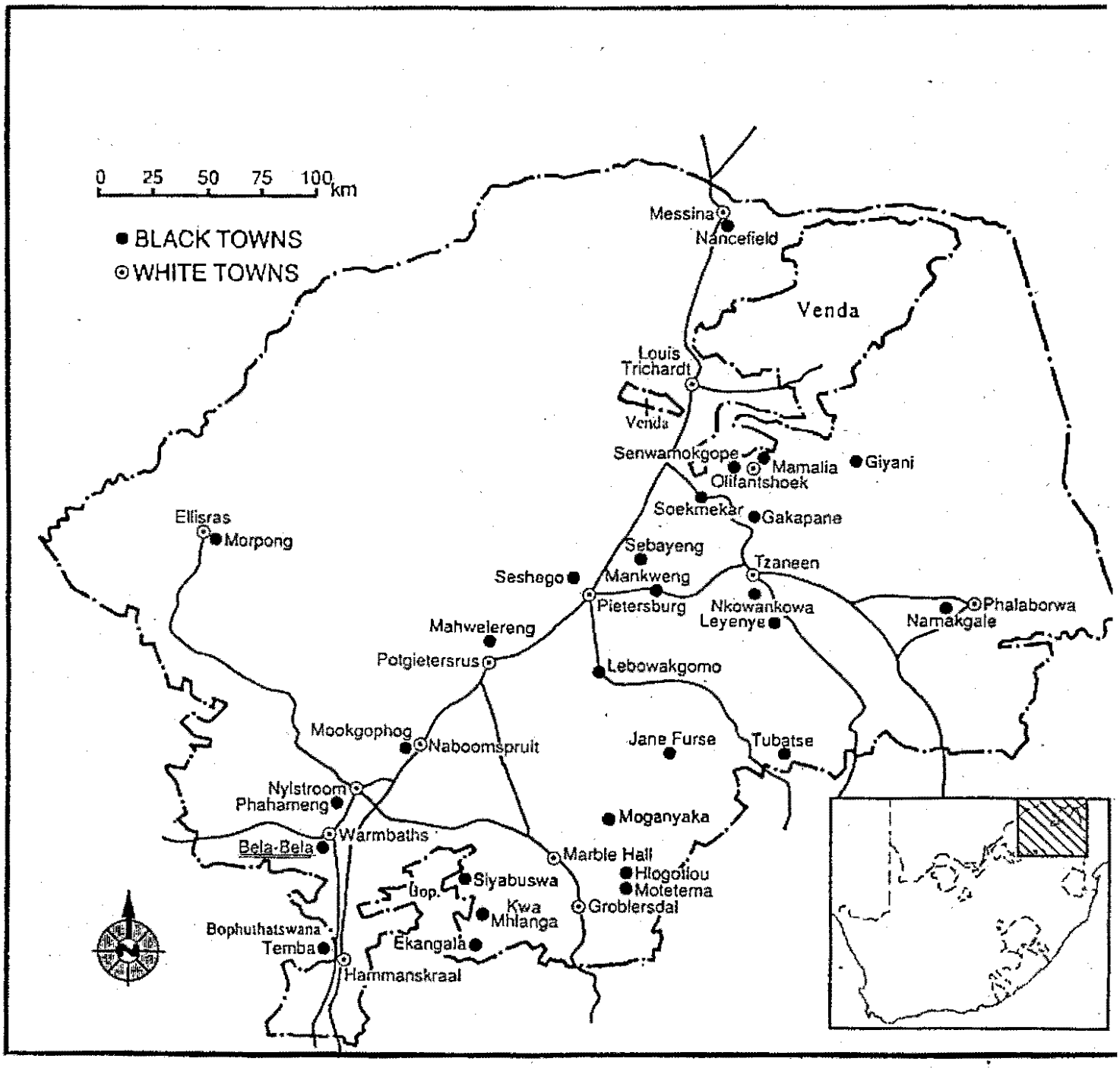
CHAPTER 6: LIBERATION SONGS AND TOYI-TOYI DANCES

MAPS:

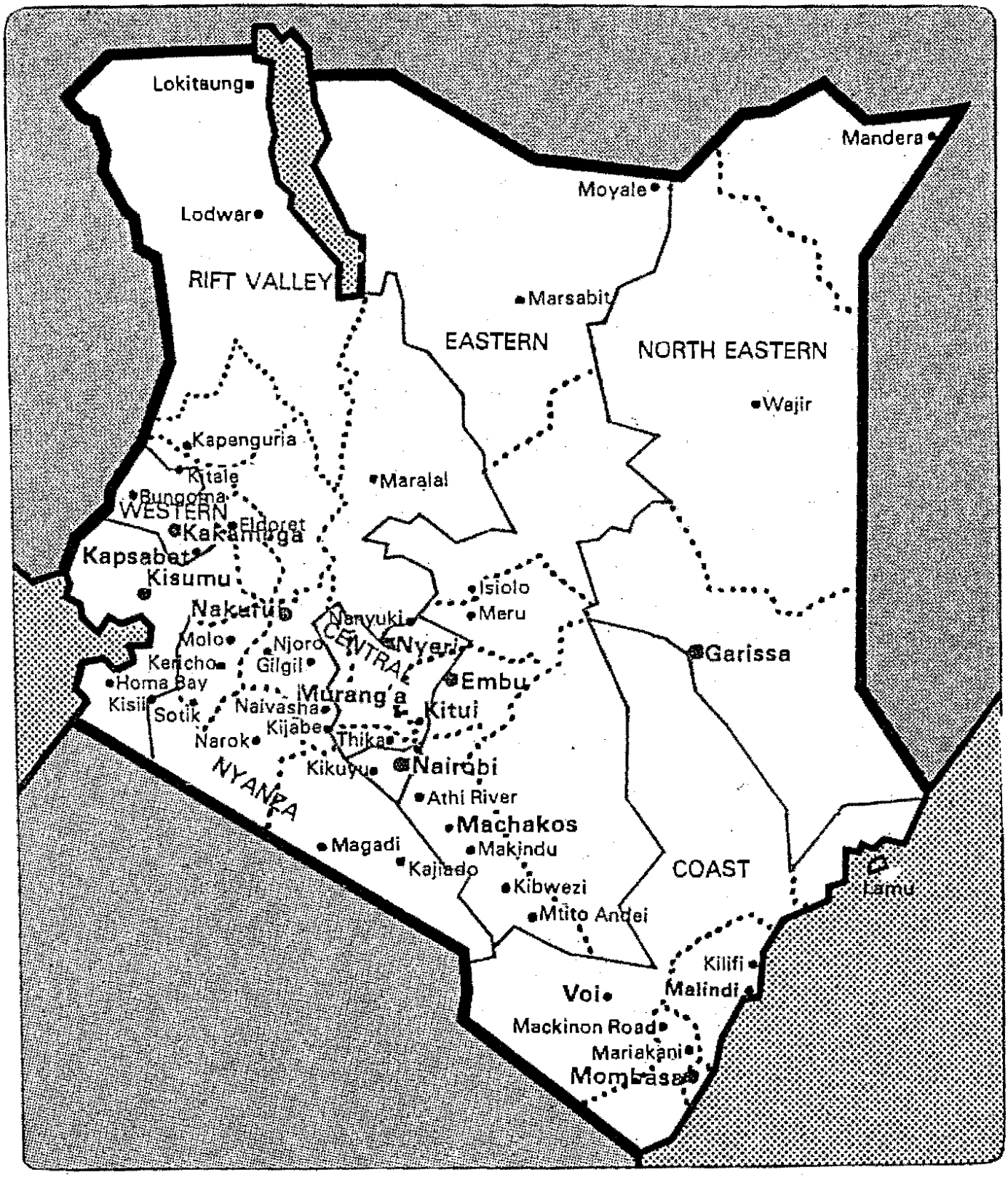
DIAGRAMS:

ANNEXURES:

MAP 1: LOCATION OF BELA BELA IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCE



MAP 2: MAP OF KENYA



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> *"When society was divided into classes and professional armies appeared, war became the constant companion of the development of antagonistic society" (Sokolovskiy 1986:5).*

1. RESEARCH PROBLEM

Intimidation is an ever-present and universal phenomenon. It occurs in every sphere of life and often increases in times of stress and instability. Intimidation is employed as a tool, a strategy and a weapon in religious wars, territorial battles, by employers and employees, by husbands and wives and above all by terrorist, criminal and similar interest groups.

In the political context, intimidation usually forms part and parcel of the strategies of revolutionary groups in their efforts to violently overthrow existing government systems. New political ideologies are forced upon existing governments to coerce them to surrender, as well as on segments of the population who were not aware of, or did not willingly support, the alternative ideologies in order to forcefully convert people. It has been employed as a strategy in ethnic warfare not only on the continent of Africa in countries such as Ethiopia and Nigeria, but also internationally in countries such as Ireland and East European countries such as Russia and the former Czechoslovakia. Politically, intimidation is a popular technique to achieve a desired end result in the shortest time possible.

Intimidation as a technique of persuasion is not usually employed by people in ordinary life, but rather under special circumstances to achieve a specific purpose. In order to achieve a specific goal in everyday life, culturally acceptable techniques are employed, which might include manipulation. The manipulation of a child to conform to societal norms of good behaviour by offering a positive reward for good behaviour constitutes an acceptable technique by Western standards. Contrary to

this technique, intimidation is usually used to enforce conformity by offering/enforcing a negative aspects/consequences such as bodily harm or death if the person does not comply with the demands made. These strategies of coercion and negative stimulus offering play a dominant role in political resistance and revolutionary struggles. Sokolovskiy (1986:9) claims that Lenin's strategic and professed principle to victory in warfare was that:

> *"war is a universal test of the material and spiritual resources of each nation, ... wars are won by those who have greater resources, the greater source of forces and support among the masses, and ... in each war victory in the final count is stipulated by the spiritual state of those masses who shed their blood on the field of battle".*

In instances of violent conflict and resistance, cultural elements, practices and underlying cultural values are often exploited for intimidation purposes. In this regard the inclination of black Africans towards conformity and group cohesion are often enforced through intimidating practices to ensure compliance, mass mobilisation and mass participation. The ultimate result of mass mobilisation in the search for mass support in which intimidation is crucial, is prolonged conflict and the establishment of a new ideological paradigm for society, which leads to some form of change in behaviour, expectations, social, economic, political and other structures. The changes in cultural patterns are, however, not only the result of forced changes, but also of spontaneous adaptation to changing environmental and internal societal requirements.

How does one counteract this inherently negative technique that is universally employed in political struggles everywhere? Does one fight fire with fire or does one submit to an evil that ultimately destroys not only human lives, but also their souls?

2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

In any situation of contact between people of different cultural backgrounds, there are always processes and possibilities for conflict and integration into new and unique socio-cultural units or systems. Within the context of nation states these processes are often complex, especially when one cultural group is in a position of dominance as this enhances the potential for conflict.

Anthropological studies indicate that the above mentioned processes could follow upon each other and be categorised in three broad stages or phases. The first would be the contact phase, the second the collision phase and thirdly the reintegration or restructuring phase. The collision phase is usually

characterised by resistance because people do not readily let go of existing values and norms in preference for new and foreign cultural values and beliefs. Anthropologists, in this regard, have noted various processes such as selective adoption, adaptation, restructuring, syncretism, reinterpretation, nativism and cultural revitalisation that could and still often do, form part of the third phase of the process of acculturation (Berry 1980:11; Els & Coertze 1990; Myburgh 1981:8-9; Pauw 1981:30-34).

When one group in a society dominates several other groups of different cultural backgrounds there is usually resistance. However, formal or organised resistance against the dominant group is very difficult, unless these groups unite and position themselves against the dominant group. Such united effort could be voluntary or these groups could be united in a formal and organised "resistance" or revitalisation movement (see the model of Wallace in the next chapter). With reference to these types of movements, the leaders often need to force people to participate and subscribe to the ideals and goals of these movements through methods or acts of intimidation. These methods usually include known cultural elements that were selectively adopted and adapted to suit the aims of these movements. Culture or elements thereof, are thus exploited and used as resources of intimidation by members of these movements to unite, mobilise and force diverse groups into co-operation.

This study investigates to what extent members of the liberation movements in South Africa employed acts of intimidation to liberate the oppressed people of the countries from a minority white government. In order to attain this goal, the leaders of the liberation struggle had to prepare and politically sensitise and educate the black population groups of South Africa. By means of mass mobilisation and mass intimidation in the form of labour and wage strikes, marches, gatherings and boycotts, the blacks were being prepared for a new political dispensation. In preparation for the new dispensation, the leaders and strategists of the struggle forcefully introduced various alternative structures (e.g. policing, administration, judicial) that made use of various techniques of intimidation to replace government structures and fulfil their former roles and functions among the black communities.

From an anthropological perspective within the context of the liberation struggle this study focuses, on intimidatory methods and tools used to force people from different cultural backgrounds to support the liberation struggle. This objective will be achieved via a historical perspective on some of the political factors and movements that served as a catalyst for the change in the political power relations in South Africa. The aims of this study can be summarised as follows:

- To determine whether the liberation movements, more specifically the ANC/UDF as the vanguard in the liberation struggle reflects the characteristics common to revitalisation or cultural adjustment movements.

- To establish if the leaders of the struggle, in order to achieve unity and support for political liberation, exploited various aspects of the culture of Bantu-speaking groups and elements of Western culture for intimidation purposes.

- To indicate how direct and indirect intimidation were skilfully exploited and selectively administered by the black liberation movements in South Africa.

- To determine the extent to which intimidatory strategies were employed in a local community such as Bela Bela.

- To establish whether the liberation struggles in Kenya and South Africa have certain features in common.

3. RESEARCH SETTING: BELA BELA IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCE

The focus of the study will be on the broad manifestation of intimidation as a tool and part of the strategy by the leaders of the liberation struggle in South Africa to take over the government. Specific reference will be made to the manifestation of the struggle and the use of intimidation in Bela Bela that served as setting for the practical research/fieldwork. Bela Bela was chosen as an area for practical research due to its strategic location and thus position in the liberation struggle. The township is easily accessible from the N1 highway towards Pretoria/Johannesburg (former Pretoria Witwatersrand area) in the south, Pietersburg in the north and Bophutatswana in the west. It thus served as a reception area for activists from most provinces in the Transvaal area. The fieldwork in Bela Bela started in 1995; a year after the leaders of the liberation struggle reached their political objectives of liberation and taking political control in South Africa.

Since the focus of the study is on intimidation that occurred in the period 1984-1986, there was a significant lapse in time of approximately eight years. As a result participants could remember some of the events and acts of intimidation clearly, while other events were vague. Participants could recall certain events that constituted acts of intimidation and mass action clearly, which assisted in forming a picture of what transpired in Bela Bela through descriptions of the political events and acts of resistance. The exact dates of the events were, however, not clear. Recollection of the words of the freedom songs and how toyi-toyi dancing was performed was also vague, probably because it was only a fleeting part of the manifested resistance events that had taken place in Bela Bela. With regard to the few people's courts that transpired in Bela Bela and the surrounding areas, participants remembered some of the details and specifically the impact it had and the fear it instilled in the hearts and minds of members of the community.

3.1 GENERAL ORIENTATION

Bela Bela is a formal black residential area (township), which is adjacent to the town of Warmbaths in the Northern Province (Waterberg area). The township consists of people from various cultural backgrounds and tribal orientations, with the Tswana (Western Sotho) and Pedi (Northern Sotho) speaking people being the dominant groups present. During the mid-1980's, it was estimated that Bela Bela had a population of approximately 15 000 people, which increased to an estimated 42 000 in 1990. The registration of inhabitants for the transitional council in 1996 indicated that the population figure was 26 504, although the SAPS and the town council estimate it at 35 700. It was, however, impossible to obtain statistics of the population distribution and ethnic divide in the township as such statistics were never collected. Map 1 provides a geographic orientation of Bela Bela within the broader geographic area.

Regarding the history of the area, the first white people who settled in the present Warmbaths were the Voortrekker Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden and a few others in 1845. Van Heerden's farm was situated at the hot mineral spring and he consequently called his farm "Het Bad". On 4 June 1873 on recommendation of President Burgers of the then Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR), the House of Assembly (Parliament) acquired the farm Het Bad - the mineral spring - for 450 pounds and named it 'De Bad'. In 1882 the Parliament of the ZAR renamed the area 'De Bad' to Hartingsburg (Hartingsburg was situated partially on the farms Het Bad, Noodshulp, Roodepoort and Turfbult) in remembrance of the Dutch Professor Pieter Harting. However, in 1903 the British Government named the Post Office "Warm Baths". On 10 May 1921 the town was officially renamed Warmbaths

and in 1932 the white settlement received town status (Anon nd(c); Anon nd(b):1-2; Odendaal nd:3, 6).

The first black people who settled in the present Bela Bela, were Klaas Kutu (SAP member), Frans Mokane, Johannes Maluleke (SAP member), George Masemola (teacher) and William Seshoka (SAP member) - with their families. These five men were called the Committee of Men. They settled in Bela Bela in 1920 after they obtained permission from the then Bantu Administration to establish a black settlement near Warmbaths. Mrs Masemola (a Tswana speaking woman from the Kgatla tribe) and the wife of the late George Masemola (a Pedi) is the oldest surviving member of the group of five families that settled in Bela Bela in 1920. She was a 102 years old in 1997 and was still living in the township. The majority of residents in Bela Bela speak Tswana and Northern Sotho as the area is situated near the border of the former Bophutatswana, which is home to the majority of Tswana speaking individuals (see the inserted map of the Northern Province).

The name Bela Bela that, according to participants, was given to the black residential area means to simmer, boil or bubble, referring to the warm mineral spring that is characteristic of the area. Bela Bela gained township status around 1948 and comprises of the following wards:

- Old Location (established in 1953)
- Extension One (X1)
- Mmampatile
- Soweto (which consists of small houses as are apparently found in Soweto)
- Mazakhele ward (meaning "new lands")
- Mandela Village (X3 to X5)
- Leseding (X2)
- Extention Six (X6), which was still under development in 1997.

Since the late 1980's many people from Gauteng have settled in Bela Bela leading to various new extensions being added to the township. According to average Western standards, socio-economic conditions in the township were poor. The condition of the roads was bad, toilets were situated outside the houses and operated on a bucket system that was not cleared regularly, water taps were placed throughout the township at specific places and not in the houses and there were no recreational facilities available. Residents in the township, especially the youth, became increasingly dissatisfied with the situation.

3.2 STRATEGIC POSITION IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

With regard to the importance of the area in the broader context of the liberation struggle, Bela Bela served as the reception area or central meeting place for activists and political leaders from the Far North (Pietersburg and Turfloop), the then Bophuthatswana (currently the North West Province), Pretoria and Johannesburg. According to former Defence Force members, a squatter who erected his shack next to the N1-Highway in the vicinity of Warmbaths acted as a drop-off and pick-up zone for messengers. The squatter received and gave messages from the leaders in the different provinces and places, such as Johannesburg, Pietersburg, University of the North (Turfloop), Bophuthatswana, Potgietersrus, Nylstroom and Warmbaths. These couriers inter alia served to enlighten the leaders and activists of what was happening in the various areas, who needed help, when a march was going to be held or when a march should be organised.

In the beginning of the 1980's, when the struggle for liberation and freedom was well underway in the rest of South Africa, the residents of Bela Bela was not as politicised as the people in, for example, Soweto near Johannesburg. However, Bela Bela slowly began to play an increasingly important role in the liberation struggle as a central meeting place. The participants stated that Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela also visited the area in the 1980's to mobilise the people during a mass rally in the community hall. All the residents were forced or intimidated to attend the meeting and listen to the speeches. Later, as the struggle for liberation intensified and mobilisation efforts increased, the acts of intimidation also intensified.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study is the result of a combined emic and etic approach. Basic information for the study was obtained from personal interpretation of the accounted events after having read relevant literature on the specific period in time to formulate a total picture of the events and acts of intimidation. The interpretation of the events in the liberation struggle is an interaction between the revelations, interpretation of personal experiences by participants and the documented accounts of events that took place nationally. Local participants in Bela Bela provided definitions of and indigenous terminology for certain concepts such as intimidation and furnished personal accounts and interpretations of events and situations that took place in the area during the height of the struggle.

However, local views and experience were of limited explanatory value on the broader liberation struggle due to the following:

- the restricted exposure of the participants to the broader impact of the struggle,
- the fact that the community as a whole did not have a high level of political experience or involvement in modern politics,
- the issues addressed during the struggle were beyond the local experience and way of life,
- the low ranking of the leaders in Bela Bela in terms of the national leadership hierarchy, and
- the limited in depth knowledge of the Bela Bela community about the reasons for the strategies and tactics that were employed.

4.1 LITERATURE STUDY

A literary study on the subject of intimidation and the political liberation struggle in South Africa forms the basis of the study. In this regard scientific journals, newspaper and magazine articles, books, as well as the actual laws on intimidation were consulted to obtain background and detail knowledge on the subject. Sources of information on the phenomenon of intimidation include the various laws and Bills on intimidation because they provided a basic understanding and differentiation between the types of intimidation[1]. The Legal Department of the former South African Defence Force (SADF) in Pretoria that was involved in the formulation of the latest Act on intimidation was also consulted and provided new insight and a further understanding of intimidation in a political context. The applicable laws, cases and Bills that were consulted include the following:

- The State versus Yanny Malevu, Johannesburg. (Supreme Court Case of South Africa - Witwatersrand Local Division, Case No. 41/1567/87)
- Bill on the Intimidation Prohibitions and Prevention's Act of 1991
- Bill on Intimidation as presented by the Minister of Law and Order of 1991
- The Intimidation Act, No. 72 of 1982
- The Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Act, No. 138 of 1991
- The Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act, No. 139 of 1991

At the time when the study was written, there was very little published information of an anthropological nature on the manipulation, adaptation and exploitation of cultural elements for intimidation purposes in South Africa. Mainly non-anthropological literature was available focussing on the nature and general characteristics of intimidation. Books, such as the one on the religious conflict in Ireland written by J. Darby and one written by Nomavenda Mathiane (1990) called "Beyond the headlines" focussing on the unrest situation, people's predicaments and fears in Soweto during the 1980's, provided valuable insights into the phenomenon of intimidation. Reports in the form of newspaper articles in local and national newspapers provided information on incidents of intimidation, mass action, labour unrest and the methods of intimidation, as well as on the type of targets identified for intimidation. Fundamental knowledge and insight on the ANC as organisation, its history, structures and activities was particularly obtained from the study of C.M. de Villiers (1965).

The local library in Warmbaths provided articles written by local residents on the history of the area. These articles assisted in providing background knowledge of the area. Valuable information was obtained from ethnographic literature on traditional aspects of culture, such as songs and dances and the judicial court system that are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. John Blacking's work on Venda music and songs provided useful material on music, song and dance (traditional and contemporary) and their role in society, as well as the work of Soga on the Xhosa people. Other useful books on music and the judiciary were those of Eileen Jensen Krige on the Zulu people and Mönnig on the Pedi.

Various other books, dissertations and academic articles regarding people's courts and the history of political unrest and violence that marred South Africa from the 1960's to 1990's, were used as reference material and as general background. Articles on the activities, functions and aims of people's courts and their role in the political struggle include those by B. Grant and P. Schwikkard entitled "*People's Courts*?" (1991), A.J.G.M. Sanders (1987) "*Towards a people's philosophy of law*", Daniel Nina (March 1992) "*Popular Justice in a 'New South Africa': From People's Courts to Community Courts in Alexandra*" and others mentioned in the bibliography. Books on liberation songs and dances that proved to be valuable are "*Politics and Performance: Theatre, Poetry and Song in Southern Africa*" edited by Liz Gunner (1994) and "*Oral Tradition & Innovation. New wine in old bottles*?" edited by E. Sienaert, N. Bell & M. Lewis (1991).

---

[1] *See Annexure I for the Amendment of the Intimidation Act of 1982.*

Additional sources of importance were a map of Bela Bela (1mx1m) obtained from the local municipality. Information from the magistrate's offices in Warmbaths on the population was, however, a problem since they did not have any statistics or demographical information available. Information on the Internet about necklacing and the liberation struggle and statistics from the SAPS Department of Crime Prevention and Investigation in Pretoria proved to be useful.

South Africa should not be seen independently from the rest of Africa. This became clear in a comparison of the liberation struggles fought in Kenya and South Africa. Literature providing information on historical events, nature of intimidation and processes of the liberation struggle in Kenya, includes a book by the author and editor W.R. Ochieng "A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980", in which various authors made valuable contributions. Other books on this topic that are also worth reading include "Not yet Uhuru" by O. Odinga (1984) and "'Mau Mau' Detainee" by J.M. Kariuki (1963).

4.2 FIELDWORK

To gain insight into the events that occurred during the height of the liberation struggle, interviews were conducted with sixteen (16) fieldwork participants in Bela Bela, as well as in Warmbaths, Pretoria and Nylstroom, on the situation and events that transpired during 1980-1990. An open interview schedule consisting of a few basic themes (historical overview of Bela Bela, events, people's courts, acts of intimidation, liberation songs, political structures, marches and the toyi-toyi) was used to conduct interviews by the researcher.

4.2.1 FIELDWORK PARTICIPANTS

The fieldwork participants consisted of a wide variety of individuals living both inside and outside Bela Bela. The individuals and participants of Bela Bela, who participated in the study, were all deeply involved in the township and the events that took place during the 1980's. However, most people who were interviewed requested to stay anonymous. Some of these individuals were activists of whom two served on the Committee of Ten. The Committee of Ten was the first locally elected body in the township to represent the residents with the white town council. The Committee of Ten will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Another fieldwork participant was a Roman Catholic nun from Belgium who was deeply involved in the affairs of the community. She was the only person who actually kept a personal record of the events during the periods of unrest while she was living in Warmbaths. The SAP also intimidated her when she tried to visit members of the community who were imprisoned/detained after acts of mass action. Activists who distrusted her motives and involvement with the community also threatened her with death several times. Other members in the community who participated included two baruti (church ministers) and a former headmaster of a school in Bela Bela, all respected members of the community. They gave details on how people were politically mobilised and how the community was forced to participate in political events, the nature of these events, mass action and they also gave personal accounts of the acts of intimidation that they experienced.

Other participants included the late Professor Evert Potgieter, formerly head of the department of Anthropology at UNISA and rector of the University of the North, who was called on to mediate between township residents and the local council when there was an impasse over township matters. The sound knowledge and research on the history of Warmbaths of Mr. Roelf Odendaal, a retired teacher who stays in Nylstroom, were also very helpful as well as information from the eldest living inhabitant of Bela Bela, Mrs Masemola.

4.2.2 INTERVIEWS

4.2.2.1 NATURE OF INTERVIEWS

Interviews and discussions were conducted intermittently with participants from 1995 for periods of two weeks at a time and sometimes over weekends. The introductory interviews focussed on getting to know the individuals personally and trying to establish rapport. During these meetings the purpose, aims, objectives and method of the study were explained to the potential fieldwork participants. Furthermore the researcher tried to gain a general picture of the political events, acts of intimidation and lastly insights into specific issues and topics relating to intimidation.

Initial interviews were conducted with participants of Bela Bela, as well as with participants who were formerly attached to the security forces during the 1980's. After these interviews the information and general picture were compared with the general insights on the liberation struggle gained from the literature. The literature was used as background to formulate questions, form general impressions about the political situation and resistance movements and to gain a general insight into

the phenomenon of intimidation. All information was used to compile a general picture on the liberation struggle in the country, on the history, security situation, political events and acts of intimidation in Bela Bela.

After a general picture of Bela Bela was established, interviews were again conducted with a focus on specific aspects of the liberation struggle pertaining to intimidation, such as liberation songs and dances as well as people's courts. Here various academic studies and published articles as mentioned before provided sufficient insight into the phenomenon to serve as background knowledge.

4.2.2.2 VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION

The information was verified using the following methods and techniques:

- By correlating information received from the fieldwork participants (residents, SAPS, SADF, activists) with articles from local newspapers of the same period, as well as dates that were kept in a diary of the events during this period;
- By comparing information that was obtained from different individuals; and
- By asking the same question in various ways to verify information.

4.2.3 FACTORS IMPACTING ON THE FIELDWORK

Several factors had an inhibiting effect or impact on the research required for the study. The most important factor was that the research was launched several years after the liberation struggle resulting in a considerable time lapse. As a result relevant detail pertaining to many of the events has become vague in the minds of the fieldwork participants. They found it difficult to remember the words of songs, the exact steps of the toyi-toyi dance, the dates of intimidatory actions and the names of all the key leaders involved in the liberation struggle in Bela Bela. A further complicating factor was that it became difficult to determine the whereabouts of the key role players in the struggle involved in the planning and execution of mass action activities and acts of intimidation.

4.2.3.1 RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST

Over a period of time, a degree of trust was gradually built up with the participants of Bela Bela. Given the nature of the study and the sensitivity of the questions asked, people were at first very sceptical and suspicious, distrusting the actual motives behind the information that was sought. Participants were especially wary in the light of the investigations by people in the security forces and those who assisted them as well as those by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that were commencing at that time. As such many security force personnel later became conveniently unavailable to further assist the researcher with any further information.

The above fears of the majority of the participants were to an extent overcome due to the fact that the researcher was personally introduced to some of them by long standing friends and contacts, such as Mr Roelf Odendaal and certain church leaders. Since these trusted individuals introduced me to the people, many other people later spoke with little reservation about the events in the 1980's. It was, however, more complicated and took longer to gain access to, and the trust of, people who were only mentioned during discussions and were later contacted without me being introduced to them. My student card and letter of introduction or a "To whom it may concern" letter from the University of South Africa also proved to be valuable in confirming my attestation. From the start I was frank and honest with the participants, telling them my mission, the type of information I required and what I intended to do with it.

The relationship of trust that was established was evident in the fact that some of the participants made contact with me when they remembered information or just to hear how I was keeping. On my subsequent returns to the area for follow-up discussions, all the participants consented to be interviewed again and on occasion they faxed relevant information to me, which was an indication of their trust and willingness to co-operate in the research.

4.2.3.2 GENDER AND RACE

Being a woman was not experienced as a major stumbling block during the research done in Bela Bela. What could have had a negative influence, but was not experienced with the participants that were interviewed, was the fact that I am a white woman and represented everything that the people (or most of the people) in the community fought against in the liberation struggle. Furthermore the

topic or theme of the study made people even more suspicious about my motives and some of them were therefore, at first, more reluctant than others to provide information.

However, fieldwork in townships remains a problem, particularly for white female researchers with the high incidents of rape and crime in South Africa. Although Bela Bela is considerably safer than other townships in the Gauteng area, I was warned not to visit more recent additions to the township such as the Mandela section. Many people living in these recent developments have settled in the area recently and come from Johannesburg and are known to drink too much and become involved in violent crimes. Safety and security thus always remains a risk but with careful planning and meetings outside the township and only visiting during week days and not on weekends or public holidays, minimises the risk of victimisation.

4.2.3.3 RECORDS

An important factor in the research is the validation of the data that was obtained. Since the police investigated the incidents of political violence that took place in Bela Bela, and the army also intervened at times, files on political unrest and criminal cases were opened. This would have served as an important verifying factor for accuracy and reliability of the research. However, in trying to obtain the documentary evidence to validate the information of the events and the dates the events took place it was found that all the SAP/SADF records before 1990 had been destroyed.

As an alternative to these records, discussions were held with several former security force members of the SAP and SADF to help in verifying the fieldwork information on political events and dates. This proved to be of limited value since many people could not recall exact dates although they could remember the approximate month of the year and nature and sequence of events fairly well. The Roman Catholic nun in Warmbaths supplied the only noted account of events. The local newspaper also provided useful information in its articles since it reported on events that occurred and the dates during which they took place.

5. PRESENTATION OF MATERIAL

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical setting of the study. The chapter focuses on the dynamics of culture change with specific reference to revitalisation or movements of cultural adjustment. The model of cultural revitalisation of Anthony Wallace is used as a framework for discussion of

revitalisation by resistance movements. The various manifestations of intimidation are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 3 focuses on Kenya as an example of a country in Africa that experienced cultural resistance to change in the form of the liberation struggle which resulted in cultural revitalisation. There are many similarities between the political liberation struggles of Kenya and South Africa. In this chapter attention will be given to the resistance movements in Kenya, with special reference to how the Mau Mau applied intimidatory tactics and methods in the liberation struggle.

Chapter 4 presents an overview of the historical developments and successful outcome of the liberation struggle in South Africa. The vicissitudes of various movements and the readjustment of strategies due to actions from the white government, the banning of liberation movements and the use of intimidation through structures and actions form the basis of this chapter. Attention is also given in this chapter to how the liberation struggle unfolded in Bela Bela.

Chapter 5 provides an overview on people's courts, their structures and procedures. It also takes a look at the phenomena of necklacing and ostracism as extreme forms of punishment and techniques of intimidation that were successfully implemented during the struggle.

Chapter 6 concerns the underlying principle of collective unity in African culture and how it was enforced through song and dance, thus contributing to the success of the liberation struggle. Solidarity within the struggle was in part created through the performance of freedom songs and toyi-toyi dancing during marches in, for example, Bela Bela that stood central to the liberation struggle.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURE CHANGE AND RESISTANCE

1. INTRODUCTION

Culture is dynamic. Changes in culture are the result of the continuous need for humans to adapt and adjust to various voluntary and involuntary challenges in their environments. Since man is not only a biological being, but also an intellectual, spiritual, social, emotional and creative being, his culture will evolve and develop as new discoveries are made and inventions are created. Internal development and progress in a culture can result from new creations by members of a particular culture. It can also result from external environmental pressures and changes caused by drought, epidemics and natural disasters, sometimes resulting in people having to relocate to new residential areas and adapt their customs and way of life in order to survive. Other external factors that result in changes in behaviour and values are direct contact with people from different cultural orientations and exposure to alternative ideas through war, travel, sport and missionary activities (Coertze 1968:7; Els & Coertze 1990:65-69; Pauw 1981:26-27, 31-32). With the current information superhighway, the mass media providing constant information about other cultures, customs and inventions as well as the accessibility of the world through travel, exposure to other cultures is inevitable even though it might be indirect through the media or literature. This exposure to other cultures and inventions also serves to stimulate alternative thought processes, new ideas and culture change.

Whether contact between people of different socio-cultural systems is direct or indirect, once such contact has taken place certain processes of socio-cultural change may come about (Spindler 1977). These processes are diffusion and acculturation. The former refers to the spreading of ideas, objects and patterns of behaviour as well as value-orientations from one society to another through the contact of various individuals or groups. Acculturation is a process of extensive and far-reaching socio-cultural change resulting from direct and persistent contact between members of societies with different cultures (Bee 1974:103; Herskovits 1938:10-13; Seymour-Smith 1986:77-78). The cultures in contact mutually influence each other, although usually not in equal measure. Two examples of such an unequal influencing process is Kenya and also South Africa where the cultures of black,

indigenous people have been influenced considerably more than that of the contacting European cultures (McRae 1970; Pauw 1981:28-31).

The process of acculturation encompasses numerous characteristics and processes that have been identified and noted by anthropologists and usually results in various reactions by the people involved in a contact situation (Pauw 1981:27-28). During the process of contact reciprocal attitudes, perceptions and demeanours arise and, as a result of the nature of this contact, the people involved start perceiving each other in a particular way. These perceptions and attitudes determine the course of the relationship followed during the initial contact. If the contact occurred in a negative or hostile atmosphere or manner and the groups waged war against each other, continuous clashing or conflict between the respective groups can be expected in future generations. Positive and negative attitudes and demeanours evinced by members of different cultural groups towards each other are transmitted to succeeding generations through the process of enculturation (Coertze 1968:13-14; Coertze 1980:110).

According to Berry (1980:11), Coertze (1968:14-15) and P.J. Coertze (1982:49-51) factors that may have an influence on the future relations among or between the groups during the contact phase, include the following:

- The manner in which contact occurs between members of the group, whether it occurs between individuals or between groups and whether it occurs in a friendly spirit or a hostile atmosphere.
- The extent of cultural and value system differences between or amongst the groups involved.
- The size of the respective groups involved.
- Psychological attitudes of conservatism and patriotism as well as inferiority and superiority.
- Differences in the physical appearance of the groups involved.

2. REACTION AND RESISTANCE TO CULTURE CHANGE

People do not usually voluntarily accept foreign cultural traits into their socio-cultural system. Cultural traits are mostly adopted selectively into the existing cultural system of a people with varying patterns of acceptance. This selective adoption can be attributed to the fact that the new trait or innovation is in conflict with an important value, highly regarded sentiments, norms or beliefs of the members of the group. As such, technological innovations are more readily accepted than cosmological or religious practices and ideas. Resistance and/or barriers to the adoption of certain

cultural elements such as a new or advanced school system may be confined to only a portion of the people, due to financial constraints or distance of the people from the nearest school. Among the Xhosa, for example, a group referred to as the "Red People" or abantu ababomvu selectively accepted the newly introduced wage labour as part of their economic system but resisted school education and attempts at Christianization. However, another group among the Xhosa called the "School People" or abantu abasesikolweni accepted and integrated school education as part of their daily existence and culture. An accepted cultural trait can be integrated as an additional element or to replace an existing one. The new trait is usually modified or adapted to suit the structure and nature of the rest of the interrelated traits and components. The acceptance of a new trait can have extensive repercussions in different parts of the culture (Berry 1980:11; Coertze, P.J. 1982:51; Els 1990:77; Pauw 1981:32-33).

An important part of the process of adaptation is reinterpretation of the transmitted and adopted/incorporated cultural traits. Sometimes a new trait is reworked and changed to suit the receiving culture with the least possible disruption of the existing culture. As a result the culture remains largely unchanged. In other instances, the new trait is not physically changed but only reinterpreted and assigned a new meaning to fit in with the receiving culture which differs from that of the original culture. In this regard the Bantu-speakers of South Africa has adopted the use of a tombstone on graves as part of their burial ceremonies but reinterpreted its meaning to suit their belief system. The tombstone became a means to ensure the transition of an important deceased person to the position of a satisfied ancestor (Bee 1974:104-105; Pauw 1981:33).

If total and extensive amalgamation or synthesis (integration or fusion) of cultural traits belonging to different cultural systems into a unique harmonious system takes place, especially with regard to religion, it is called syncretism. The process of syncretism may encompass reinterpretation that is an important element in adaptation as was discussed previously. The term syncretism usually refers to a situation of culture contact, where a religious system often develops that consisting of a mixture of Christian and traditional beliefs. Here the Christian religious system may be adopted and practised, while the traditional system of religious belief is simultaneously continued and practised. An example of religious syncretism among the Xhosa is where the adopted Christian religious ceremonies and rituals are practised publicly involving wide-ranging interaction with other people, while the traditional practises of ancestor worship are confined to private and intimate functions restricted to kin and home environments (Da Costa 1966:124; Pauw 1981:34; Seymour-Smith 1986:274).

New cultural traits are, however, not necessarily accepted and can be rejected. Experience has shown that if people do not voluntarily accept foreign traits into their socio-cultural system, diverse forms of resistance usually result. Examples of such forms of resistance are nativism and cultural revitalisation (Els & Coerzte 1990:67). Nativism can be defined as "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture" (Linton 1943:230).

Linton (1943:231-232) identifies two types of nativistic movements. The first type of movement is involved in *revivalistic nativism* that attempts to revive extinct or "moribund" cultural elements. An example of revivalistic nativism is the Celtic revival in Ireland, where attempts were made to revive medieval Irish tradition in literature and a moribund national language. The second type of movement is involved in *perpetuative nativism* that is an attempt to preserve existing cultural elements. Such groups developed elaborate, conscious techniques to perpetuate selected elements or aspects of their current culture and are opposed to assimilation into another culture. Groups who have practised perpetuative nativism are the Rio Grande Pueblos and the Indian groups in Guatemala who are only vaguely familiar with their past cultures and do not attempt to revive them.

Revitalisation movements, on the other hand, can be described as "deliberate, organized attempts by some members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture by rapid acceptance of a pattern of multiple innovations" (Wallace 1956:143). The revitalisation movements are characterised by the "sudden emergence and acceptance of a new cultural 'blueprint' or a series of innovations". Revitalisation movements can thus also be termed *culturally innovative movements* because they have an important element in common, namely the endeavour to bring about changes perceived to offer better conditions in the future. Although most of the examples portray revitalisation movements as religious in character, these movements can also be of a social or political nature (Seymour-Smith 1986:246). Because various liberation movements, including the ANC, display characteristics of cultural adjustment or revitalisation movements, an in-depth analysis of the concept of cultural revitalisation is required at this stage.

3. CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT OR REVITALISATION AS RESISTANCE TO CULTURAL CHANGE

The American cultural anthropologist, Anthony F.C. Wallace, coined the concept of "cultural revitalisation" in 1956. Wallace suggested the term revitalisation in order to, inter alia, replace confusing terms such as reform movements, religious revival, social movement, utopian community

and charismatic movement (Wallace 1956:256).

Resistance is not a unique phenomenon. It is common when a group of people from a different cultural background dominates another group, especially if the prompted actions by either the dominant or the subjected group have a profound effect on the culture of the other. Resistance is usually institutionalised or organised into formal movements that might or might not have a profound effect on the larger socio-cultural or political dispensation. In this regard religious movements do not necessarily have a profound impact on the people or country at large, while political resistance movements usually do have such an impact. Wallace's model of cultural revitalisation provides a theoretical framework for analysing revitalisation and resistance movements although it should be born in mind that in a sense each movement has a unique character due to specific historical, cultural and other factors (Seymour-Smith 1986:246).

Wallace (1956:270 and 1964:148) states that once severe cultural distortion has occurred, it is difficult, if not impossible, for a society to return to a state of equilibrium without the institution of a revitalisation process. If the process of cultural deterioration is not stopped, it might lead to natural genocide or societal disintegration. Revitalisation movements play a crucial role in postponing or intercepting this regressive process. Wallace identifies six stages through which a self-organised process of cultural revitalisation develops.

3.1 MAZEWAY REFORMULATION OR CODE FORMULATION

Mazeway reformulation by religious or messianic movements depends on the restructuring of elements and subsystems, which have already attained merit in the society or are already in use and known to the person who becomes a prophet or a leader. An individual usually receives an inspiration or revelation through a dream, vision or hallucination in which a supernatural being appears to the prophet-to-be. The supernatural being ascribes the individual's problems as well as those of his/her society to the violation of certain rules. It then promises social and individual revitalisation if the new instructions are followed and the rituals practised. Symbolically the dream constitutes the end or death of the old ways and the passage or birth of the new way of life or *Gestalt* mazeway. The prophet experiences a messianic obligation to convey his message and experience to others (Wallace 1956:270-273).

According to Spindler (1977:87), Wallace's model of mazeway reformulation is useful in "analyzing revitalisation movements that occur in situations where people have been placed under great stress

while being required to change their behaviors and beliefs". During this stage an individual and sometimes a group constructs a new utopian image of a socio-cultural organisation, which serves as a blueprint for an ideal or "goal culture". The leader of a revitalisation movement formulates a new utopian code of conduct, which is a deliberate, goal-orientated process and instrument, a synthesis of selected cultural elements from the dominant culture and selectively incorporated by the recipient culture into their existing way of life. Here the present society and system are portrayed as evil, inadequate and contrary to the visionary culture. An intermediate transfer culture connects or facilitates, through a system of operations, the transformation of the old culture into the new goal culture, if carried out faithfully. This code is usually formulated by one individual, such as a new Messiah, often in the course of a hallucinatory revelation that results in the launch of religious orientated movements inspired by a supernatural being. In politically orientated movements, the leadership core usually formulates the vision of the new world order. The formulation of the code presupposes the reformulation of the formulator's own mazeway (Els & Coertze 1990:67-69; Wallace 1964:148-149).

3.2 COMMUNICATION

The new envisaged way of life has to be communicated and spread often in an evangelistic way to convert people to the new ideology. The code of conduct is offered as a means of spiritual salvation to the individual and cultural salvation for the society. In religious revitalistic movements the dreamer, who preaches his revelations, becomes a recognised prophet (Wallace 1956:273).

The religious, behavioural and doctrinal instructions imply the protection of the converted by supernatural beings and the material benefit of the prophet and his society through the identification with a new culture, which can be a revived culture or cargo culture or a syncretism of both. The prophesied code implies a change in values and a promise of a better and more organised system, which will provide self-respect to the individual. This code might be aimed at the population or society as a whole or only at a small section of the population who are regarded as eligible for participation in the transfer and goal cultures (Wallace 1964:149; Wallace 1956:273).

3.3 ORGANISATION

The organisational structure of messianic movements constitutes the prophet, his disciples, who might include a few influential individuals, and a set of mass followers. The disciples become the executive

organisation or committee who administer the action or evangelistic programs, protect the formulator and become the specialists of the movement. All people are, however, converted by the prophet through rational arguments, personal attraction of the psychodynamics of the conversion experience, calculated opportunity or personal visionary experiences. More often than not a political rather than a religious leadership administers the action program (Wallace 1964:149-150; Wallace 1956:273-274).

Key to the vision is the entrance of the visionary into an intense relationship with a supernatural being where the prophet accepts the role and domination of the supernatural. The followers, in return, enter into a parallel relationship with the prophet who is regarded as an uncanny person with unquestionable authority in one or more spheres of leadership sanctioned by the supernatural. Such a leader and relationship between the prophet and his followers can be described as charismatic leadership as the leader has fascinating personal power. The routinisation of the charisma is fundamental in the movement's organisation and, if this "power" is not distributed to other personnel in a stable institutional structure, the movement itself is liable to die with the death or failure of the individual prophet, king, leader or warlord. The emotional appeal of the new doctrine is based on its immediate satisfaction of a need to find a supremely powerful and potentially benevolent leader. It is the fulfilment of a fantasy by the followers epitomised in the person of the prophet to whom the charismatic properties of leadership are attributed (Wallace 1956:273-274).

3.4 ADAPTATION

Adaptation refers to a variety of ways employed to reduce or stabilise conflict or tension in a society, group or individual (Berry 1980:11-12). The revitalisation movement is revolutionary in nature and will encounter resistance since it threatens the interests of any group that obtains or believes to obtain advantage from maintaining the status quo. Resistance may be of a fleeting nature, but it is most commonly resolute and resourceful and originates either from within the society or from the dominant group or society. The movement therefore has to adapt its doctrine, political and diplomatic manoeuvre or force. The code needs to be changed constantly because new inadequacies, inconsistencies and failures in the existing culture are constantly discovered and ambiguities in the code are experienced. The prophet is responsible for continuously changing and adapting the doctrine in response to criticisms and affirmations in order to make the movement and its doctrine more acceptable to special interest groups or better able to fit into the population's cultural and personality patterns (Wallace 1964:150-151; Wallace 1956:274-275).

As a result the leadership core, in adjusting the formulation of the code, can employ alternative tactics, which can involve strong-arm tactics such as violence (or intimidation) to convince people of the merit of the new course of action, ideology or way of life. The general tendency is for codes to harden gradually and for the tone of the movement to become increasingly nativistic and hostile towards non-participating members of the society who are labelled traitors and national enemies. With the existence of organised hostility towards the movement from members in the society, the emphasis shifts from cultivation of the ideal to combat against the unbeliever (Els & Coertze 1990:68-70; Wallace 1956:274-275).

3.5 CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

When the movement has the support of a substantial number of the population as well as functionally crucial apparatus such as communication networks, water supply and military establishment, the transfer culture and sometimes even the goal culture can be put into operation. With the acceptance of the new ideology or religion by the whole society, or a significant or controlling portion thereof, revitalisation on social, political and other levels becomes visible (Wallace 1964:151; Wallace 1956:275).

In order to be successful, the new movement in control of a substantial following must be able to maintain both its boundaries and independence as a unique movement, as well as internal cohesion and social conformity without having to apply destructive coercion. During this phase, there are reduced symptoms of personal deterioration, anomie and extensive cultural changes with economic, social and political reform, as well as enhanced participation in organised group action. However, these programs may also be suicidal in nature (Wallace 1964:151; Wallace 1956:275).

3.6 ROUTINISATION

Once the action program in non-ritual spheres is effective in reducing stress-generating situations, it becomes accepted as normal in social, economic and political institutions. The movement's existence as an innovative force disappears and the new political or religious system or goal culture becomes operational. Its role shifts from innovation to maintenance (Wallace 1964:151-152; Wallace 1956:275).

If the movement is religious in nature it becomes a cult or a church. If it is political in nature its organisation is routinised into various stable decision-making and administrative functions. The revitalisation movement rarely maintains totalitarian control over all aspects of the transformed culture

as time progresses. This poses a future problem as it causes renewed stress and could once again lead to cultural distortion and the formation of a revitalisation movement (Wallace 1964:151-152; Wallace 1956:275).

4. THE MANIFESTATION OF REVITALISATION MOVEMENTS

Revitalisation movements are also referred to as millenarian movements, which constitute a mazeway transformation in an apocalyptic world transformation initiated by the supernatural. Many religious movements have their beginning or arrival in millenarianism. A millenarian movement professes the end of one age or form of life and the arrival or dawning of another. Many secular political ideologies and movements such as anarchist and Marxist political movements exhibit features of religious millenarianism. Some contemporary forms of nationalism, especially those that grew from resistance to the conditions of imperial and colonial expansion and domination, have millenarian aspects. In this regard Cargo cults and the Ghost Dance are examples of millenarian movements that had their origins as a reaction to colonialism. The formation of millenarian movements is usually connected to radical socially, economically and technologically based marginalised groups, involved in social and economic transformations, as well as manifested processes of social and political reorganisation (Barfield 1997:324-325; Wallace 1956:267). Barfield (1997:324) states that the social and political foundations of religious millenarianism are associated with "modes of alienation, social and economic deprivation or political oppression ... (it is) a response to colonialism ... reflecting the psychological consequences of, and expressing attempts to overcome, social and economic deprivation".

The following are examples of revitalisation movements:

- Cargo Cults, which emphasise the importation of foreign values, customs and material as cargo on a steamship and were characteristic of New Guinea and Melanesia. One example of such a cargo cult is the Vailala Madness or hysteria that was a reactive response and movement that occurred in the Gulf of Papua, Melanesia, after Word War I. Here leaders professed that the ancestors would soon return and bring with them a cargo of "good things" if the people abandon their traditional ceremonies (Spindler 1977:88-89; Wallace 1964:155; Wallace 1956:267).
- Characteristic of the Indians of North America were revivalistic movements such as the Ghost Dance where adherents believed that appropriate rituals and the abandonment of the "sins of the white man" would result in returning them to the "golden age" before culture contact (Wallace 1964:155).

- Another form of reactive movement constitutes peyotism, also known as the Peyote cult, among the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin. This is a form of religion with its leader Peyoty that has combined Indian and Christian religious elements such as the cross and the drum to form a new religion (Spindler 1977:88-89).

- Messianic movements, often millenarian in character, which emphasise the participation of a divine Saviour or Messiah in human flesh who possesses godlike qualities to facilitate transformation. These movements are common in the Judeao-Christian tradition (Seymour-Smith 1986:189; Wallace 1956:267).

- An example of a revitalistic political liberation movement in Africa is the Mau Mau of Kenya that will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

- The history of South Africa is also rife with examples of formal or organised resistance against cultural domination and dictation. The Xhosa resistance to the domination or threat of domination by other indigenous groups manifested itself in the nine consecutive "Kaffir Wars" or Frontier wars from 1779 to 1877. Apart from the local conflicts against other black tribes, the presence of Europeans and changes that were posed by them also drew severe reaction or resistance from the Xhosa of the Eastern Cape in 1856. A young Xhosa girl of about 15 named Nongqause who belonged to the Gcaleka people of the Transkei, had a dream or vision that all Xhosa must consume all their corn, cease to plant crops, kill all their cattle and destroy any sorcery material in their possession. Nongqause further prophesised that if the people did this, the ancestors would rise, armed with guns and spears and a strong wind would come and blow all the Europeans into the sea. At the same time all the dead heroes and cattle of the Xhosa would rise, fill the kraals with cattle and the store huts with grain. She reported this to her uncle named Umhlakaza who was the traditional healer of the tribe and to chief Kreli of the Gcaleka who summoned the people and instructed them to do as Nongqause said. Several other women and girls reported similar visions elsewhere in the province. Subsequently many Xhosa and a few Thembu who believed the revelation of the prophetess burnt their crops and killed their cattle on 18 February 1957. As a result approximately 25-70 000 Xhosa died of starvation while some 30 000 left the Transkei to settle in white areas in search of food and work. This event in history or reaction movement became known as the Xhosa cattle killing or the Xhosa suicide (Bruwer 1957:141; Scholtz 1987:201; Soga 1932:121; Spindler 1977:87).

- Another movement in South Africa is the *Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe* movement or cultural liberation movement of 1979 that originated in the former KwaZulu province, hereafter referred to as *Inkatha*[2]. The leader of the *Inkatha* movement is Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. Owing to the political and socio-economic changes in South Africa (to be discussed in Chapter 4), the traditional Zulu culture had to adapt to the new demands of the changed social, religious, economic and political environments, thus causing stress and cultural distortion. The main aim of the movement was to use KwaZulu as a base to create a new political dispensation where the Zulu would be the leaders to create a nation in which there was no discrimination or racism but only equality. The movement consisted of both traditional and non-traditional members with which any person (even non-Zulu) older than 18 could affiliate. The *Inkatha* movement openly communicated its vision to the masses through its hierarchical traditional structures that it kept in place, its provincial executive structures that formulated a Statement of Belief or a declaration of human rights, its Women's Brigade and Youth Brigade. The message was communicated by means of mass rallies, development projects, mass media and education. The government was opposed to the *Inkatha* movement because it thought that it had too many ties with the African National Congress (ANC) that will be discussed in Chapter 4. The South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), the ANC, COSATU and the United Democratic Front (UDF) on the other hand, accused *Inkatha* of being a puppet of the government and selling out the black man and his struggle for liberation (Els 1990:77-82; Maphalala 1985:58).

5. INTIMIDATION

Wallace's model on revitalisation does not address the phenomenon of intimidation, especially where it is applied in a climate of rebellion or revolution. The model, however, does make mention of the use of "strong-arm tactics" towards traitors and non-participating members during the adaptation phase. Revolutions and uprisings become a strong possibility where the ruling power in a state controls most of the political power at the expense of the majority. When the latter becomes aware of the fact that they can bring about change through organising themselves into movements to topple the dominating power, revolution becomes a viable option. In such circumstances change

---

2 *Traditionally an Inkatha is a round headpiece woven of grass on which a load such as a pile of wood could be carried. The royal Inkatha yesizwe is believed to possess supernatural powers that served to unite the Zulu nation. In the time of Shaka the Inkatha was woven from the grass where the Zulu regiments used to rest after ceremonies and which was afterwards treated with traditional medicine or muti by a traditional healer or inyanga. This royal Inkatha was passed from generation to generation (Els 1990:77-79).*

usually involves violence and all kinds of techniques to force people to join the movement or struggle, especially when the population is as ethnically diverse as that of South Africa.

Intimidation was one of the techniques and a crucial one as such, which was used during the liberation struggle in South Africa, especially to force people to join the struggle. It is therefore important to focus attention on the phenomenon of intimidation, especially in the light of the fact that it forms the central theme of the study.

Intimidation should be viewed against the context or environment in which it occurs, namely political, social, personal, work or religion. These environments provide the substance and nature or specific type of intimidation that is practiced.

5.1 PURPOSE OF INTIMIDATION

The earliest definition of intimidation was published in the 1937 edition of the Encyclopedia of Social Science by E. Hardman, who described intimidation as "a means of achieving desired ends in a feature of behaviour where power or authority is based primarily and essentially on force. The less the public feels bound by standardized ethical norms of conduct, the larger are the opportunities for using intimidation" (Darby 1986:52). These "desired ends" may be to gather the support, cohesion or group participation of the masses *against their will* or to prevent people from performing a certain action such as voting (Kruger 1991:7).

In the words of Tim Ngubane who addressed a meeting at the California State University on 10 October 1985, the aim of the ANC with intimidation through violent death was "... to make the death of a collaborator so grotesque that people will never think of it (collaboration)" (Anon 1986:26).

5.2 FORMS OF INTIMIDATION

The law and limited literature on intimidation distinguishes between two basic forms of intimidation, namely direct or hard intimidation and indirect or soft intimidation. Although the principle on which the two forms of intimidation is based and the effect or outcome of the acts of intimidation is the same its nature differs causing a distinction between the two terms.

5.2.1 DIRECT INTIMIDATION

Direct intimidation is also referred to as active or overt intimidation and resembles gangsterism. Actual physical harm is the most effective form of intimidation, because it poses immediate danger to the victim who feels totally insecure (Darby 1986:53-57; Kennedy 1989:118-119).

The methods commonly used in the direct form include the use of force (psychological or physical), verbal abuse to children and vandalism. It usually constitutes three main forms of violence, namely damage or destruction of property, injury or disablement and death (Darby 1986:85-86). Boycott actions and stayaways are other methods of pressure and direct intimidation. Pereira (1992:5) states that "the employment of consumer boycott and work stayaway strategies has been a part of the South African political scene for decades as a means through which disenfranchised people can both protest and use their economic power to effect local and/or larger political changes. Similarly, the use of coercion to ensure compliance with these strategies stretches back to the beginning of these boycotts. ... A 1955 bus boycott in Evaton in the Vaal Triangle was partially enforced through assaults upon passengers and violent pickets leading to clashes between pro-boycott groups and anti-boycott 'Russians'".

5.2.2 INDIRECT INTIMIDATION

Indirect forms of intimidation are also known as covert, soft (subtle), psychological or faceless intimidation and are less noticeable than direct intimidation, but are more widespread. The actual threat of physical harm is just as effective a form of intimidation as the actual direct forms. Indirect intimidation constitutes a psychological threat and does not involve any actual destruction or violence. The underlying principle is that, if the system of terror is efficient, the anticipation of violence should be enough to ensure compliance and no extreme violence would be necessary (Darby 1986:51, 85-86; Kennedy 1989:118; Anon 1993:55; Plug et al 1986:162).

There seem to be a few important principles on which indirect intimidation is based. The first is that indirect intimidation is based on the perception of fear and coercion (real or imagined), suggesting that important penalties will result if you do not comply with the wishes of the intimidator. The second is that acts of intimidation and coercion are based on a person or group's expectations and by trying to convince them that doing what you want will be in their best interest, by for instance offering them a 'reward', which is important to them such as electricity, wealth or power. The third principle is that

indirect intimidation works almost entirely through a person's own mind and is almost irresistible because of its subtlety. Most of the time people intimidate themselves because they make snap judgments based on their "deep-rooted conditioning". It is the ultimate assumption and becomes possible because of the power of suggestion, it plays on a person's prejudices, perceptions and associations. People thus covertly intimidate because it works (Funkhouser 1990:102-103; Kennedy 1989:118-119).

The mere presence of large crowds at mass gatherings and during other mass protest actions and the visible efforts of individuals who try to identify supporters of another political group or organisation constitutes intimidating behaviour (Anon 1993:55). In Ireland, for example, poison letters, anonymous telephone calls, masked door callers and verbal abuse towards children constitute common methods of indirect intimidation. It is not just somebody putting a gun to your back and telling you to get out, it is also a crowd of 3 000 people marching past your home and throwing a bomb into your garden or hitting your house with bullets (Darby 1986:86).

It is difficult for the courts to convict a person for indirect intimidation where a person is merely threatened with bodily harm, because it is hard to prove. When violence or bodily harm accompanies intimidation to a person, in other words direct intimidation, the aggressor could be prosecuted on the grounds of assault or malicious damage. However, in the case where a person is merely threatened with violence, it is important that the person strongly believes that there is an immediate and strong possibility of danger/threat of physical and bodily harm to his person (Ackermann 1984:149; Plasket & Spoor 1991:749).

6. SUMMARY

Culture change as a result of contact between individuals and groups from different cultures is inescapable in this modern age of international technological development, availability, easy access and contact among people living on different continents within hours or days, accessibility through modern communication mediums (internet, electronic mail, telephones and cellular phones) and also information on developments and cultures through electronic media. Direct and indirect contact with various cultural elements, artefacts, and technological progress contributes to the constant influx of new and alternative ideas, inventions, innovations and creations. Formerly, before culture contact was as extensive and frequent as is currently the case, group contact were normally associated with the invasion and forceful subjection of the people of a foreign country.

The new dominant culture then enforced and institutionalised the transmission of new ideas, values, structures and customs. This non-voluntary transmission of ideas and culture traits often created friction among members of various population groups, leading to both organised and unorganised resistance. The enforced processes of culture change more often than not result in formal resistance movements or reactionary movements, especially in the political and religious spheres, causing cultural revitalisation. In South Africa and Kenya, for example, severe resistance by local groups in the society accompanied the processes of forced and guided cultural change enforced by the respective governments. The cultural changes and resultant organised resistance will be discussed in more detail in following chapters.

Sometimes only a small portion of society reacts and resists in an organised fashion to the newly introduced cultural traits without having a significant impact on the rest of society. These groups could be of a suicidal nature and their actions could only have an impact on themselves and their families or these groups could have a national impact, especially if they are revolutionary and rebellious in nature. However, it is possible that the organised attempts to resist the cultural changes result in efforts to revert back to former ways or to adapt existing cultural traits into the existing cultural system and ensure the existence of that cultural system. The model of Wallace on revitalisation movements will be used as the basis to interpret the research of the rest of the study and to explain cultural revitalisation through resistance, adjustment or reactionary movements. The model provides six steps as part of a process resulting in cultural revitalisation. These comprise the six stages namely mazeway reformulation, communication, organisation, adaptation, cultural transformation and routinisation.

During the above processes the existing socio-cultural system is evaluated and certain limitations and shortcomings identified. A person (leader) then constructs a new society or cultural system or part of a cultural system and values that could replace the total or some parts of the defective system. With the help of other individuals who believe in this new utopian world, a program of action, blue prints for the new society and codes of conduct are prophesied and more people are recruited to subscribe to this idea that is communicated extensively and intensely. When significant numbers of people subscribe to the new idea or utopia, a formal organisation with leadership structures is established and through processes of adaptation the movement is streamlined to suit the needs of the majority of people and to correct former limitations or shortcomings. After this phase an organisation or movement with its structures exists with formal doctrines, visions, mission and strategies to implement the goal of the new society. Part of the strategies to reach and maintain the goal culture is

the use of intimidation or forceful actions to discipline members and punish perceived traitors. When the movement succeeds in establishing a new religion, church or political order its main task is to implement its vision and manage its membership and structures.

Contrary to the movements described by Wallace in his model that consisted of a homogeneous group of people such as the Menominee Indians, for example, the movements and groups that are going to be concentrated on in the study are ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous. In this regard the movements in Kenya (the Mau Mau and its predecessors), consisted of several groups such as the Luo, Kamba, Kipsigis, Kikuyu and so forth, but were dominated by the Kikuyu as a numeric majority group. In South Africa the ANC movement includes people from all the ethnic groups in the country. In both countries these movements sought to unite the local black population groups together with members of other population groups across ethnic lines in a single movement positioned against the respective governments. The ANC as the main liberation movement in South Africa sought to unite the diverse ethnic groups into a single liberation movement and wanted to liberate the oppressed masses from the dominant minority power group and mobilise them to take over political power and control their own destinies.

The resistance movements in their strategies to gain and maintain power and to reach their goals used both forms of intimidation, namely direct (violence) and indirect (threats) intimidation. From the basic information on the phenomenon of intimidation it is clear that both forms of intimidation are based primarily on the principle of fear instilled in the victimised group or individual. Intimidation is used as a method or tool to reach a goal and it can take many forms. It could be in the form of verbal abuse and warnings, a marching crowd, bodily harm or the threat thereof. During the processes of cultural unification that were enforced by members of the liberation or resistance movements, various aspects of culture such as songs, dances, courts and oaths were exploited as a resource to unite people across ethnic lines. This will be discussed at length in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 3

RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION IN AFRICA: THE MAU MAU MOVEMENT IN KENYA

> *"The wind of change is sweeping over Africa" (Prime Minister Harold MacMillan of Britain on the liberation struggles in Africa in Houser 1987:19).*

1. INTRODUCTION

The initial contact between Europe and Africa was characterised by the discovery of the continent, missionary work, trade especially in gold, slaves and ivory, and governmental control, albeit limited, over certain areas in Africa by countries such as Portugal, Holland, France and Britain. During this period of initial contact European influence was mostly confined to the coastal areas of the continent. The invention of the steamboat and telegraph greatly improved the communication between Europe and Africa. Gradually many European countries tried to expand their influence and interest in Africa. Attempts to control as much of Africa as possible resulted in tension among European countries. After a conference held in Berlin (1884-1885) a period referred to as the "Scramble for Africa" followed (Vorster & De Beer 1996:141-142; Van Aswegen 1980; Schneider 1981:37-39).

Countries such as Britain, Belgium, Portugal, Germany, Italy and France invaded and colonised vast parts of Africa, subjecting the indigenous people to foreign rule and forced culture change. The colonisation phase was characterised by conflict and changes in the social, economic, religious, educational and political spheres of life of the indigenous populations of the African countries concerned and threatened their continued cultural existence. In reaction, these countries experienced a surge in feelings of Africanism, discontent and frustration, which gradually gave rise to internal resistance to foreign rule in many African countries. This resistance was reflected upon in the words

of Tom Mboya, chairman of the 'Kenya Federation of Labor' at a conference in Accra in 1958, during which he stated that "whereas 72 years ago the scramble for Africa started, from Accra we announce that these same powers must be told in a clear, firm and definite voice, 'Scram from Africa'" (Houser 1987:20-21).

Kenya did not escape the impact of colonialism. The strategies by Britain to obtain and maintain political and economic domination of Kenya evoked resistance from the Arabs and the local population. The Arabs were soon dissatisfied because the British interfered with one of their most important sources of income, namely the slave trade. In 1893 and 1895 the British authorities were compelled to use their military power to subject rebellious Arabs. The British declared Kenya a British protectorate in 1895 in order to secure a route to Uganda. The establishment of British authority in the interior of Kenya provoked widespread resistance from the local populace. From 1902, the British authorities encouraged the settlement of whites in the Highlands. Various military expeditions between 1900 and 1908 against the Nandi, Embu and the Gusii population groups were necessary to break their armed resistance against British domination and settlement on their land (Van Aswegen 1980:381; Walker 1992:557).

Although larger local political communities such as the Maasai, Kikuyu and Kamba were initially well disposed towards the British, discontent subsequently developed as a result of the political and economic policy of the British government. The grievances of the local inhabitants were primarily related to the alienation of their land, the establishment of reserves for them as well as labour laws, which required males to work for the white settlers for certain periods. The local people regarded these measures as an entrenchment of the political and economic power of the white settler community (Van Aswegen 1980:310, 381).

As in other colonised countries in Africa, resistance to these changes was inevitable. Various movements, such as the Mau Mau, emerged in Kenya as vehicles of resistance which tried to consolidate and mobilise the power of the various indigenous societies against the colonial government. The various resistance movements had one aim, namely, political liberation. These movements, and especially the Mau Mau, employed various tactics and techniques to counter the introduced changes and also to gain the support and participation of the masses. The methods that were employed by these movements to obtain mass participation and loyalty involved acts of both direct and indirect political intimidation through the manipulation of cultural elements, sentiments and beliefs. Of these cultural elements that were exploited, the oath, which also form an integral part of traditional Kikuyu life, played a central role in the liberation struggle, particularly in the

intimidation of the people. Apart from the inward directed acts of intimidation on fellow compatriots, these acts also formed an integral part of the strategies of these movements to coerce the British government into meeting their political demands. The outward directed acts of intimidation towards the British government will however not be the focus of the discussion in this chapter.

2. POLITICAL RESISTANCE IN KENYA

Kenya forms part of East Africa and is located on the equator at the Indian Ocean and covers a total area of 582 646 km². There are approximately 42 different indigenous population groups in Kenya, which are divided into three large language groups, namely people of Bantu origin (Western, Central and Eastern Bantu), Nilotes (Highland, Plains and River/Lake Nilotes) and Cushitic speaking people. Of all these groups the Kikuyu, a Central Bantu group, is the single largest population group and constitutes about 20% of the total population of the country (Archer 1969:12; Bhushan 1979:7-9; Carie 1989:75-80; Crowther 1987:33-35, 43; Lonsdale 1989:20; Lye 1985:2-3,6; Miller 1984:2; Murdock 1959:342-343; Trillo 1991:47; *The Weekly Review* 1994:29). See Map 2 on Kenya for a broad geographical demarcation of the country.

The Kikuyu who were mainly agriculturists, also herded sheep and goats for survival, ritual, ceremonial and bride-wealth purposes. In 1915 alone the British laid claim to 20 000 square miles of land, which was formerly owned by the Kikuyu and other tribes. With their land for agricultural and herding purposes diminishing, the local populations became increasingly aware that the British were undermining their human, cultural and civil rights, as well as their belief system and values. Under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta a "gradual tribal awakening" took place among the Kikuyu, making them believe that their discontent could be cured through political action and mass participation (McRae 1970:61-63).

The Kikuyu embarked on criminal activities by stealing from Europeans and each other. Incidents of gambling and excessive drinking increased and became institutionalised ways in which to cope with their disillusionment with white domination. Unemployment rates increased and the resettlement of the Kikuyu in reserves adversely affected the maintenance of their tribal culture and customs. They were not able to practice their traditional system of land tenure. The British also tried to replace the decentralised age-grade and traditionally hierarchical political systems of the Kikuyu and other groups, which allowed for decision-making through local councils in each tribal unit, with an

autocratic and highly centralised foreign political system and in the process irreparably damaged the traditional political system. The British also implemented a system of government appointed chiefs. These changes destroyed the Kikuyu mechanisms and channels of communicating grievances and seeking justice. These frustrating conflicts between the Kikuyu and British interests, with no apparent chance of redress, caused a desperate sense of despair among the local groups and especially the Kikuyu (McRae 1970:64-67).

McRae (1970:68-70) states that instead of genocide or total absorption by the British culture as is stated in Wallace's model, revitalisation actions occurred among the Kikuyu. A new political dispensation was envisaged for Kenya with the ultimate goal the expulsion of the Europeans and the establishment of Kikuyu rule over the land and the destiny of Kenya. The resistance movements and especially the Mau Mau with its strong emphasis on Kikuyu culture formed the vehicle or transfer culture to obtain this goal culture. An oath of unity, based on the traditional Kikuyu oaths, was formulated as a code to help with the realisation of this goal[3].

Members and leaders of Kikuyu origin dominated the resistance movements. These movements popularly exploited socio-economic issues around which they mobilised the local populations. Issues that were exploited for mobilisation purposes included government policies, hut and other taxes, labour laws, the land issue, kipande or pass laws, forced labour, low wages, long working hours, poor housing conditions, industrial education and racial discrimination. The exploitation of socio-economic issues was a tactic employed by radical elements to increase the levels of dissatisfaction and discontent among the population. As a means of curbing the growing radicalism, the state induced repressive measures and laws. These restrictive measures were exploited by radical elements to sow discontent and mobilise the local population against the colonial power (Corfield 1960:39; Kanogo 1989:129; Maloba 1988:115-116). The ultimate aim of these movements was liberation from colonial rule and the replacement of the white government with a black government. Intimidation stood central to the strategy followed by the successive resistance movements to obtain liberation. In this regard the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA), the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), the Kenyan African Union (KAU) and the Mau Mau movement were the most prominent resistance movements in the struggle for liberation in Kenya.

---

[3] *Additional information on the role of the oath in the resistance struggle will follow later in this chapter.*

2.1 THE YOUNG KIKUYU ASSOCIATION

The first movement, the Kikuyu Association (KA), was established in June 1921 and was almost immediately succeeded by the more militant Young Kikuyu Association (YKA), under the leadership of Harry Thuku, later that same month. The YKA comprised of mainly Kikuyu members. However, to be seen as representative of the needs of all black people, the association had to expand its power base to include members of all the black language groups. Therefore, on 1 July 1921, the YKA changed its name to the East African Association (EAA), an inclusive pan-ethnic movement. All members of the EAA had to swear oaths of allegiance to the association to ensure their loyalty to the movement. The EAA drew mostly educated young men from the Maasai, Luo and Kamba populace (Archer 1969:41; Clough 1990:55, 61, 63, 114; Corfield 1960:39; Edgerton 1989:41; Kariuki 1963:18; Maloba 1988:115-117; Maxon 1989:80; Miller 1984:18).

Employing confrontational tactics such as mass protest actions, strikes and boycotts, the EAA tried to intimidate the government into giving them back their land and other rights. Harry Thuku further urged people to throw their kipandes (passes) on the lawn of Government House. The British government perceived the EAA as a direct threat to their authority and reacted aggressively against the movement by arresting Thuku in March 1922, exiling him to Kismayu (Somalia) and banning the EAA in order to counteract his influence on the population, thus forcing the movement underground (Archer 1969:41; Clough 1990:55-63, 114; Edgerton 1989:41-42; Kariuki 1963:18; Leakey 1953:88; Maloba 1988:116-118; Maxon 1989:80; Miller 1984:18).

2.2 THE KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION

After the EAA was banned it was replaced in 1925 by the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA)[4] under the leadership of Joseph Kang'ethe and James Beauttah. Faced with government opposition, the KCA leaders also began to administer an oath of allegiance to ensure party loyalty and cohesion. This oath had no radical overtones. The administered oath consisted of holding the Bible in one hand and pressing soil to the navel with the other hand (Buijtenhuijs[5] :6; Cloete 1956:12; Maxon 1989:99).

---

[4] *According to Archer (1969:44), Kariuki (1963:18) and Clough (1990:112-115) the YKA or EAA was renamed the KCA in 1925. Miller (1984:19) and Cloete (1956:11-12) differs from this and state that the KCA was an independent organisation (established in 1925) with the same objectives as YKA.*

[5] *No date could be identified on the documentation of Buijtenhuijs.*

The KCA became involved in nativistic actions, which included attempts to preserve Kikuyu land, land rights, traditional land tenure practices and customary aspects such as clitoridectomy or female circumcision. During female circumcision a portion of the female organ is cut or pierced. Cliteridectomy became a central issue and symbol in the struggle for freedom and independence after conflict with the missionary churches in 1929 over the issue. The churches wanted to do away with the custom since it was considered to be heathen and the operation not sterile, thus causing infections in young women (Kanogo 1989:131; Maxon 1989:101; Odinga 1984:96; Wa Wanjau 1988:xv).

Jomo Kenyatta who became the General Secretary of the KCA in the late 1920's, was one of the leaders responsible for introducing the use of intimidatory tactics as an expression of resistance. As part of the techniques used by the KCA to force their views on fellow Kikuyu members, they employed methods of psychological and guerrilla warfare. It is believed that the violent tactics employed by the KCA and other movements in Kenya were shaped to a great extent by the influence of communist techniques learnt in countries such as Russia and China. Kenyatta, for example, learnt communist techniques of infiltration, propaganda, organisation, revolution and the importance of ruthless party discipline at the Lenin School in Moscow during his intermittent visits to the country between 1929 and 1945. As a result of the revolutionary tactics of the KCA, it was banned and went underground in 1940. It never-the-less continued its activities and united its members by forcing them to take traditional oaths as tokens of their loyalty (Anon 1992; Archer 1969:41-42, 53; Bhushan 1979:12; Buijtenhuijs nd:6; Cloete 1956:14; Corfield 1960:39; Kariuki 1963:18; Maxon 1989:99; McRae 1970:61-73; Miller 1984: 19-20; Stoneham 1953:43; Van Rensburg 1983:274-277).

The British continued with their expansionist policy and the accumulation of more land for cultivation by white farmers. As a result approximately 4 000 squatters were evicted in 1944 from the Rift Valley where they lived. In unison with the objectives of the banned KCA movement, they unanimously took an oath of unity to resist British domination. This first mass administration of the oath later became a common phenomenon in the struggle where other communities as a whole also had to swear an oath of unity and loyalty to the movement and its objectives. This first mass oath, with a few varieties on the theme, later became known as the Mau Mau oath (Buijtenhuijs nd:7-8; Odinga 1984:97).

2.3 *THE KENYA AFRICAN UNION (KAU)*

Because the KCA was banned and could not operate, Jomo Kenyatta organised a World Trade Union Congress in February 1945 and in October 1945 the Fifth Pan African Congress with Kwame Nkrumah in Manchester in order to mobilise external support. At these events slogans such as "Freedom now" and "Africa for Africans" were publicly shouted and became displays of passive resistance. In 1946, shortly after these campaigns ended, Kenyatta returned to Kenya. Early in 1947 James Gichuru and Eliud Mathu established an African nationalist organisation called the Kenya African Union (KAU), replacing the banned KCA. The leadership core of the organisation was a pan-ethnic coalition among the educated élite. On 1 June 1947 Kenyatta who had returned from England became the president of KAU. As part of a mass mobilisation, recruitment and propaganda campaign to communicate and promote the vision of KAU, Kenyatta toured Kenya between 1948 and 1951, holding numerous mass meetings and rallies calling for the independence of the country within three years. Although KAU was still politically moderate, its proposed economic changes were revolutionary, demanding access for Africans to the "White Highlands" (Buijtenhuijs 1973:22; Bhushan 1979:13; Cloete 1956:18-19; Kariuki 1963:19; Leakey 1953:93; Miller 1984:24; Walker 1992:557; Wa Wanjau 1988:xv).

John Mungai and Fred Kubai, two influential union leaders in KAU, insisted that the oath, which was utilised to recruit and maintain membership and unity, be made more militant and be administered to all Kikuyu, not only to volunteers. The aim was to also gain the support of the militant groups in the population and to broaden their support base. Mungai and Kubai, together with eight other men took the oath, after which they formed the 'action group'. This group was responsible for the secret recruiting and oath administration functions of KAU. They recruited 24 trusted union leaders and carefully selected criminals (thieves and prostitutes) in Nairobi to steal weapons and ammunition and to form an intelligence network to gather information on opposition targets. They then took a much stronger binding oath, which originated from the squatters who were dispossessed by the government. Militant wings began developing in various areas, such as Nairobi and the Kikuyu reserves where squatters were prominent (Buijtenhuijs nd:12; Edgerton 1989:52; Furedi 1989:88-91, 109; Zeleza 1989:168).

The youth and squatters became angry and frustrated as unemployment increased even after completing a formal education. Political aims and criminal activities became intertwined. The youth organised themselves into street gangs armed with knives and pangas. They terrorised and intimidated the people in the reserves. The most powerful of these gangs, the Forty Group (a

traditional age grade group initiated in 1940), controlled most of the prostitutes and the illegal trade in the country. In October 1947 they decided that all Europeans should be driven from Kenya. This led to the taking of a stronger and more militant oath of obedience, which included killing if necessary to achieve their goal (Edgerton 1989:35).

As a result of the militant nature and tactics employed by KAU the movement was banned during 1951. On 20 October 1952 Governor Evelyn Baring signed a proclamation declaring a State of Emergency in Kenya. In order to impose this proclamation the First Battalion of the King's African Rifles was flown to Nairobi and the Second Battalion was stationed in Kenya. This was followed by 'Operation Jock Scott' during which approximately 183 leading Kikuyu activists and leaders were arrested on 20 October 1952. Among those arrested were Eliud Mathu, Fred Kubai and Jomo Kenyatta (Archer 1969:88; Bhushan 1979:13, 209; Edgerton 1989:67; Furedi 1989:118; Leakey 1953:ix, 104; Miller 1984:22, 24; Odinga 1984:112; Stoneham 1953:63-64; Zeleza 1989:168).

The struggle or war for political freedom was also appropriated in history in the form of political or praise-songs, often depicting the story of the event. Okpewho (1992:153-154) provides an example of such a song on the battle of Tumu Tumu Hill that was attacked by British soldiers in the 1950's:

THE BATTLE OF TUMU TUMU HILL

"Listen and hear this story
Of the Tumu Tumu Hill! ...

It was on Wednesday:
We were in a village down the valley:
The enemy decided to climb
In order to see Kikuyuland.

.... Waruanja was sent down the valley
Dressed like a woman
In order to spy.

He brought back a valuable message
That Kirimukuyu was guarded by security forces:
Down in the valley 400 fighters
Whom the government intended to surround.

.... When it struck two,
A thunderous noise was heard from atop the hill:
Bren guns were firing from every direction,

> But God helped us and we descended safely.
>
> Gakuru gave his own life
> To save that of his friends:
> He threw a grenade
> And the machine guns ceased their firing. ..."

2.4 *THE MAU MAU MOVEMENT*

After KAU and numerous prominent leaders were banned, the Mau Mau movement emerged as an extremely militant, radical and revolutionary force. As early as 1947 rumours started spreading about a *militant secret society* called the Mau Mau whose influence among the local Kikuyu communities was growing. The Mau Mau was a secret society with Kikuyu predominance whose aim was 'an African tyranny in Kenya', deriving its power from the exploitation of tribal feelings and beliefs. It encouraged racial hatred and was violently anti-European and anti-Christian in character. The Mau Mau movement served as a vehicle to transform, redirect and operationalise the original revolutionary strategies of KAU and other liberation movements in the struggle for liberation in Kenya (Bhushan 1979:13; Cloete 1956:8; Houser 1987:21; Walker 1992:557).

Every person who wanted to become a member of the Mau Mau had to swear an oath to show his unity and brotherhood with the group. It was as if these oaths transformed a human being into an unknown frame of mind, 'where people did not hesitate or think anymore'. The Mau Mau perceived the arrest of the KAU leaders as a declaration of war. In reaction they formed a Land (and) Freedom Army of forest fighters, also known as the "Weeping Kamaus", signalling the official beginning of, not only resistance to the colonial authority, but also a civil war (Archer 1969:89, 110; Bhushan 1979:209; Cloete 1956:27; Cox 1965:50; Edgerton 1989:56; Walker 1992:557).

A Central Committee or Muhimu consisting of twelve men was responsible for managing the Mau Mau movement. Fred Kubai[6] a prominent leader in the Muhimu, together with Kenyatta, initiated and directed the Mau Mau movement. Like Kubai, most of the members of the Muhimu were former members of KAU. Kubai was in charge of the oath-administration for the Mau Mau from 1947 until his arrest in 1952. Under his direction the "Thirty Committee" or the 'Group of 30' was established. This group or wing of the Mau Mau was primarily responsible for the administration of

---

6 *Fred Kubai was the leader of the Forty Group, a union leader, the President of the East African Trades Union Congress and a former member of the KAU.*

oath-ceremonies (Buijtenhuijs nd:18-19; Edgerton 1989:51-52, 57). Contrary to the "Forty Group" that was mentioned under par.2.3, which was an age-grade group functioning as a 'criminal gang' and associated with the Mau Mau, the "Thirty Group" was a politically initiated committee responsible for oath-administration. These two groups co-existed during the same period and the one did not precede the other. As far as can be established, they functioned autonomously.

The Mau Mau movement expanded and intensified its onslaught against the government and prepared for guerrilla warfare. Members of the movement stole ammunition and weapons from farms, cars and restaurants. In January 1952 the Mau Mau Central Committee formed the Kikuyu War Council who was responsible for the intensification of the campaign to steal or buy weapons for the armed resistance. In the Central Province, acts of sabotage, raids, mutilation of stock and the killing of European farmers started to occur (Archer 1969:86; Buijtenhuijs nd:19; Cloete 1956:25; Edgerton 1989:63-64, 70, 106).

At the zenith of its power, it was estimated that the Mau Mau had approximately 200 000 members. Although, by the middle of 1952, the Mau Mau leaders had failed to convert most of the wealthy Christians who supported the government almost 90% of all Kikuyu adults and squatters had taken the Mau Mau oaths. Forced oath-administration increased during the latter part of 1952-1953, especially in the rural areas, due to the initiative of the Forty Group that was in cahoots with the Mau Mau (Archer 1969:80-82; Buijtenhuijs nd:36; Edgerton 1989:61-62; Furedi 1989:108).

The success of the Mau Mau is directly attributable to the extremely violent and psychologically intimidating measures it employed. Secrecy and co-operation with the movement were of the utmost importance to ensure the continuation of the struggle and the safety of its leaders. It was therefore necessary to forcefully and violently compel members of the population to take the oath, especially if they knew about the movement and refused to join it. Its leaders reasoned that once all people swore the oath, even through intimidation, then the movement would be 'safe'. Violent intimidating tactics included hanging and the stripping, slapping, beating and abusing of women initiates until they took the Mau Mau oath of obedience. If they refused, they were killed. During the summer of 1950 a number of Kikuyu were murdered because they refused to take the oath. The unwilling victims were helpless to prevent the administration of the oath in the face of the merciless methods used to enforce it. It is estimated that approximately 13 423 Africans died and thousands more were injured at the hands of the Mau Mau rebels between 1952 and 1956 (Archer 1969:80-82; Bhushan 1979:13, 209; Cloete 1956:8, 17; Edgerton 1989:59; Houser 1987:21; Leakey 1953:98).

The Mau Mau movement also targeted and killed Kikuyu or non-Kikuyu members whom they regarded as traitors. Those who betrayed the Mau Mau and the oaths they took or those who refused to take the oath were brutally murdered through strangulation, mutilation, torture and live burial or were cut to pieces. Police informers usually died the most horrible deaths. In one incident a man who gave information to the police that led to the conviction and death of certain Mau Mau leaders was found hacked to pieces with his head sawn off. The following month a policeman attending a drinking party in a hut, which was often a disguise for oath-administration ceremonies, was found dead. His body was covered with panga wounds. In another incident the government wanted to relocate hundreds of Kikuyu living in the Limuru area to a place called Lari. Although many refused a man by the name of Luka Wakangara and his friends relocated and were regarded by the Mau Mau as loyalists and traitors. Subsequently on 26 March 1953 Mau Mau members attacked Lari, killing 97 "loyalists". This attack became known as the 'Lari massacre' (Bhushan 1979:209; Leigh 1954:25; McRae 1970:70-73).

The Mau Mau also made use of popular justice through court hearings to try offenders who betrayed or were against the Mau Mau movement. Between 1950 and 1952 the frequency and number of Mau Mau courts were increased to enforce popular justice and intimidate people into co-operation. These courts, where collaborators' and those accused of treason were tried, convicted and sentenced to death, mostly operated underground or covertly. The Mau Mau fought and killed their own people to obtain weapons and ammunition and also made their own home-made weapons from sharpened bamboo sticks, guns and bombs. In 1952 for example, the police dug up twenty mutilated bodies in shallow graves, all sentenced to death by a Mau Mau court. Individuals who volunteered information or were going to testify against the Mau Mau were eliminated. The killing of state witnesses had a psychologically restraining (intimidating) effect on other members of the society, irrespective of tribal adherence, thus people refrained from giving evidence or information against the Mau Mau (Archer 1969:100; Edgerton 1989:61-62; Furedi 1989:108; Leigh 1954:161-162). Unfortunately the actual fear by communities of the physical harm and torture, carried more weight than the disdain and disapproval they experienced for the actions of the movement. In this regard Cloete (1956:16) states that:

> *"Intimidation of law-abiding Kikuyu has been one of the most effective instruments used by the Mau Mau movement. ... Those who were fortunate enough to escape from the clutches, were terrorised into silence, with the result that very little information about the Mau Mau's activities ever reached the ears of the authorities".*

The acts of violent intimidation against perceived enemies of the liberation struggle served as a warning or a form of indirect intimidation. In reference to the definition of indirect intimidation provided in Chapter 1, the Mau Mau movement skillfully manipulated cultural elements to obtain a psychological grasp on the Kikuyu population. Traditionally, the Kikuyu religious beliefs constitute punishment by supernatural powers if they break the conditions of the oath. The Mau Mau oath also had overtones of witchcraft. The Kikuyu attributed unusual deaths in the community to evil spirits and, as such murders did occur, it strengthened their deeply embedded fear of witchcraft. The activists, realising this, seized upon this method of intimidation to ensure the obedience of the masses to their will, threatening them with similar death if they did not co-operate. In this regard oath swearing ceremonies by the Mau Mau in Kenya was used to force non-conformists to follow the new code of conduct determined by the movement (Archer 1969:72; Cloete 1956:9-10; Els & Coertze 1990:70; Furedi 1989:105).

2.5 OATH CEREMONIES

The Mau Mau oath was generally formulated in the fashion of traditional initiation oaths. The aim of the oath was to recruit new members and retain their membership for the organisation and also to help fulfil its aims. The oath not only served to unite all members of the Kikuyu, but all other populations in Kenya in the struggle for freedom and independence (McRae 1970:69-70). According to Cloete (1956:28-29), Kenyatta with his knowledge of psychological terrorism which he learnt in Russia, developed the oaths into an unbreakable and psychologically terrible pattern and frightful instrument.

2.5.1 CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE MAU MAU OATHS

According to Leigh (1954:45) and Cloete (1956:17) the roots of the Mau Mau oath ceremonies were founded in the significance and symbolism they have in the Kikuyu culture. This explains the hold that the administered oath had over those who took it. The binding effect of the oath after it was administered was reinforced by fear of supernatural and physical reprisals if information was provided to the authorities. This essentially prevented people from resisting their intimidators. Their belief in the supernatural was much stronger than their fear of punishment by the authorities for withholding evidence or information. The symbolic and cultural features of the oath ceremonies bound people through respect for the customary rites they resembled, as well as through the threat of supernatural punishment compelling people to adhere to the conditions of the oath. This kind of

intimidation was not only binding on those who took the oath, but also on every other African and many Indians in a position to give information who did not swear the oath.

Furthermore, the use of oath-swearing to determine the truth was a traditional practice in Kenya. The first oath employed by the Mau Mau was based on one of several traditional Kikuyu oaths. This was called the goat-oath (koinga thenge) and was laden with Kikuyu cultural symbolism and rituals. This oath was traditionally used in the administration of justice to establish the truth in difficult public tribal court cases. Traditionally in civil and criminal court cases, where the two parties gave contradicting evidence, they had to swear an oath. It was believed that false testimony would lead to the death of the witness(es) or their family members in a given period of time. The bond that was formed by those who took the Mau Mau oath was sanctioned by the supernatural. A transgression of any stipulation or of the sworn secrecy surrounding the Mau Mau, was punishable by the supernatural or manifested itself in unnatural death. The Mau Mau also used the oath to identify the guilty parties who betrayed the movement and provided information to the security forces (Buijtenhuijs nd:82).

A very influential part and basis of the oath-swearing ceremony was the notion of ritual impurity (thahu). Thahu is "a condition into which a person is believed to fall if he or she accidentally becomes the victim or intentionally performs certain acts which carry with them a kind of ill luck or curse. A person who is *thahu* becomes emaciated or ill ... and if the *thahu* is not removed will probably die" [the italics are mine] (C.W. Hobley in Buijtenhuijs nd:83). In relation to the oath, individuals who break a sworn oath become impure and could die, owing to the conditions described above. The breaking of an oath was thus a serious matter with fatal implications and it therefore seldom happened. Traditionally, if an individual broke an oath, he needed to have the thahu removed (as was stated above), probably through a ritual ceremony. However, this implied that the individual had to confess to breaking an oath and in the context of the Mau Mau this would have led to his death anyway.

2.5.2 EXAMPLES OF OATHS

Religious elements that formed part of the oath ceremonies were part of both Kikuyu tradition and Christianity. Part of Kikuyu custom was to face Mount Kenya, while the cross to anoint initiates was part of the Roman Catholic custom. The oath was also laden with cultural symbolism. In this regard the rituals the initiates of the Mau Mau movement went through and the repetition of the number seven and the slaughtering of the goat are all founded in the culture of the Kikuyu. The use of animal

blood, the piercing of a sodom apple and the eye of a goat, as well as the repetition of parts of the ritual seven times, symbolised witchcraft. The number seven, which is associated with black magic, thus played an integral part in oath-swearing ceremonies (Buijtenhuijs nd:83).

2.5.2.1 TRADITIONAL OATH CEREMONIES

Some Mau Mau oath-ceremonies were patterned after traditional male initiation rites. Here a male goat of one solid colour was slaughtered, its blood collected in a gourd bowl and its chest area cut out. After the goat was skinned the strips of skin were tied together to form a large ring. The initiates were cut seven times and their blood mixed with that of the goat and then sipped seven times (Edgerton 1989:53; Stoneham 1953:17).

The Mau Mau oath-swearing rite incorporated another rite of passage, the "second birth". Here, Kikuyu children at the age of two were turned into 'real human beings' and members of the tribe. During the ceremony the child was placed between the legs of its mother and tied to her body with goat's intestines, symbolising the umbilical cord. The mother sitting in her hut acted out childbirth, while the father cut the child loose. In the Mau Mau ceremony the initiates were also tied together with a goat's intestines, which were cut by the oath-administrator (the symbolic father) when they passed through an arch of banana stalks (symbolising birth). The arch of banana stalks and sugar cane stems, the white painted face of the oath administrators, the anointment of initiates' foreheads and joints and their blessing by beer spraying, are all symbolic of traditional initiation rites, playing on the customary sentiments and traditional roots of the people (Buijtenhuijs nd:82-83). This symbolised that they were all part of the same family and had a shared responsibility towards each other. This second birth also symbolised that they now belonged to a new family and therefore had the right to kill their biological parents if they did not support the Mau Mau.

2.5.2.2 FIRST OATH

Barnett and Njama (Buijtenhuijs nd:80-82, 84) give an example of a Mau Mau oath that took place in the Nyeri district in 1952. This was also called the first oath. The proponents were seated in a hut next to the 'oath hut' while waiting to be called. Seven people at a time were called and had to walk through a human-chain of guards armed with pangas, swords (simis) and clubs. They waved their arms over the initiates' heads, asking if there were any informers that could be "eaten". In the next hut, armed guards were positioned behind and in front of the initiates. There was also an arch of

banana stalks, maize stalks and sugar cane stems, tied together by a forest creeping and climbing plant (all natural products). The initiates were forced to take off their coats and any other metal of European origin. The face of the oath-administrator was painted with a stroke of paint running from the forehead to the nose tip. He put a band of raw goat's skin on the right hand wrist of each of the seven individuals. They were then bound together by the goat's small intestines at their shoulders and feet. Another person sprayed them with beer from his mouth as a blessing and at the same time throwing a mixture of finger millet and other cereal on them. At this stage the middle finger of the right hand was pricked with a needle until it bled. The chest of a billy goat, his heart still attached to the lungs, was smeared with their blood. A Kikuyu gourd containing blood was taken and a cross was made on their foreheads and on every important joint. The initiates then had to lick each other's blood from their middle fingers and afterwards hold each other's right hand. Hand in hand, making a line, they passed through the arch seven times. Each time the oath administrator would cut off a piece of the goat's small intestines, breaking it into pieces, while the others in the hut repeated a curse on them if they should break the oath. Stoneham (1953:17-18) provides an example of such an oath:

> "If I am called in the night and refuse to come,
> this oath will kill me ...
> If I reveal any secret of this society,
> this oath will kill me ...
> If I am asked to bring in the head of a European and refuse,
> this oath will kill me.
> I must always say that the land belong to no-one but the Kikuyu,
> otherwise this oath will kill me".

Thereafter the initiates were made to face Mount Kenya and encircled by the intestines. They were then given two dampened soil balls, one in each hand, and ordered to hold a soil ball against their navels with their left hands. They then had to swear, biting the chest meat of the billy goat. The oath was repeated while pricking the eye of a goat seven times with a kei-apple thorn. Finally, seven sodom apples were pricked seven times. The ceremony ended when a cross of blood, mixed with sweet-smelling oil, was made on their foreheads. This indicated their reception as members of the House of Gikuyu and Mumbi, the mythical ancestors of the Kikuyu. In addition it represented the initiation into a new and purified Kikuyu tribe, freed from European rule and domination (Buijtenhuijs nd:80-82, 84).

2.5.2.3 PLATOON OATH

The Mau Mau movement entered a new phase of armed resistance in 1952. As a result members of the Mau Mau started to administer a new oath, called the platoon (batuni) or advanced oath. It was administered especially to young squatters of warrior age in the Nakuru District, emphasising the central role of squatters in the liberation struggle. The oath committed the partaker to kill the enemies of the Mau Mau. This was the first step to participation in a future revolt (Buijtenhuijs nd:90; Furedi 1989:112-113).

Archer (1969:74) and Cloete (1956:14, 16) provide an example of such a militant oath. What is apparent when reading the oath is the imminent threatening power that it carries:

> "I must kill my brother if ordered,
> or may this oath kill me.
> I must hate my father and mother,
> or may this oath kill me.
> I must steal firearms when ordered.
> I must not lift a hand against any Mau Mau,
> but I must kill any Kikuyu if so ordered.
> When the red-buck horn is blown,
> if I leave a European farm without killing the owner,
> may this oath kill me.
> I swear to tell no one of this oath".

2.5.2.4 OATH OF UNITY

McRae (1970:69) states that during the Oath of Unity or the Ndemwa Ithatu oath ceremony in 1953, the lungs of a goat were held in the right hand of a Biniathi (presumably the oath administrator) and pieces of goat's meat in his left hand. The participants bowed towards the ground as the Biniathi circled their heads seven times with the meat, counting aloud in Klikuyu and then in turn, handing them the lungs to bite. After this ritual, the participants had to repeat the following words after the Biniathi:

"I speak the truth and vow before God
And before his movement,
The movement of Unity,
The Unity which is put to the test
The Unity that is mocked with the name 'Mau Mau'
That I shall go forward to fight for the land,
The lands of Kirinyaga that we cultivated,
The lands which were taken by the Europeans
And if I fail to do this
May this oath kill me,
May this seven kill me,
May this meat kill me".

3. CULMINATION OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN KENYA

Statistical data provides an idea of the impact of the violent Mau Mau activities during the liberation struggle. By the end of 1952 Mau Mau raiders had killed hundreds of livestock and 1 819 loyal British subjects, and wounded more than a thousand people and also set alight a power station near Mount Kenya. At the end of 1956, after the Mau Mau rebellion came to an end, it was estimated that approximately 13 000 Africans (11 000 rioters) mostly Kikuyu were killed and tens of thousands were imprisoned in camps, 1 170 security personnel and 32 whites and loyal British Asians were killed (Archer 1969:86; Cloete 1956:25; Edgerton 1989:63-64, 70, 106; Van Aswegen 1980:435; Walker 1992:557).

The magnitude of the above violence inevitably resulted in far-reaching political changes and developments in Kenya. The violent struggle for political liberation by the resistance movements in Kenya reached its goal. The British government preempted the changes of their political ruling status and started to make constitutional changes. In 1954 the British Minister of African Colonies Mr. O. Lyttelton, visited Kenya and proposed that a Council of Ministers consisting of three whites, two Asians, one African and two additional ministers appointed by the British Governor be established. He also proposed that 29 of the 59 members of the Legislative Assembly be elected by voters. These constitutional proposals came into effect in 1955, after which Mr. E. Ohanga (of Luo descent) was appointed as Minister of Community Development. The first elections for the Legislative Assembly

took place in 1956 and 1957. Some elected African leaders under the leadership of Tom Mboya, a former Trade Union leader, boycotted the first meeting of the Legislative Assembly, demanding that the number of elected African members be increased with another 15 to give them the majority over the whites and Asians. These demands were accommodated in another draft constitution by March 1958, but were discarded by Mboya who now called for "one man, one vote", accompanied by the "*Uhuru*" or liberation slogan (Bhushan 1979:209; Van Aswegen 1980:435-436; Walker 1992:557-558).

The British government conceded and representatives of the African, White and Asian population groups drafted a new constitution in London in January 1960. This was titled the Lancaster House Constitution and commenced in 1961. The State of Emergency imposed by the British in 1952 was lifted and afforded African citizens the right to form political parties. This led to the establishment of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) an extension of the former KAU and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) consolidating the smaller tribes of Kenya. Jomo Kenyatta was released from prison on 21 August 1961 and was elected the president of KANU on 28 October 1961. In April 1962 Kenyatta proposed an African All-Party Coalition Government to rule Kenya. National general election took place in May 1963 and was won with an overwhelming majority by KANU with Jomo Kenyatta as Prime Minister (Bhushan 1979:210; Van Aswegen 1980:436-437; Walker 1992:557-558).

4. SUMMARY

The normal processes of culture contact and conflict as was described in the model of acculturation by Els and Coertze in Chapter 2 was also evident in Kenya. Resistance rose from the deep-rooted dissatisfaction and antagonism with the implemented British political system and policies and the visible disparity between the social, economic and political rights and benefits of the two groups, namely the local population and the Europeans. The predominantly Kikuyu resistance was the culmination of these antagonisms, the need to ensure cultural survival, the re-establishment of a new cultural identity, as well as the search for a guaranteed continued future existence, political role, self-determination and self-respect. This in the end resulted in profound cultural changes and revitalisation.

The resistance movements that emerged in Kenya were similar to the structured resistance movements mentioned in Chapter 2 in Wallace's model of revitalisation and characteristic of the

second phase of acculturation. The Mau Mau movement corresponds with Wallace's model, in that it formulated a political goal or objective. The movement also had a strong leadership core of Kikuyu origin. Since the Kikuyu dominated the other groups in terms of numbers and the fact that the most prominent and influential leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta came from their ranks, it was easy for the leaders to influence many people with their new ideology or vision for the future. Kenyatta, through his visits to communist countries, in all probability underwent a mazeway resynthesis. These new ideas or mazeway resynthesis was communicated to his supporters who lived under stress and uncertainty as a result of the changes brought about by the white domination. The mere transfusion of ideas was not sufficient and to assist with the internalisation of these new ideas, the Mau Mau movement was established. The Mau Mau movement served as a vehicle not only to propagate liberation from white domination, but also to facilitate the process to a new and better way of life or culture.

The new political order or utopia was communicated to the masses by the leadership core in the Central Committee, the oath administrators and mass rallies staged by Kenyatta throughout Kenya. The Mau Mau movement, however, had to make use of several techniques of intimidation to convert or force scores of people to adhere to the new political doctrine and revolutionary course of action. Strong-arm tactics such as mutilation, over-killing through hacking, hanging and also live burial were employed to bring across to the population the seriousness and importance of the movement and its goals. Non-conformists or unbelievers and neutralists were thus forced into participation and loyalty. In this process oath swearing played a crucial role in the establishment and propagation of the Mau Mau code of conduct. These excessive tactics were necessary to maintain cohesion among the population and to ensure that the ultimate goal of political liberation was reached, which eventually did happen. Thus, although it was not its deliberate objective, the Mau Mau succeeded in bringing about cultural change and revitalisation, without which, the local black populations could have been totally merged and absorbed by the European culture.

In Kenya, the initial movement affecting change and revitalization was the YKA that transformed into the EAA to attract more support. After it was banned its name was changed and it resurfaced as the KCA that again resurfaced as KAU after it was suppressed by the government. The Mau Mau originated from the KAU as the final vehicle to bring about political liberation and change. Although Wallace mainly mentions an original leader and organisation or movement, his model could be applied to include the series of movements in Kenya that had to change and adapt owing to circumstances. All these movements retained the same core leadership, values, goals and tribal domination, namely Kikuyu. Wallace mentions that in the adaptation phase these movements also

become increasingly nativistic. The manipulation and revision of traditional oaths as methods of intimidation to enforce secrecy and loyalty, as well as the exploitation of cliteridectomy to gain membership, serve as two examples and indications of nativism in the Mau Mau movement.

Acts of political intimidation was pivotal in bringing about changes in cultural identity and in reaching the goal of political liberation. In this regard political leaders used intimidation as a means to a political end. As more youth and radical elements joined the resistance movements, the tactics and strategies that were followed became more violent and terrifying. Leaders such as Kenyatta with Soviet training in guerrilla warfare and intimidation applied this very successfully in Kenya. The general aims of intimidation against the indigenous population groups were:

- To empower the movements to guarantee the achievement of liberation in the shortest period of time possible.
- To create group cohesion and unity among the Kikuyu and other smaller groups in Kenya.
- To gain, maintain and ensure grass roots and leadership core loyalty, support and allegiance to the movement and its goal of liberation at all costs.
- To enforce mass participation in order to display a united front against the government.
- To ensure the utmost secrecy about the members of the movement and its activities.

Acts of intimidation were directed at two target groups. The one group constituted the foreigners in the country, namely the British government, security forces, businessmen and farmers. Here acts of sabotage and terrorism were common methods employed by the resistance movements, especially against white farmers occupying areas that were regarded as tribal land. The other targeted group against whom intimidation was directed was the local population, more specifically the Kikuyu.

Intimidation of the local population constituted acts of both direct and indirect intimidation. Regarding acts of direct intimidation, the Mau Mau brutally slaughtered fellow Kikuyu to instil fear among the people. On the other hand, the Mau Mau skillfully and resourcefully manipulated and exploited oath-swearing as an aspect of Kikuyu culture to non-violently force their ideas and principles on the local communities. The Mau Mau movement optimally exploited the oath and the threat of supernatural reprimand if transgressed to further its own interests among the population.

Intimidation through the administration of oaths stood central to the strategies and tactics of all the resistance movements in Kenya. Before the inception of KAU, oaths were mainly restricted to

recruited members of the resistance movements to ensure their loyalty and secrecy. With the inception of KAU, however, a change in the nature of the oath occurred and it became more militant and was also administered to the masses, including local communities as a whole, that were not voluntary followers of the movements. The nature of the oath also changed from a mere recruitment tool to a weapon that would guarantee secrecy, support and loyalty from not only the leadership core, but also the local communities. Mass oath swearing thus served as precautionary measures to ensure the success and the continuation of the liberation movements. Through the forced mass oath swearing rites, many communities were forced to join the Mau Mau movement and/or to keep its existence and activities secret. It ensured that the more politically unenlightened or neutral and traditionally orientated populace also gave their co-operation to the struggle.

The use of the oath was later strengthened by the use of violence and brutality. The power of the oath and fear of being killed in the most terrifying manner bound those who managed to escape to secrecy. People were intimidated not only by the use of violence, but also by the demonstration of unnecessary brutal force. People and animals were "over-killed" by being beaten, hanged, hacked, thrown into a river and sometimes burnt to death. These acts of intimidation served to prevent people from giving information to the police, owing to the implicit warning of the consequences of such behaviour. The news and evidence of the brutal killings and the power of the oath, served as indirect intimidation. The imminent threat of death, either by supernatural powers or by the Mau Mau if the oath of secrecy and loyalty was transgressed, was sufficient to deter people from disclosing information. No direct or public threats were thus necessary for those who still observed strong traditional beliefs, because the implications were clear. For those who did not believe in supernatural punishment, the actual killing of traitors or suspected traitors of the Mau Mau served as sufficient warning for them to refrain from co-operating with the police.

Thus, within the struggle for political liberation and freedom in Kenya, intimidation was one of the key factors that contributed to the direction and pace of the changes in the country that led to liberation. From this chapter, one can deduce that intimidation formed a crucial element in the strategies and techniques employed by structured resistance movements during the resistance phase. But is this situation unique to Kenya or does intimidation also play a fundamental role in the struggle for political freedom in other countries? What is the case in South Africa, for example, that went through similar processes of change and political liberation? An important question is whether intimidation also constituted an integral part of the strategies of the liberation or resistance movements in South Africa? What are the nature and elements exploited for intimidatory purposes and are they similar to those employed in Kenya?

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL INTIMIDATION AND THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

> *"The roots of any war should be sought in the economic and political structure of the society, but they are not generated automatically and spontaneously by the economy. Each war is deliberately prepared for ... according to specific political aims, and therefore the methods for conducting war ... depend on those political goals" (Sokolovskiy 1986: 260-261).*

1. INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a country consisting of a diverse population. The main black ethnic and language groups in the country include the Nguni-speaking people (Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele), Sotho-speaking people (Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tswana/Western Sotho), as well as the Tsonga and Venda-speaking groups. Each of these language groups can be sub-divided into different chiefdoms with its own, but similar, political structures and leaders, such as the Rharhabe, Gcaleka, Thembu, Mpondo, Hlubi, Bhaca and Mfengu among the Xhosa. At the time of the first contact between white Europeans and the Bantu-speaking people in South Africa, the latter lived under the authority of a hierarchical system of traditional leaders and their councillors, which is still the present position in rural areas. These leaders and their councillors have authority over the people under their jurisdiction (Malan & Hattingh 1975:9, 25; Odendaal 1987:10; Pelser 1968:66-68).

The contact between blacks and whites was, inter alia, characterised by the following:

- Frontier Wars or violent conflicts between emigrant Boers and Bantu-speaking people and Boers and the British throughout South Africa since the early 1800's.

- Resistance against the paying of taxes, aimed at destroying the economic independence of blacks, resulted in the Bambatha Rebellion in 1906 in Natal.
- The gradual subjugation of Bantu-speakers to white rule by the British government through its expansionist policies, annexing, for example, Natal (Boer Republic) in 1843, the Ciskei and Transkei between 1877 and 1894, until all traditionally black areas in South Africa came under British control in 1902. In this process the power and authority of the traditional leaders and their councils were undermined and they were deprived of their power and authority.
- Resistance to British penetration into their territory culminated in the ethnocidal Xhosa cattle-killing episode of 1857[7].
- The introduction of a western-orientated administrative council system first in black and later also in white areas after the process of urbanisation, during which many blacks migrated to urban towns and cities.
- The establishment of the Representative Native Council in 1936 to represent blacks indirectly in parliament on a national basis.
- The participation of blacks in the Anglo-Boer War and later also the Second World War where they joined forces with whites against a common enemy.
- The granting of voting rights to blacks in the Cape and Natal in mid-1850 and the subsequent repeal of these rights after South Africa became a Union in 1910, further served to enhance animosity and resistance between whites and blacks. In accordance with the "Cape of Good Hope Constitution Ordinance" of 1852, for example, black males were required to be in possession of certain educational and property qualifications that made them allegible for voting. These requirements were later increased to restrict the number of voters. In Natal all British males could vote depending on their proof of land ownership. However, the Franchise and Ballot Act 9 of 1892 was instituted and stipulated that the minimum property ownership value for voting be raised from £25 to £75 and stipulated that everyone who wanted to vote should be able to sign their names in the presence of the registration official. Eventually, the 1910 Constitution excluded all population groups other than whites from full political participation.

(De Villiers 1965:10-16; Pelser 1968:68-77; Rhoodie 1969:17; Spies 1987:376; Zulu 1988:126-127).

Voting privileges for blacks remained in the Cape and Natal after Unification in 1910 for a short period of time before they were repealed and changed to exclude non-white population groups from political participation. In the Transvaal and Orange Free State, however, blacks entertained hopes that after the British victory in the Anglo-Boer war, they would automatically obtain political

---

[7] *See Chapter 2 for additional information.*

participation. This, however, did not happen. The altering of the voting requirements together with the propagated church philosophy that people were equal before God and the hope that all black people would be allowed to participate politically after their involvement in the Anglo-Boer wars raised much discontent among blacks. This finally resulted in African leaders in the Free State and Transvaal organising blacks politically into opposition groups against the government. The result of these actions was that blacks, especially those in white areas, changed their political outlook. They started to perceive the whole of South Africa, not just a particular region or area, as their country and therefore expected to participate directly and on a national basis in the governing of the country. When the white government did not meet these aspirations, initiatives were taken to mobilise blacks in a mass movement across ethnic boundaries to accomplish a goal of political liberation (De Jager 1986:11; De Villiers 1965:10-16; Mzala 1988:36-38; Omer-Cooper 1992:911; Pelser 1968:72-75).

The liberation struggle took place firstly in opposition to the policy of territorial separation and secondly to the policy of separate development of whites and the various black ethnic groups, which evolved since the initial contact in the 1600's between white Europeans and Bantu-speaking people in the Cape. These segregation policies resulted in the promulgation of the Native Trust and Land Act 10 of 1936 and the Native Representative Act of 1936 in Parliament. The Native Representative Act of 1936 was promulgated to give representation to blacks in a National Council and it created expectations among blacks of a common political dispensation for whites and blacks. Whites in South Africa, however, regarded this Act as the best option to a process of concrescence, in which they would ultimately lose their political power owing to their numeric disadvantage. In the second half of 1960 and the greater part of 1970, separate development was accepted by blacks through the homeland system, although not always voluntarily. In this regard the following areas became independent states, namely the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei and other territorial areas such as KwaZulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa and Gazankulu developed their own systems of self-government with extensive powers. After the establishment of these areas, the government began with a reform process in an attempt to win the 'hearts and minds' of the black population and to counteract the influence of the liberation movement(s) on the black population (Benbo 1976:ix; Malan & Hattingh 1975:1, 108, 165, 188, 202; Smit & Booysen 1981:72-73; Zulu 1988:127).

The liberation struggle progressed through various phases, however, never loosing sight of its main objective, namely to unify blacks across ethnic boundaries to achieve political liberation. Part of the strategy by members of the liberation movements was to employ various violent and non-violent techniques and strategies to unify blacks and obtain their active support and participation. Owing to the variety of African languages that are spoken among blacks in South Africa, English as a neutral

communication medium was introduced to facilitate the process. The process was further enhanced by the establishment of a variety of Black Consciousness and political mass movements, such as the MDM and the UDF. In addition, the influence of the communist ideology and support by especially white liberals, Indians and Coloureds formed an integral part of the struggle from a very early stage, as did acts of intimidation to force people to participate in the struggle.

The main focus in this chapter will be the national manifestation and strategies of the liberation struggle in South Africa. However, attention will be given as to how the struggle unfolded in Bela Bela and the strategies that were used in the implementation thereof.

2. BLACK OPPOSITION AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Numerous socio-political movements were established between 1852 and 1910 in the Cape Colony, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal to voice the political needs of the black indigenous population groups. These groups included the *Imbumba Yama Afrika* (the Union of Africans) movement established in 1882, the *Cape Voters' Association* for Blacks, the *Natal Indian Congress* in 1894 and the *Coloured People's Organisation* in 1902. These movements were, however, no more than mere supplements to white political parties to enhance their voter capacity. Later, in reaction to their seemingly insignificant role and plight for better living and economic conditions, these movements together with others mentioned below formed the basis for formal organised black resistance in South Africa and the establishment of a single unified black political movement. Many of the leaders of these movements later became prominent leaders within the ANC after its establishment (De Villiers 1965:10-20; Pelser 1968:76-78; Zulu 1988:127). According to De Villiers (1965:16-20), other movements and organisations included:

- "*Iso Lomzi*" a Johannesburg-based movement later renamed the "Transvaal Native Congress" comprising primarily of Cape Nguni or Xhosa people led by Rev. Edward Tsewu who began his own church.
- The "*Basutho Committee*", Johannesburg-based, comprising of Xhosa, Northern Sotho and Tswana people led by William Letseleba.
- The "*Transvaal Native Vigilance Association*" of Pietersburg led by Simon M. Phamotse (a Southern Sotho), as well as Rev. W. Pamba, Levi Kgomo and Simson Modisapudi (all of Northern Sotho origin).

- The "Native United Political Association" that later became the "*Transvaal Native Organisation*" based in Pretoria, led by Sefako Mapoch Makgatho (born in Pietersburg) aimed at accommodating blacks of all ethnic groups. Makgatho later became the Transvaal and national president of the SANNC. The aim of the movement was to rectify injustices against blacks. In 1905 and 1906 its leadership wrote to the British King and complained about discriminatory laws towards blacks regarding land, transport and the fact that blacks were not allowed to walk on pavements.
- The "*Orange Free State Native Association*" based in Bloemfontein and led by Southern Sotho businessmen T.M. Mapikela, T.B. Twayi and Peter Pahlane. All three later held important positions within the ANC.
- The "*Natal Native Congress*" led by Rev. John Langalibalele Dube (president), chief Stephen Mini and J.T. Gumede who were all of Nguni (Zulu) origin and later held important positions within the ANC.

The conflicting interests of the white government and the local population groups increased the need for unity in action and opinion among these groups. In 1911, a group of black lawyers met to discuss the constantly unfair and discriminating treatment by white magistrates. They concluded that "the only way to escape from the domineering and bullying attitude of the White man lay in the establishment of a Native organisation". As a result they appointed lawyer Pixley ka Isaka Seme to convene a meeting with the existing black movements in South Africa. The initial aim of this meeting was to create an independent organisation with a new vision for the future. The new vision constituted the unification and organisation of all African people, irrespective of their ethnic affiliation, into a single organisation that would further black political interests, resist unfair political practices, laws, regulation and white domination and, spread the aspirations and sentiments of Black Nationalism. This 'unification' meeting of all interested parties took place in Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912 where the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) was established as a resistance movement against white domination. The SANNC primarily drew its membership from educated and detribalised blacks, professional businessmen and a number of traditional leaders who saw the opportunity to gain social and political acceptance and stature. The composition of the leadership of the SANNC reflected the unity across ethnic boundaries with L. Dube as President (Zulu), Walter Rubusana co-Vice-President (Xhosa) and Sol T. Plaatjie the well-known Tswana writer as Secretary-General (Anon 1986:3; De Jager 1986:11; De Villiers 1965:18-23; Kunene 1992:40-41; Maphalala 1985:59; Mzala 1988:36-38; Omer-Cooper 1992:911; Pelser 1968:77-78; Spies 1987:385-386; Walshe 1982:32-37).

The formation of the SANNC was especially prompted by the formation and stipulations contained in the Constitution of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The most important stipulations were the unification of the four provinces (Natal, Cape, Free State and Transvaal) under the administration of the Union government, the exclusion of blacks from participation in national politics by raising the qualifications to vote or to be a Member of Parliament. In the latter instance Members of Parliament and voters had to be British subjects of European descent and own land worth £500 inside the Union (Anon 1986:3; De Jager 1986:11; De Villiers 1965: 18-23; Kunene 1992:40-41; Maphalala 1985:59; Mzala 1988:36-38; Omer-Cooper 1992:911; Pelser 1968:77-78; Spies 1987:385-386; Walshe 1982:32-37). In trying to convince other black organisations and people of the idea of unity across the boundaries of language, culture and past histories, Pixley Seme publicly proclaimed the following:

> *"The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other nation must be buried and forgotten ... We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance to-day" (De Villiers 1965:23).*

After the establishment of the SANNC, the movement formulated the following vision, aims, objectives and dispositions, as stipulated by Pelser (1968:76-77) and De Villiers (1965:24):

VISION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SANNC

1. To unite all tribes of South Africa;
2. To inform the public of the aspirations of the black man;
3. To fight for equal rights and righteousness on behalf of the black masses;
4. To become the mouthpiece of the "people" and their leaders;
5. To represent the people in any government or municipal structure; and
6. To represent the people in the Union Parliament and to do whatever is necessary for the development and progress of the native people.

The SANNC according to De Villiers (1965:27-29) instituted three action steps to facilitate the establishment of the new organisation. These steps included:

i) The establishment of provincial SANNC structures in the country. In this regard existing black organisations (mentioned previously in the table under Heading 2) in the various

provinces were coopted as provincial branches, while in the Cape Province a new branch was established and in the Transvaal the existing black political organisations were united under the auspices of the Transvaal Native Organisation;

ii) The creation of an official mouthpiece as a communication medium, namely the newspaper "Abantu-Batho" (meaning people); and

iii) The formulation of a Constitution by Sol Plaatje on instruction of P. ka I. Seme, who also formulated his own constitution that was accepted in 1915 at the Annual Congress meeting.

In order to reach its objective of uniting all blacks in one organisation, the SANNC had to make use of various methods and techniques to communicate their objectives. Methods used to justify the ANC's attempts of unification included the manipulation of tribal pride to resist foreign domination and historical factors such as attempts by Shaka and Moshoeshoe to unify all tribes. The ANC leadership further relinquished and set out to discredit tribal values, norms, identities, structures and cohesion, which were fundamental to the rise and perpetuation of the new envisaged leadership in African societies. The idea and terms "*Africans*" and "*Africa for Africans*" substituted tribal specification and linguistic differences. The term African referred to everybody, irrespective of racial and ethnic differentiation who was prepared to live with his or her fellow citizens on a basis of equality (Pelser 1968:77-78).

The initial efforts of the SANNC was focussed on the repeal of the Natives Land Act (Naturellen Grond Wet) 27 of 1913. This Act was an outcome of an earlier recommendation by the Ladgen Commission in 1905 and the vision of Gen. Louis Botha in 1912 that blacks should occupy territories allocated to them and that they should not own land inside the Union of South Africa, promoting territorial segregation. The Natives Land Act stipulated that blacks were not allowed to own land outside black Reserves or for blacks living outside the Reserves to own livestock which they traditionally used for food, traditional ceremonies and as marriage goods. Before the commencement of the Act some blacks living on white farms were allowed by the farmers to own livestock and were also allocated land for the cultivation of maize, sorghum and legumes. Because of, among other things, the growing lack of food, homes and because of the lure of city life after contact with whites many blacks migrated to the cities, causing large-scale urbanisation. The Land Act posed a direct stumbling block for the policy of the SANNC whose primary aim it was to unite all blacks in South Africa and by implication should have access to the whole of South Africa. The SANNC thus tried to convince government, to no avail, to amend the Natives Land Act. At this stage, blacks still preferred to resolve conflict and disagreement along constitutional lines. The year 1913 was the beginning of acts of passive resistance. Although women were not yet allowed as members of the SANNC, they formed the Bantu

Women's League in the Free State in 1913. As a result the SANNC sent a delegation to London in 1914 to protest against the decision on the allocation of land by the Louis Botha government, without success. During 1919 at Versailles, another delegation also tried without success for Bantu legislation to be reviewed. Although little to no violence occurred during this period, discontent and resistance was increasingly communicated through songs and black poetry. In this regard Reuben Caluza composed the words and music of a protest song called "i-Land Act", raising people's awareness of the injustices towards them through the stipulations of the Act (De Villiers 1965:29-32; Gerhard 1979:22-23; Harries 1929:2-5, 15, 36, 131; Kunene 1992:45; Liebenberg 1987:393-400, 411; Walshe 1982:44-51, 80).

Soon after the failed attempts in 1914 to revise the Land Act, a leadership conflict developed within the SANNC dividing the leadership into two camps. A final split came in 1916 after an incorrect article heading in the newspaper *Abantu-Batho* that Selope Thema (then General Secretary of the SANNC) accepted the Land Act and sold out the "race". As a measure to restructure and save the movement, a special Congress meeting was called and S.M. Makgatho president of the Transvaal Native Organisation was elected the new president of the SANNC in December 1917. Under his leadership numerous successful actions against repressive government policies and measures were launched, especially in the Witwatersrand area of Transvaal, where he was based. Such actions included open defiance of racial discrimination in 1917 when the railway stationmaster told Thema and four other SANNC members that "Kaffers" were not allowed to sit on the public benches at the Evaton station in Johannesburg and, since they refused to move, had them arrested. Another protest was in the form of written grievances and a meeting with former Gen. Smuts against the increased adult taxes of 1921 in the Transvaal. The participation of blacks in World War I (1914-1918) on the side of white Europeans fuelled their aspirations of social justice and the rectification of laws which, however, did not occur. A post-war economic recession led to increased taxation and checked expenditure on African schools, which together with discrimination on railways (separate compartments for blacks) raised the resentment of blacks. This post-war period soon became characterised by wage strikes and protest demonstrations against pass laws. A passive resistance campaign against the carrying of passes was initiated on 30 March 1919 in the Transvaal when 3 000 Africans gathered outside the Johannesburg pass office. Since the local pass officer could not do anything about the law, the SANNC officials claimed that they would withdraw their labour and refuse to carry passes, but no violence will be used. Passes were then collected from the crowd and the leaders were arrested. During the trials feelings of animosity grew and the audience outside the courts started singing 'Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika' in protest to white attitudes (De Villiers 1965:36-39, 45-46; Liebenberg 1987:413; Walshe 1982:70-71, 80-83).

The SANNC initiated a labour conference on 12 July 1920 (1919) in Bloemfontein and established the 'Industrial and Commercial (Amalgamated) Workers Union' (ICWU or ICU) under Clemens Kadalie[8], consolidating the existing labour unions in the country. In 1919 the ICU was involved in a strike by 400 dock-workers and in 1920 the striking of 42 000 gold miners and a mass demonstration in protest against low wages resulted in the death of 23 Africans shot by panic-stricken whites. This developed into large-scale resistance against the government. At the end of 1920 the SANNC intensified its mobilisation and resistance efforts especially against pass laws (De Villiers 1965:36-39, 45-46; Liebenberg 1987:413, 426; Walshe 1982:72-73, 138). With the introduction of labour unions, the role and influence of communism and socialism became more visible in the strategies and actions of the SANNC/ANC.

The earliest organisation with socialist and communist tendencies in South Africa was the *'International Socialist League'* established in 1915 after it broke away from the South African Labour Party and became the forerunner of the SACP that was established during a conference from 29 July 1921 to 1 August 1921. The initial aim of the SACP was to further the cause and objectives of international communism, namely nationalisation, equality and the redistribution of wealth. In this regard communists used the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism to obtain and maintain power and through the use of violence sought to establish a new totalitarian world order. South Africa, in this regard, played an important role in that by controlling the Cape large parts of the world would have been isolated from essential mineral resources, which would have been used as leverage against them in negotiations. The SACP and the ANC later formed a pact or united front in mobilising resources (people, weapons and strategies) against the South African government (De Villiers 1965:46, 54-59, 252; Greyling 1985:37-40).

A series of newly instituted laws enhanced discontent among the blacks especially after numerous unsuccessful appeals by the SANNC to have these laws repealed. These laws included the 'Transvaal Provincial Council Ordinance No.7' that raised the percentage of main tax on all mature males in the Transvaal, the 'Native City Act 21 of 1923' (Naturelle Stadsgebieden Wet) which provided for the segregation and separate living areas for blacks and whites in cities and the 'Natives Registration Act of 1923', which provided for a single registration document for blacks. Due to this and the failure to obtain help in this regard from Britain, the SANNC announced in its Annual Congress report of July 1923 that the time had arrived for the "Bantu people" to consider supporting a new Republican form of government. This statement drew severe verbal criticism from the white government and from

---

[8] *Clements Kadalie was born in Nyassaland and is the son of a chief of the Tonga tribe.*

the editor of the black newspaper '*Umteteli wa Bantu*' stating that most blacks would not support any action that implies disloyalty to the British Crown. This was the beginning of the disintegration of the SANNC and resulted in the organisation changing its name to the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923. The SACP and the ICU, however, both supported the idea of the SANNC/ANC for a change of government, although not necessarily Republican. An important change in the ANC came in 1924 during its Annual Congress when two ICU's leaders were elected to the Executive Committee of the ANC. They were Clements Kadalie and Professor J.S. Theale[9]. The black newspaper '*Umteteli wa Bantu*' warned against this move, stating that the SACP/ICU was trying to obtain a foothold among the black population through the ANC. In general the enthusiasm among blacks for the SANNC deteriorated somewhat after the establishment of the ICU that also drew support from blacks but, after communists infiltrated the ICU, it lost so much support that it disappeared in 1926 (Anon 1986:3; De Villiers 1965:46-51, 54-59, 252; Walshe 1982: 74-75, 84).

The Hertzog government (1924-1939) passed several Bills after coming into power that gave further impetus to the struggle. In 1926 the Coloured Persons' Rights Bill was passed removing Africans from the voters roll in the Cape, while Coloureds could keep their right to vote. The Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill was then passed, affording blacks separate representation on the basis of individual vote and lastly, the Native Trust and Land (Amendment) Act 18 of 1936 served as a solution for the land problem by adding significant portions of land to the Reserves. However, the allocated land was already congested and viewed by many as another ploy by the government to keep the black man suppressed and in the traditional structures. The ANC's rejection of these Bills was based on the principles of its 'Bill of Rights' drafted in 1925. It claimed that people should all be treated with a common humanity, that the rights of Africans as loyal British subjects should also be recognised and that racial interdependence is an inescapable fact. At this time the majority of ANC supporters still did not believe in the use of force or radical activities although a small core of radicals wanted to support a proposed 'United Front' action by the SACP to burn passes on Dingaan's Day (16 December 1930). The growing radicalism among blacks was illustrated in Vereeniging in 1937 when a series of pass-law and beer-hall raids took place and a 'pick-up' van was overturned. Three constables were also battered to death and 430 blacks were arrested signifying the end of passive resistance (Liebenberg 1987:401; Walshe 1982:110-113, 138-139).

---

9 *Professor J.S. Theale was of Southern Sotho origin.*

3. FROM PASSIVE TO ARMED RESISTANCE DURING THE FIFTIES AND EARLY SIXTIES

The ANC slowly started to change and became more forceful in its actions. The growing influence of communist inspired leaders, such as Gumede, in the organisation as well as the lack of concessions by the government on the political rights of blacks prompted the change in the strategy of the movement. The SACP slowly became the main force to change the intrinsic nature of the ANC. In this regard the Moscow-based organisation, called the *'Communist International'*, decided in 1928 that the SACP must infiltrate and transform the ANC into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation. As a result, by 1948, the ANC had adopted a more militant and confrontational attitude although the organisation did not engage in violent demonstrations on a large scale. The ANC Youth League (ANCYL) led by radicals such as Oliver Tambo (founder of the ANCYL), Walter Sisulu (Treasurer of the ANCYL and Secretary-General of the ANC in 1949) and Nelson Mandela (National Secretary of the ANCYL), played major roles in mobilising and politicising the youth. These ANCYL leaders were mostly of Xhosa origin of whom Nelson Mandela (who later became the first black President of South Africa) is, for example, of emigrant Tembu origin. The Tembu is one of the major Xhosa ethnic groups in the former Transkei (Anon 1986:3-4, 11-12; Gastrow 1985:158, 284, 298).

Leaders such as Joe Slovo of the SACP was instrumental in introducing the use of violent guerrilla warfare tactics such as terror, sabotage and physical and psychological intimidation in the struggle. In the communist doctrine, the use of terror is a fully accepted strategy for achieving set objectives. In this regard Carl Marx propagated that "... force is the midwife of a very old society pregnant with a new one. ... (T)here is only one means to shorten, simplify and concentrate the death agony of the old society and the bloody birth pangs of the new. One means only, revolutionary terrorism" (Anon 1987(c):10). The ANC's subscription to and role with regard to the above-mentioned philosophy is clear in its statement that "the ANC was assigned the task of midwife in the process of national rebirth and regeneration" (Anon 1987). On Communism, Nelson Mandela wrote a 23-page document entitled "How to be a good Communist", in which he stated that "(i)n our own country, the struggles of the oppressed people are guided by the South African Communist Party and inspired by its policies ... Under a Communist Party Government, South Africa will be a land of milk and honey" (*The New American* 1994:1). The SACP was banned from operating in South Africa with the inception of the Suppression of Communism Act 44 of 1950, but reorganised itself underground as the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) until its reappearance in 1961 again as the SACP (Greyling 1985:41).

3.1 PASSIVE RESISTANCE

During the period 1949 to 1952 the ANC maintained a low profile since it was concentrating on recruitment drives for supporters, plotting strategies of resistance, mass mobilisation and the forging of relationships with Indian opposition movements such as the South African Indian Congress (SAIC). In 1949 the ANC introduced a strategic long term *'Programme of Action'* or a 'programme of African nationalism and mass action', which manifested in nationwide *civil disobedience* or rather the *'defiance of unjust laws' campaigns*[10] (1951-1952) with numerous short term ad hoc boycotts, strikes and strategies of non-co-operation. In reaction to, especially, the repeal of the Native Representatives Council Act in 1951 recalling the voting privileges for blacks and Coloureds, the ANC under Nelson Mandela and the SAIC launched a national mass *Civil Disobedience* or *Defiance Campaign* on 26 June 1952 that signified the intensification of resistance against the government. During this episode the ANC flag, as a symbol of defiance of the national flag and non-violent protest or resistance against the government, was displayed publicly for the first time. The display of the ANC flag as well as pictures of national leaders of the struggle during funerals, marches and public strikes, were used to unify the people under one banner that aroused deep emotions among supporters. As part of this campaign thousands of blacks were urged to deliberately but peacefully break or defy discriminatory laws such as pass laws in order to be arrested. The instigators believed that the mass arrests would create chaos in the country and intimidate the government to make political and judicial concessions. Another aim of the defiance campaign was to boycott the Tercentenary commemoration of Jan van Riebeeck's landing at the Cape. In so doing it signified the movement's return to mass struggle or mass intimidation (indirect coercion), contrary to its former strategy of mainly relying on petitions, memorandums and deputations to protest against the government's actions. These non-violent acts of passive resistance in South Africa are associated with Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi), who was awarded the title Mahatma or 'Great Soul' by India and most of the world for his advocacy of passive resistance or *satyagraha*. The strategy of indirect or soft intimidation, named passive resistance or non-violent resistance, was a tactical necessity or interim measure on the side of the ANC/SACP to play for time to build organisational strength and to raise the confrontational mood of the people (Anon 1986:4, 24; Buchler 1995:32; Carrim 1989:51-52; De Villiers 1965:448; Greyling 1985:41; Hill 1983:37; Liebenberg 1987:403; Moses 1990:25; Omer-Cooper 1992:913; Smuts & Westcott 1991:45, 59-61; Zulu 1988:128).

---

[10] *A* ***programme*** *according to Smuts and Westcott (1991:103) emphasises the* ***long-term goals,*** *structures and modes of behaviour desired for the future, while* ***campaigns*** *concentrate or focus on the ad hoc obstacles in the way of achieving the goal.*

In 1953 liberal whites, nearly all belonging to the Communist Party, established the *Congress of Democrats* and the Coloureds established the *Coloured People's Congress* (CPC). In the years following 1953 the ANC established the Congress Alliance, which included organisations representing Blacks (ANC and the South African People's Organisation - SAPO), Coloureds (CPC), workers (South African Congress of Trade Unions – SACTU), Indians (SAIC) and liberal Whites (Congress of Democrats). On 26 June 1955, the Congress Alliance headed by the ANC adopted the *Freedom Charter*[11] (FC) in Kliptown, near Johannesburg. A year later, in 1956, the government arrested 156 members of the Congress Alliance including Albert Luthuli the chairman of the ANC, for treason and plotting to violently overthrow the government and also closed the Russian Consulate in South Africa. These trials lasted until 1961 when the accused' were acquitted of all charges. The Freedom Charter, drafted by SACP leader Joe Slovo, was a manifesto stating the common aims of these movements. It also served as an immediate *programme for action* and later became the policy document or "ideological constitution" of the ANC and the 'bible' for every activist and comrade (Anon 1986:4-5; De Villiers 1965:496; Greyling 1985:40-41; Liebenberg 1990:92; Lodge 1985:33; Mazrui & Tidy 1987:155; Olivier 1989:36-37; Omer-Cooper 1992:914; Roberts 1990:76; Thompson 1990:208; Walshe 1982:293; Zulu 1988:128).

The Freedom Charter stressed in its introduction that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it .... That our country will never be prosperous or free until our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities ... we the people of South Africa, black and white, ... pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes, here set out have been won" (Freedom Charter: Annexure II). The Freedom Charter also placed great emphasis on the freedom of movement ("pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished") and association. It also stressed the importance of providing in the basic needs of people such as housing, education and medical services and for all to have access to the judiciary system, job opportunities and government. Land ownership and land rights that were central to mobilisation for the ANC were dealt with in a special section in the Charter. In this regard it stated that there would be no land ownership based on a racial basis, that the land would be redivided among those who work it and that people should have the right to occupy land wherever they choose. After the acceptance of the Freedom Charter, the ANC also took a more uncompromising stance to gain further support amongst the masses by, for example, expelling leaders who disagreed with its policies and publicly demonstrating its dissatisfaction with and

---

[11] *See Annexure II for a copy of the complete Freedom Charter.*

resistance to the government policies. The ANC continued to exploit negative attitudes towards whites, political sentiments among blacks, poor socio-economic circumstances in townships and it further applied strong-arm tactics such as acts of intimidation and terrorism against opposing forces (Freedom Charter: Annexure II; Pelser 1968:77-79). Many of these strong-arm tactics that were employed by the ANC were communist inspired.

Discontent among members of the ANC developed and resulted in a split in the organisation. This split was attributed to, among other factors, the ANC's newly developed multi-racial policies in comparison with its former exclusive black policy and the adoption of the Freedom Charter, both influenced by the communist elements in the ANC. A faction that developed within the ANC urged for greater militancy, black racial assertiveness and the identification with Pan Africanism. In 1958 these members were expelled from the ANC and formed a more militant black orientated movement, called the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), in 1959, with Robert Sobukwe as national president. The principles on which the PAC based its strategies can be described as *of the black man, by the black man, for the black man.* On the basis of the above-mentioned principles, the PAC envisaged three main objectives for the movement. Firstly to unite the whole of Africa in an *African Democratic Society* and to establish regionally a *Federation of Southern African States*, secondly to promote Pan-Africanism, Black Nationalism and socialism and thirdly to promote the educational, cultural and economic interests of blacks (Anon 1986:5-6; Greyling 1985:44-45; Omer-Cooper 1992:914).

In 1960 the ANC and PAC embarked on a national *anti-pass laws* campaign. On 21 March 1960, 30 000 blacks marched from Langa and Nyanga in the Cape to the Houses of Parliament. Near Vereeniging, out of Johannesburg, a crowd of several thousand blacks mobilised by the PAC marched to the police station in Sharpeville to be arrested for not having passes. People who refused to join the march without their passes were intimidated. At the police station the crowd armed with knobkieries, knives, sharp pointed weapons and stones, became very militant and aggressive. They started pressing against the fence around the police station and stoning the police. The police opened fire and killed 69 people of a crowd of 20 000. This incident became widely known as the Sharpeville massacre and is currently celebrated as Human Rights Day in South Africa. As a result various protest marches were held throughout South Africa. Consequently, the government declared a temporary State of Emergency in 1960 and banned the ANC and PAC from operating in South Africa owing to their acts of sabotage, terrorism and plans to revolutionary overthrow the government. The ANC relocated its head quarters and started operating from African countries such as Tanzania (Mazimba, Morogoro), Lusaka, Mozambique and Angola through underground or secret networks in South Africa (Adam 1988:96-97; Greyling 1985:45; Omer-Cooper 1992:914; Zulu 1988:128-129).

3.2 MILITANT AND VIOLENT RESISTANCE

Kunene (1992:38) states that once the struggle has progressed to a certain point, the demon of fear of reprisal from the authorities is conquered. This fear makes room for a certain amount of arrogance and provocation. The 'politics of fear' is replaced by the 'politics of confrontation', for the oppressed can now speak to their oppressor from a position of equality, a stage that was reached in the 1960's and 1970's.

Increased militancy and violence became accepted alternatives to passive Ghandhiism and were considered a justified means of fighting the injustices against the "oppressed black population". At the banning of the ANC and the PAC the two movements combined had approximately 70 000 (1%) support of the total population. After their banning the two movements embarked on an intimidation campaign among especially blacks in order to maintain some hold over the population for the implementation of their revolutionary plans. In the frontline of their intimidation campaign were the Freedom Volunteers who forced law-abiding citizens to hand over their wages. Both black and white people were threatened not to institute legal proceedings or testify against the ANC.

In 1961 the ANC under the leadership of, amongst others, Nelson Mandela, formally established a military wing called Umkhonto we Sizwe or MK ('Spear of the Nation') to commit sabotage operations in preparation for the commencement of guerrilla warfare. The PAC also established a military wing in 1961 called Poqo (today known as the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army or APLA). MK's objectives were to embark on a programme of controlled violence and sabotage of government buildings and other soft targets, to politicise the masses, as well as to provide training in military tactics and sabotage. If these objectives failed to bring about sufficient change, the next step was to embark on full-scale guerrilla warfare (Anon 1986:6-7; Buchler 1995:33; Greyling 1985:40-44; Liebenberg 1990:94-96; Mazrui & Tidy 1987:155; Olivier 1989:38-39; Omer-Cooper 1992:914; Smuts & Westcott 1991:55, 101).

The banning of the ANC and the PAC in 1960 and the prohibition of public gatherings by law stimulated the belief by radicals that violence, intimidation and coercion were justified methods of persuasion. This belief went hand in hand with the increase in acts of terrorism. On 16 December 1961, for example, 17 sabotage attacks on buildings and installations were launched nationally by MK. In this regard the African Resistance Movement (ARM), consisting of mainly white students and young

professionals, together with MK and APLA became responsible for over 200 bomb attacks on post offices, government buildings, railroad and electrical installations near main industrial centra. By May 1963, MK had carried out some 193 acts of sabotage in the Eastern Cape alone. In order to curb these acts of terrorism and sabotage, the government, on 27 June 1962, instituted the Sabotage Act (Act 76). Under the auspices of this law, the SAP security branch arrested 17 MK leaders in a house in Rivonia near Johannesburg on 11 July 1963. These leaders were busy plotting "Operation Mayibuye" or "Operation Return", a revolutionary strategy and plan of action to violently overthrow the government. Documents discovered in the house showed that 1963 would have been the last year before a full-scale revolution was to be launched. The aim in this year was to recruit 2000 people per region in South Africa to join the guerrilla or freedom fighters of which 30 per region would be trained abroad. Plans were also at hand to obtain 210 000 hand grenades, 48 000 limpet mines and thousands of other elements and mechanisms to make bombs. The arrested leaders, namely Dennis Goldberg, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Bob Hepple, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Robert Sobukwe were all deported to Robben Island after the Rivonia treason trials in 1964. The failure of "Operation Mayibuye" and the imprisonment of the ANC leaders were a tremendous set back to the revolutionary aims of the ANC. The leaders went into exile to countries such as Tanzania to regroup and rethink their revolutionary strategies and used broadcasting stations such as Radio Freedom to continue spreading their propaganda against the South African government. Five years later in 1969 during the Morogoro Consultative Congress in Tanzania, the ANC and CPSA restrategised and established two councils, namely a Revolutionary Council and a Presidential Council. These councils co-ordinated and implemented a full-scale violent guerrilla warfare, pre-empting a nationalist revolution against the South African government which lasted more than two decades. According to the CPSA the nationalist revolution was only the first phase towards a socialist revolution (Anon 1986:7-8; De Villiers 1964:64-112; Greyling 1985:42-44; Hill 1983:38; Mazrui & Tidy 1987:156; Thompson 1990:211). Movements such as the ANC and SACP were able to sustain their violent attacks against the government, owing to the financial, logistical, training and arms support from countries such as Russia, Sweden, Tanzania and Cuba.

4. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND OTHER MOVEMENTS

During the 1960's there was one movement consisting of predominantly white liberal English-speaking students that fought for the rights of blacks, namely the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). Until 1968 NUSAS was regarded as the only movement and vehicle for change. One of the most active black members of the organisation was Stephen Bantu Biko (Steve Biko).

The ANC and PAC movements were fairly inactive during that time due to the arrests of many of their leaders and members from 1961 to 1964, as well as between 1963 to 1968 when the implementation and participation of blacks in the homeland system became the focus of attention. A need thus arose for the establishment of a new mass movement and plan of action to guide the struggle. This became the backdrop against which Black Consciousness orientated organisations such as the University Christian Movement (UCM), established in 1966 under the auspices of the Christian Institute (CI), came into existence (Arnold 1979:xiv-xvi; Coertze, R.D. 1982:29). Black Consciousness can be described as "a liberation movement of the mind, a psychological revolution aimed at forging Black thought and feeling into an amalgam of Black pride and ultimately Black unity. In South Africa, such is the stuff of terrorism ... Black Consciousness was then a battle for the mind – war waged in the subconscious" (Arnold 1979:xiv, xix). The intellectual processes and political protest actions thus constantly reinforced/redefined each other. The indoctrination of Black Consciousness brought a new sense of confidence, self-identity and lack of fear (Kunene 1992:41-42; Omer-Cooper 1992:916).

The leaders and formulators of Black Consciousness and the new revolutionary definition of the struggle and the role of the black man in it were the young intellectuals from the so-called 'bush colleges' or black universities and colleges created by the government. Steve Biko stressed that self-liberation was a prerequisite for general liberation because:

> *"the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. If one is free at heart, no man-made chains can bind one to servitude. This underscores the need to conquer fear before one can stand up and declare one's own views with conviction" (Kunene 1992:41).*

The UCM served as a catalyst for the emergence of numerous Black Consciousness movements in the late 1960's and early 1970's. During an annual congress of the UCM in the USA in 1968, the first Black Power or Black Consciousness movement, namely the South African Students Organisation (SASO) was established with Steve Biko as its president. Both SASO and NUSAS concentrated on students, but NUSAS withdrew from black education training institutions which became a popular area of mobilisation for SASO. It was argued that a strong thesis existed regarding white prejudice and should be followed by strong feelings of black identity, an antithesis, which will later be rectified when a new synthesis of white and black emerges. This is a typical communist dialectic. One of the underlying principles of UCM and NUSAS was the consolidation of support or the 'closing of ranks' to ensure sufficient bargaining power or strength in a plural society. As such the beginning of the 1970's witnessed the birth of numerous Black Consciousness movements. These movements, inter

alia, included the African Lawyers Association (ALA), Interdenominational African Ministers' Association (IDAMASA), South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU), African Nurses' Association (ANA), the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC) that wanted to unite Blacks, Asians and Coloureds in one mass organisation against white domination. The word 'black' took on a new meaning, symbolising the sense of liberation and unity of all oppressed people, to create an undivided society - *One Nation.* Among those who adhere to the philosophy of Black Consciousness, one could distinguish between the moderates who welcomed people of all races who subscribed to the idea of Black Consciousness and the radicals who professed elitism and exclusivity of blacks to Black Consciousness. The radical groups who were also prone to violent confrontation included supporters of movements such as the PAC and AZAPO. In 1968 the CI, with the approval of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), published a *'Message to the People of South Africa'* in its publication *Pro Veritate* stating that the idea of separate development is contrary to the spirit of the Bible and called upon everybody to resist this separation on all levels, namely political, social, economic, social, religious and educational. The South African Black Consciousness counter-parts in the USA urged the South African movements to use violence but they stated that they preferred political, economic (sanctions) and emotional intimidation through international and local sanctions, boycotts, strikes and protest demonstrations (Arnold 1979:xvi-xix; Coertze, R.D. 1982:29-30; De Jager 1986:31; Kotzé 1977:230-232; Kunene 1992:41-42; Omer-Cooper 1992:916).

Shortly after the published message by the CI, the SACC launched SPROCAS I (Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society) in 1968, which comprised 142 educated members of all races who organised themselves into six committees. The aim of the six committees was to propose changes on an economic, political, juridical, socio-economic, religious and educational level. SPROCAS I was dissolved at the end of 1971 and its proposals was set into motion by SPROCAS II (Study Project for Christian Action in Society) that was established early in 1972. SPROCAS II proposed "fundamental change in South Africa in the sense of a radical redistribution of power, land and wealth will ultimately be brought about by Blacks" (Coertze, R.D. 1982:30-31).

SPROCAS II gradually phased in a three-pronged strategy or action phase to promote its vision, namely Black Awareness, Black Consciousness and Black Power. The aim of *Black Awareness* was to make blacks aware that they were being suppressed and kept in a disadvantaged position. The second phase was *Black Consciousness*, during which blacks were made conscious of their unique and shared identity and of their ability to take action and change their circumstances. The third and final phase was the action phase or the phase of *Black Power* during which a division called Black

Community Programmes (BCP) was initiated to realise the goal of Black Power. These programmes included projects focussed on church leaders, namely IDAMASA (Interdenominational African Minister's Association of South Africa) and AICA (African Independent Churches' Association), projects for workers (BCP and SASO wanted to stimulate the establishment of black workers unions), youth projects (SASO), socio-economic projects to establish clinics and educational projects by the BCP. There was also a three phased strategy for whites. This included *White Awareness* (stimulating a guilty conscious among whites for the poor socio-economic circumstances of blacks), *White Consciousness* (stimulating the belief that blacks have a moral obligation to fight for their rights) and *Coalition* (acceptance by whites to fight under the leadership of and with blacks for their rights). The programme (SPROCAS II) further proposed a two-staged 'model of transition' towards federalism or confederalism in 1973. The first stage comprised the extension of economic opportunities and fundamental freedoms, the 'creation of viable sub-systems of representative government on a regional but not on a strict ethnic basis', as well as communal authorities and structures for population groups living in a common area and are excluded from parliament. The second stage was a maximum devolution of powers to the regional and community structures, followed by negotiations between these structures and central government to pave the way for basic constitutional restructuring and transition to a new political system (Coertze, R.D. 1982:31-33; De Jager 1986:31; Hill 1983:154-156). These proposals set the stage for various changes regarding local government authorities in black areas.

The mission of BCM-organisations was to heighten the political vigilance of people, to create an understanding of oppression and exploitation by whites and to change black's psychological orientation from wanting to be like "whites" towards wanting to be "black". Political leaders supporting the BCM prompted the political mobilisation of the youth in the education sector. School unrest that was a common occurrence during the mid-1970's and a direct result of the influence and mobilisation of Black Consciousness was marred by acts of intimidation. In this regard threats of physical harm and damage to school property, open defiance of the school system by not attending classes and actual acts of violence directed at fellow students were common place (Arnold 1979:xiii-xxii; Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation 1991:65-66; Marx 1993:164; Olivier 1989:39-41).

The 'spirit of daring' that was propagated by the leaders of Black Consciousness started to manifest in the economic sphere through acts of defiance such as worker's strikes. Two prominent political incidents marked the 1970's, namely the wave of industrial and mine strikes in 1973 and the Soweto schools boycotts on 17 May 1976 and especially on 16 June 1976, over the use of Afrikaans as a

medium for tuition. On 16 June 1976 approximately 10 000 scholars marched in protest against Afrikaans, giving the Black Power salute (fist in the air) and displaying placards with slogans such as "Down with Afrikaans" and "Viva Azania". In reaction to the protest, the police used teargas to disperse the crowds who retaliated and threw stones at the police. The police opened fire after which pandemonium broke out and the protestors stoned, attacked and set alight any object (buildings and vehicles) associated with the government. Two white officials were caught and beaten to death and even police dogs were killed and set alight. During this incident 21 blacks were killed and more injured. This incident sparked a chain of violent incidents in which students openly protested against the system and for a week after the incident gangs walked through the streets of Soweto and plundered, vandalised and arsoned buildings and shops. The police intervened and shot approximately 140 people before most of the violence was quelled. The violence soon spread to other parts of the country (Buchler 1995:33; Clarkson 1997:80; Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation 1981:66; Hill 1983:35, 50; Kotecha & Adams 1981:5; Kunene 1992:41; Liebenberg 1987:546; Olivier 1989:47-50; Omer-Cooper 1992:916; Seekings 1988:8; Seekings 1990(b):178-182; Zulu 1988:129).

The events in 1976 indicated that many young people were prepared to "meet force with force" and die in the process. The Soweto incident had three major repercussions, namely that schools became the new focal point of the struggle spreading the school riots to other parts of the country, that the number of children who left the country to receive military training increased and the government and private sector realised that change was inevitable. Before 1976 MK was already re-establishing itself in the country and after 1976 their recruitment of young people for military training in Lesotho, Swaziland, Libya, Angola, Tanzania and Botswana intensified, which provided MK with an educated and motivated group of saboteurs. By mid-1987 it was estimated that approximately 4000 recruits were undergoing military training. However, not all of the youth joined MK voluntarily, some were abducted and forced to join the struggle and receive military training outside the country. As a result, sabotage and guerrilla warfare activities started anew in South Africa and between October 1976 and May 1981, 112 attacks and sabotage explosions of economic targets (power stations) took place (Buchler 1995:33; Clarkson 1997:80; Hill 1983:35, 50; Kotecha & Adams 1981:5; Kunene 1992:41; Lodge 1985:339-3340; Olivier 1989:47-50; Omer-Cooper 1992:916; Seekings 1988:8; Seekings 1990(b):178-182; Zulu 1988:129).

The 1976 Soweto uprisings further coincided with a worldwide economic recession and a steep rise in inflation in South Africa, thus adding fuel to the flames. On 17 October 1976 (1977) - 'Black Wednesday', the government banned eighteen political movements including all Black

Consciousness-aligned organisations and over 50 of their leaders. Steve Biko was also arrested and died in detention in September 1977. However, Black Consciousness movements resurfaced again in April 1978 as the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) but its leadership was almost immediately detained. This led to the establishment of numerous small Charterist organisations and movements until 1982, including trade unions (South African Allied Workers Union – SAAWU), youth organisations (South African Youth Congress – SAYCO) and student organisations (Congress of South African Students - COSAS). By the late 1970's and early 1980's, commitment to the Freedom Charter by Charterist movements, organisations and individuals served as an indication of their allegiance to the banned ANC (Buchler 1995:33; Clarkson 1997:80; Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation 1981:66; Hill 1983:35, 50; Kotecha & Adams 1981:5; Kunene 1992:41; Lodge 1985:339-340; Olivier 1989:47-50; Omer-Cooper 1992:916; Seekings 1988:8; Seekings 1990(b):178-182; Zulu 1988:129).

Intimidation experienced in educational institutions was initially directed at fellow students and the personnel at the schools, because they were believed to serve the government. Intimidation featured as part of an organised strategy to defy the government. Here the aim was to enforce the compliance of fellow students with, inter alia, class boycotts, by ensuring that they did not attending school and/or to secure their participation in mass protest actions. The Black Consciousness movements attached to education stimulated the politicised and militant climate in schools. The pupils, who were now more militant and politicised, started to strengthen a 'culture' of non-learning and operated as pressure groups. The school unrest was enforced by structures and organised displays of both direct and indirect intimidation. In this regard Mathiane (1990:1) provides a concise statement of the problem:

> *"Twenty schools have already been officially closed ... Soweto students called for a school stayaway in protest at the presence of the then South African Defence Force (SADF) in schools. Their demands included inter alia the release of detained political prisoners and school colleagues hurled into jail during the State of Emergency. Until the government meets their demands, they decided to go to school for only two days a week ... until September when students started calling for the postponement of the final-year examinations. ... The Government was bent on going ahead with the examinations while militant students threatened to assault whoever sat for the exams. ... A few students tried to write, but they were about to be lynched by other students. Using the slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all," schoolyard logic demanded "pass one, pass all". Some had not seen the inside of a classroom for years".*

The message and ideology of Black Consciousness was enforced and spread through the use of visible arts as a medium of propaganda and education. In the 1970's black performances represented

a response and challenge to apartheid policies. In 1972 the Black Consciousness movements initiated several black art performances that found expression in the formation of the Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute (MDALI) in Soweto and on a national level with the establishment of the South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU). Various themes of oppression, police violence, hostel conditions and also themes of black consciousness were portrayed in these arts, namely black initiative, self-definition, determination and liberation. Significantly, culture was a central focal point in these performances and was afforded a prominent political role within the movement. In 1975 at a SASO/BPC treason trial, the accused were charged inter alia with conspiring to 'make, produce, publish or distribute subversive and anti-white utterances, writings, poems, plays and/or dramas'. In the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings in June 1976, radical performances became more sporadic since many performers migrated to the cities. Later in the 1980's, movements such as the UDF and COSATU also realised the importance of performance art in politics and education and established Cultural Desks that included debates and black performances (Peterson 1994:40-44).

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) under the leadership of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi[12] also should be mentioned in this account of the history of the liberation struggle. Chief Buthelezi joined the ANCYL in 1948, but left the organisation within two years. He then founded an independent cultural liberation movement called the Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe[13] (Freedom for the Nation) in the 1970's, which followed a policy of non-violent action, with which the ANC broke its allegiance in 1979 while in exile (Gastrow 1985:54-57; Seekings 1990(b):180, 184). The party, however, chose a different path from that of the other mentioned liberation organisations by rather co-operating with the white government to achieve black empowerment than confrontation. This preferred path brought it into conflict with other liberation movements such as the ANC and the UDF who regarded the IFP as a sell-out to the black man and the principles of the liberation struggle, especially because Chief Buthelezi was a homeland leader. In becoming a homeland leader he supported the policy of separate development although he never believed in an independent national state for every main ethnic group. He has always regarded South Africa as a Monitory State that should be ruled with due recognition of federalism. However, since the nature of the IFP's involvement in the liberation struggle differs vastly from that of the other liberation movements, its role will not be further discussed in detail.

---

12 *Chief Buthelezi was born on 27 August 1928 of the Zulu clan 'Buthelezi' of Mahlabatini in northern KwaZulu-Natal.*

13 *For additional information on Inkatha, see Chapter 2, the section under revitalisation movements.*

5. GOVERNMENT RESPONSES TO BLACK RESISTANCE AND DEMANDS

In 1980 the P.W. Botha government responded to political and economic pressures from the black population with a reform process to enhance political and economic stability. An interim report by the Commission of Inquiry on the Constitution or the Schlebush Commission made 'radical' proposals for Constitutional changes that were later implemented by government through the Fifth Constitutional Amendment Act 101 of 1980 in order to address some political grievances among blacks. The proposals of the Commission provided for "power-sharing" with Asian, Coloured and Chinese population groups through a Presidential Council, the abolition of the State Senate and the institution of the office of the Vice-State President. The report also made provision for the introduction of three Parliaments (resulting later in a Tri-Cameral Parliament) consisting of Whites, Coloureds and Indians and separate representation for blacks on national and regional issues through an Advisory Board. This was a total failure since blacks rejected it. Although these proposals still excluded blacks from participation in government they set into motion a series of changes in politics towards power sharing. Administrative powers were, however, transferred to local black community councils who had to render basic services to their communities, such as the introduction of rent increases set by the government and the collection of rent monies. The deliberate exclusion of blacks served to increase their hatred towards the white government and intensified their efforts to topple it (Buchler 1995:33; Hill 1983:50, 157; Hugo & Kotzé 1983:94-95, 105-107; Anon 1988:3-4; Seekings 1990(b):48-50, 54-55). On the exclusion of blacks from parliament and decision-making positions Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu commented in 1982 that "Africans would be driven more and more into violence if all other race groups legislate alone for the entire population in the province" (Hugo & Kotzé 1983:111).

The Riekert Commission made further constitutional changes in proposing permanent residential areas for black Africans under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act that was later instituted. The Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 was aimed at giving more autonomy to blacks in their residential areas. This Act, as will be discussed later, was the source of much discontent among blacks. However, the influx or pass law system remained and between 1978 to 1983, a total of 550 000 people were arrested in the Witwatersrand relating to the carrying of reference or pass books (Hugo & Kotzé 1983:134; Seekings 1990(b):48-50, 54-55).

6. THE UDF AND OTHER INFLUENCES

From 1979 the ANC concentrated more on forging links with other organisations in the country. By 1980 the ANC had little local organisational structures or presence in South Africa but enjoyed increasing support at grass roots level. During early 1980, protest actions increased and manifested itself in unauthorised squatting and ad hoc bus, school and rent boycotts. Protest actions primarily focused on local socio-economic issues, such as the increase in bus fares, rent, evictions, income disparities, housing shortages and corrupt local government officials. Another contributing factor to the already poor economic condition was that the South African economy was sliding into a recession in 1981. This gave rise to rent and petrol price increases and resulted in further protest and confrontation with the government by especially local civic organisations. National political resistance organisations such as the exiled ANC, SASO, BPC and COSAS were primarily focussed on recruitment and interaction with local activists (Buchler 1995:33; Seekings 1992:16-21; Seekings 1990(b):181).

In reaction to the government policies and socio-political and economic discrepancies, the ANC declared 1980 "The Year of the Freedom Charter", which was also adopted by COSAS that year and they also introduced the "*Free Mandela Campaign*" in March 1980 in the *Sunday Post* newspaper. Mass demonstrations that followed (marches, stayaways and boycotts) became popular displays of strength, loyalty, unity and power. Marches were used as a means to intimidate both the government and the population, making them aware of the consequences of non-co-operation. Non-co-operation by the government was met with damage to government property and vehicles. During marches government institutions, members and structures thus became the targets of protest, aggression and group frustrations. Marches were characterised by masses of people wielding weapons and thrusting fists in the air, dancing the toyi-toyi and shouting freedom songs and slogans as they progressed down the streets. These monotonous songs or chants had a threatening, awe-inspiring effect on onlookers. With all the media coverage and visual material of "group rage" displayed in some marches, white South Africans, especially businessmen feared every march when it occurred in city or town centra, since they suffered the most damage to their property (Clarkson 1997:81; Hill 1983:36; Kunene 1992:41; Seekings 1990(b):183).

The high visibility of group action through public appearances and visible mass demonstrations of unity was of paramount importance during mass actions. The group had to display their unity by acting in concert, displaying identifiable objects (flags), wearing visible symbols (T-shirts with

organisational emblems and slogans), by performing collective dances such as the toyi-toyi and by having appropriate songs and slogans to use as stimuli for aggressive emotions. Visual symbols and slogans were central to mass mobilisation as they symbolised and visualised association and identification with the struggle. This represented feelings of similarity, of an intrinsic relationship between events and the feelings and mood of the people and the aims of the struggle. The dominant symbols of the struggle, namely protest marches accompanied by toyi-toying and the singing of freedom songs became the focus of interaction during the struggle (Mbigi & Maree 1995:68; Sekhukhune 1990:30; Turner 1967:19-30).

Since the early 1980's there was a definite change in the strategy towards militarism and collective action by the resistance movements. The ANC successfully demonstrated the state's vulnerability in guerrilla warfare when by June 1980 guerrilla fighters detonated several bombs at the SASOL Oil Refineries in the OFS and Transvaal. The SACP stated in articles published in *The African Communist* in 1982, that perhaps it was time for the "arming of the masses". This intention manifested itself in several bomb blasts in 1982 at South Africa's nuclear power station at Koeberg outside Cape Town. In 1983 MK officials started using the term "people's war" for the first time in their publication *Sechaba*. The ANC strategists believed that the growth in mass organisations such as trade unions created an advance in the establishment of a revolutionary movement. Although there were several incidents of violence initiated from outside the country, there was still no formal or single organisation operating inside South Africa to organise, mobilise and direct the masses (Adam 1988:101; Buchler 1995:33; Lodge 1990:42-43; Seekings 1990(b):183).

On 20 August 1983 a new revolutionary Charterist movement was established called the United Democratic Front (UDF) (Carrim 1989:50; Clarkson 1997:94). The membership of the UDF was representative of all the major population groups in the country including Steve Tswete (Black), Alan Boesak (Coloured), Mewa Ramgobin (Indian) and Beyers Naudé (White). The movement became a political vehicle to mobilise and unite members of all races into the single largest movement whose aim was to violently transform the country through acts of terror and violent resistance. The UDF filled the vacuum that was left after the banning of major political movements such as the ANC and PAC. The UDF had to mobilise people to increase its support base, educate people politically, stimulate awareness, active participation and communicate its political aims. One of the techniques it employed to obtain this goal was to use music festivals where many artists carried these messages through their songs and music. The UDF aimed to neutralise and break the authority and power of the state through fearless mass action, defying state laws and structures (town councils) through boycotts and by establishing alternative structures. Thus, by illustrating to the masses that the 'state

did not have the power to handle the overwhelming majority', the perception of threat and fear of state reprisal and support for and the power of control by the UDF increased soon after its establishment. The establishment of the movement thus signalled a new phase in popular resistance against the State or the Tri-cameral Parliament and black local authorities. On 3 September 1984 when the Tri-cameral Parliament came into being, a wave of protest action swept over the country and violence escalated. During 1984 protests became intensive and bloody confrontations in especially the former Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal Triangle (PWV) and parts of the Eastern Cape were rife. During this period violent attacks on black town councillors started, protest actions escalated and *brutal policing transformed a peaceful protest into a violent confrontation* (Buchler 1995:35; Clarkson 1997:38, 56, 94, 98-100; Moses 1990:22-24; Olivier 1989:52; Anon 1988:5; Seekings 1990(b):181, 185; Seekings 1992:22).

The period 1985-1986 is regarded as the height of the political liberation struggle as township resistance, violence and school unrest spread and intensified. This is a direct result of a decision by the exiled ANC, working through organisations such as the UDF, to have "a people in political motion" or to mobilise the masses primarily in the urban rather than the rural areas. It was decided that military and political battles would be vested in an organised, easily mobilised and armed working class to fight in the cities, since it would have more of an effect and impact on the government. Protest actions such as rent, consumer, work and school boycotts by COSAS escalated in intensity and magnitude countrywide and became regional and national phenomena rather than localised. This provided a popular base for the establishment of radical political structures such as street committees and people's courts that had limited administrative and judicial powers. A wave of unrest and violence ensued and resulted in a partial State of Emergency on 21 July 1985 in the PWV and Eastern Cape and a national State of Emergency being declared on 12 June 1986 to remain until 1990. These States of Emergency were characterised by curfews, widespread security force measures, torture and the detention of over 20 000 people among them prominent leaders of the struggle in 1986 alone. Throughout the liberation struggle the youth played a central role as driving force in the violence as was demonstrated by their participation in violence, local structures and radical student organisations that initiated and enforced strikes and class boycotts, over admission to schools and the passing of students in examinations. The youth were attracted to the militancy and calls for insurrection by the ANC, the idea of a 'people's war', ungovernability and people's power (Lodge 1990:43; Seekings 1990(b):229-232; Seekings 1992: 22-28). According to Lodge (1990:44) a people's war "represented a pragmatic military response to the ANC's logistical task of conducting insurgent operations over lengthy external lines of communication".

During the period 1984-1986 organs of people's power emerged as extensions of the ANC/UDF strategy of political insurgence. The emergence of local street committees and people's courts emphasised the new period of radicalism and militarism in the liberation struggle. Through the people's courts political activists introduced a terrible method of execution and intimidation, namely death by the necklace[14] method. According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC), the first death through the necklace method in South Africa occurred in 1985 in Uitenhage, Eastern Cape. This death was widely publicised in the news media, together with the death of the late Maki Skosana on 20 July 1985 in Duduza (*The Citizen* 1 July 1992; Seekings 1992:23). Mutwa (1986:84) states that "once you have seen such a sight you lose all belief in God and in the decency of man".

Violent attacks on buildings, installation and other soft targets increased from less than 50 in 1984 to between 250-300 until the beginning of 1986. The policy and methods of the ANC/UDF since 1985 were characterised by the local recruitment and training of guerrilla fighters equipped with limpet mines, hand grenades and automatic weapons, as well as the manifestation of a military presence in the rural areas to expand field operations. Liberation of many MK activists was similar to social emancipation, implying a strategy that must lead to the revolutionary overthrow of the existing ruling class and the complete dismantling and replacement of the state apparatus. Statements by ANC/UDF leaders in 1985 interpreted the "seizure of power" to include mass action involving revolutionary force such as land and factory occupation and people's control over townships. The targets of MK were expanded to include government, political collaborators and members of their families, supermarkets and other commercial premises. The aim of intimidation was to force people to conform to the demands of the liberation movements (Lodge 1990:44-47).

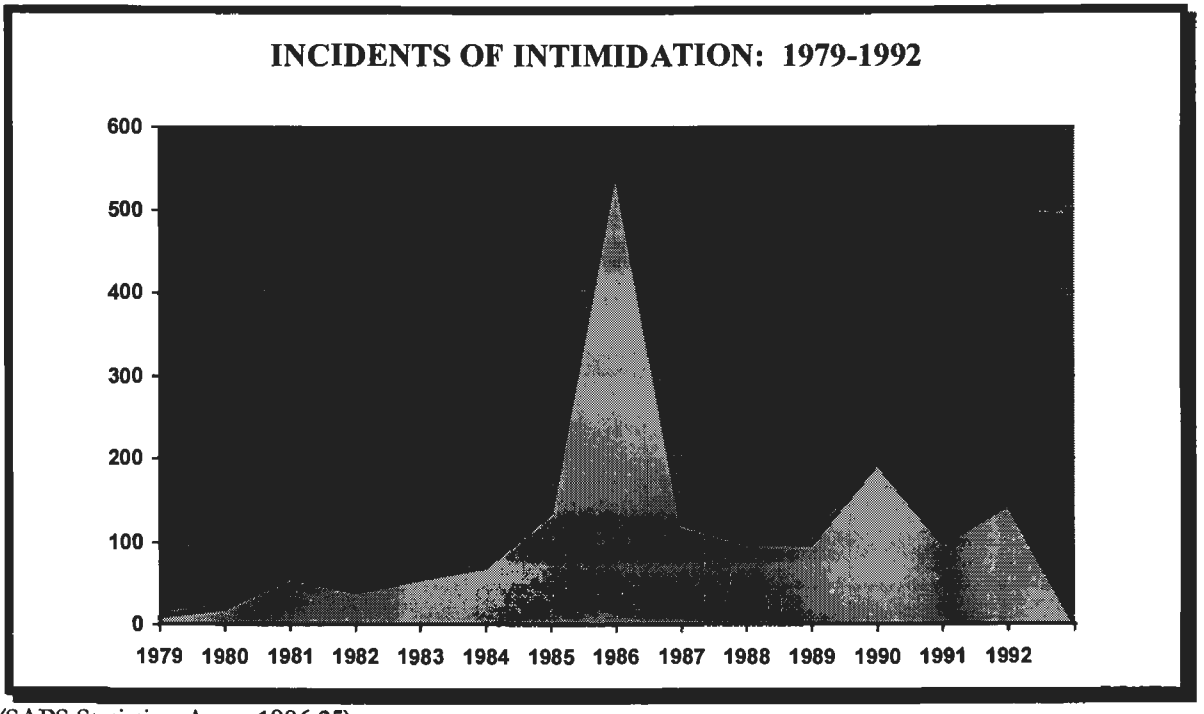
Violence that started in January 1985, was incited by the ANC with their radical and political slogans calling on the people to *'Render South Africa Ungovernable!* The perpetuation of resistance through the years developed into a "culture of liberation", providing the UDF with an array of symbols, freedom songs, heroes, strategies, slogans, iconography and ideology of the ANC which they expressed with greater force and resonance. This "culture of liberation" infused people with a moral and emotional weightiness, making them willing to risk all and lay down their lives for the cause. The UDF vented popular anger at inequality and oppression as the ANC did in the 1950's and capitalised upon the ANC slogan "*Amandla ngawethu!*" - "the power is ours!", voicing political aspirations, which now were an assertion of power and aggression. The state repression served to change the nature of the resistance and trade unions increasingly joined in mass protest actions and strikes. The removal of

---

[14] *Necklacing as a technique of intimidation will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5, under people's courts.*

the leaders and prominent activists in the struggle led to an increase in acts of hard and soft intimidation through people's court and self defence structures, random violence, militancy, undisciplined behaviour and a general lack of direction among the radical youth. The number of people dying in political violence nationally remained relatively high especially in 1987 to 1988, owing to internecine township violence and acts of intimidation, necklacing and threats that frequently occurred (Buchler 1995:34-35; Anon 1988:9-11; Seekings 1992:29-31). The diagram below indicates the definite rise in acts of violence from 1979 to 1992 and peaking in 1985/1986.

DIAGRAM 1



(SAPS Statistics, Anon 1986:25)

In 1986 a change in the attitude of the ANC became visible. In January 1986 a senior ANC official stated that the ANC's main objective lay not in a military victory but to *force Pretoria to the negotiating table.* The ANC reaffirmed this statement in October 1987 with a formal statement on negotiations aimed at transforming the country to a non-racial democracy. However, in 1987 the SAP discovered more than 3000 hand grenades, 150 limpet mines, 31 RPG-7 rocket launchers and 378 AK-47 assault rifles, indicating that MK was still waging a war against the government of South Africa and thus trying to force or 'bomb' Pretoria to the negotiating table. A statement by the ANC NEC in exile prompted young militant MK fighters to increase casualties among the enemy. Later in 1987 Chris

Hani (SACP leader and MK Commander) claimed that MK was not a terrorist movement but a revolutionary movement. The ANC slowly started to revise its militant tactics since it wanted to broaden it support structure to include whites and could therefore not continue targeting white areas, schools and buildings. In mid-1988 the ANC published a set of constitutional proposals or guidelines (not the Freedom Charter) proposing a mixed economy and radical political changes and reconstruction. In retaliation, white right-wing organisations such as the AWB executed 51 attacks on individuals and property in the period 1986 to September 1988 amongst others on members of COSATU and the UDF. The aim of these attacks was retaliation and intimidation of the radical groups that were conducting attacks on white farms, businesses and homes. The attacks on property could be especially crippling to organisations. The government also embarked on a 'dirty tricks campaign' in deliberately discrediting organisations through false propaganda of attacks, stealing computers from ANC organisations with information on it, kidnapping, torturing and assassinating activists (Adam 1988:99-103; Lodge 1990:47-49; Webster & Friedman 1990:36-39).

Liberation would not have been possible without mass participation or active and conscious involvement in the struggle. Here, intimidation based on fear, was widely utilised as an instrument to coerce people into participation. Marches in themselves constituted an imminent threat of damage to property and lives and it served to coerce, among others, the business community to heed their demands. Intimidation proved to be a very successful tool employed by the activists to reach short and medium term goals. The aim of boycott campaigns introduced by COSATU was to coerce or intimidate inter alia business to consent to their demands for higher wages, job security and pension pay-outs. Those who did not want to participate or support the actions of the Alliance were intimidated to comply with the wishes of their intimidators. The short-term successes of the mass action ensured concession by the business sector to their demands. In the medium term, mass action generally lead to the breakdown of government structures, the education system and the establishment of alternative structures on grass roots level, such as street committees and self defence structures (SDU's). The ultimate long-term goal was liberation or the replacement of the government system and power of authority (Keetan 1976:11).

Apart from the negative reaction of the state towards the functioning and activities of the ANC/UDF, resistance was also experienced from within black circles. In this regard the *Inkatha* movement of KwaZulu-Natal was opposed to the methods of violence and intimidation implemented by the UDF/ANC. In this regard tension gave way to an 'unofficial war' between members of the *Inkatha* and the ANC in Natal and Gauteng (former PWV area) that led to the so-called black-on-black or internecine violence. Incidents of violence and intimidation were reported

throughout Natal, especially in places such as the Natal South Coast (Durban, Lamontville), the Natal Midlands (Howick) and Northern Natal (Richards Bay and Empangeni). The political and territorial power struggle between the ANC and *Inkatha* in Natal and KwaZulu and the consequential political intolerance in 1987 resulted in many deaths during recruitment drives and mass mobilisation actions (Gready 1994:166; Seekings 1992:26-27, 30).

With the Tri-cameral elections in 1989, civic protest actions resurfaced in defiance of apartheid. The State became more tolerant in order to try and avoid a catastrophe in the Department of Education and Training. The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) arose as an umbrella body for Charterist organisations combining the former UDF with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). A host of new civic and youth organisations emerged. Renewed consumer and rent boycotts and mass rallies and marches again took place (Buchler 1995:29-30; Seekings 1992:31-32).

In 1989 public protest was accompanied by nationwide mass demonstrations. Although it is stated that these marches were relatively non-violent, some marches, such as those in Pietermaritzburg, were accompanied by the looting of shops, the waving of banners, the rhythmic dancing of the toyi-toyi, singing of liberation songs and chanting of slogans and *'amandla'* salutes. The MDM was able to rapidly mobilise large numbers of people belonging to a wide range of political, religious, cultural, civic, environmental, animal rights, gay organisations and trade unions, thus conveying its broad support base and power. One of the most important aims of the MDM was to "lift the most important state of emergency – that within ourselves. We have to lift the fear of the government from our hearts and to challenge our own obedience to unjust laws" (Carrim 1989:49-51).

The general aims, objectives and functions of the mass protest actions (strikes, consumer boycotts and marches) launched by the MDM in the 1980's can de described as follows (Carrim 1989:49-51):

- Celebrating the new freedom afforded by government to demonstrate publicly.
- Protests against remaining apartheid laws such as the Labour Relations Act, the Separate Amenities Act providing for segregated facilities, residential segregation and also to *force open legal space* (legitimising them) for extra-parliamentary organisations.
- Bringing the people's struggle 'out in the open'.
- Rebuilding the self-confidence of the masses.
- Reasserting the presence of extra-parliamentary movements such as the MDM as an alternative to participation in government.
- The creation of a mood for revitalisation of structures made dormant by the state of emergency.

- Forcing government to become more prone towards negotiations with the organisations under the umbrella of the UDM.
- Ensuring the immediate freeing of political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Achmed Kathrada so that they could lead their supporters to freedom.
- The creation of a climate for a massive *Conference for a Democratic Future.*
- Pressurising the Johannesburg City Council to lift racial restrictions on all public amenities.

7. THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

7.1 BLACK TOWN COUNCILS

Black councillors were central to township politics during 1976 to 1984 as they were the only direct lines of communication between central government and residents. During the urban riots of 1976-1977 the system of Black Advisory Committees and especially the Black Urban Councils that was introduced in accordance with the Black Urban Areas Act 25 of 1945 and Act 79 of 1961 respectively, was severely criticised by urban blacks. They were not regarded as effective liaison mechanisms with the government but more as institutions which represented the interests of urban blacks. In accordance with the Community Councils Act 125 of 1977, black Community Councils replaced both the Black Advisory Committees and the Black Urban Councils. It was also envisaged that a Community Council could, in the course of time, become a black local authority. This happened sooner than later when the Black Local Authorities (BLA) Act of 1982 replaced the Black Urban Councils and some Community Councils with black town councils as management structures for black townships. The new town councils or BLA had full administrative, development and financial authority to own and develop housing and to contract loans, but not complete powers of decision-making, which remained with central government. These councils through their newly acquired powers facilitated the transformation of *political relations* in townships. Communities increasingly regarded these councils as ineffective remodelled government-instituted Urban or Community Councils that abused their powers for personal gain. Large deficits of and rent increases by town councils further contributed to their inefficiency and unpopularity and increased local hostility towards these structures. These sentiments eventually led to violent protest actions against these councillors during 1984-1985 (Seekings 1988:10-11; Seekings 1990(b):58-59, 62-66, 69).

Whereas councillors had no executive powers in the 1970's, only administrative and arbitrators' responsibilities, the government in the 1980's afforded councillors with more executive powers to

introduce and enforce state policies, to increase rent, collect rent monies and evict residents who did not pay their rent and electricity. The government instituted numerous rent increases, which did not seem unreasonable, but in the political climate anything that the government did was opposed or questioned. The black councillors also warned government that these increases were making them unpopular with the communities and would result in protest actions and acts of violence directed against them. As rent increases continued, rent boycotts became characteristic of township protest and politics during the 1980's. Movements such as the UDF and the ANC exploited these rent increases and used them to mobilise the local population against the government. Black town councils were increasingly viewed as puppets of the white government due to their new executive functions, acts of corruption with rent monies and acts of bribery in charging 'additional' fees to 'assist' people to acquire business licenses, residential stands or to prevent eviction. They therefore become easy targets of political activists and disgruntled residents who instituted protest actions against them. Residents started to seek alternative structures such as Civic Associations to handle their grievances regarding increases in rent and bus fares (Anon 1988:3-4; Seekings 1990(b):69-77, 79-84, 90, 222; Seekings 1992:18-19).

Where state officials were merely ridiculed, pressurised and verbally assaulted during the early 1980's, the attacks became more physically violent with several of these officials being killed in mob action and others intimidated to resign from the mid-1980's. One method that was employed to break the spirit of the black councillors and their wives was to systematically kill their children under the age of ten. Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the IFP accused Mr. Oliver Tambo of ordering the youth to execute black councillors, burn their houses, stone them and then pour petrol on them and burn them while they were writhing in agony on the ground. The success of this violent strategy was broadcasted on Radio Freedom on 20 January 1985, stating that puppets of the government were "killed, their houses burned, many were forced to resign and are still resigning today" (Anon 1986:26; De Coning & Fick 1986:23-24; Anon 1988:5-6; Seekings 1990(b):278-280; Anon 1986(a):7). Journalist Nomavenda Mathiane of *Frontline* magazine, who lives in Soweto, states on the issue of rent boycotts and the inherent nature of intimidation that "... if you pay, you can get the necklace. So nobody pays, but people are scared of being evicted, or of one day, when all this is over, having to pay months and months of back rent" (Maphai 1991:53).

According to Rammala (1987:20) the psychological intimidation of participants in local government kept many capable blacks out of the system. The vicious methods of intimidation and harassment against black councillors and policemen, such as the stoning of their houses and vehicles and the threatening of their children and families, ensured that many blacks shunned any association with these

institutions. The social ostracism and censure that followed the label "sell-out" or collaborator attached to these individuals, robbed the local authorities of the essential local talent that might have guaranteed a better standard of administration and lent greater credibility to these institutions.

By 1985/86 the impact of intimidation by the activists was so effective that the total system of state induced community councils and black local councils was rendered powerless and substituted by the UDF with organs of people's power, such as street committees and civic associations. Local communities were intimidated to such an extent that they refused to co-operate with the local town councils or pay their rent and service charges. People knew that if they wanted to or did pay their rent, they made themselves vulnerable to become victims of necklacing. They therefore rather heeded the call by the activists to defy the government and not pay their rents (Anon 1986:5; Clarkson 1997:62-63, 94, 98; Maphai 1991:53; Anon 1988:6).

7.2 CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS AND STREET COMMITTEES

With the collapse of the black town councils, local communities on the initiative of the UDF replaced these structures with *alternative local government structures* or 'organs of self-government', to help administer the townships. This alternative administrative mechanism that was introduced by the UDF was the civic structure, which had a national, regional and local profile. Many civic structures were formed early in 1980 but most of these structures that were formed after 1985 occurred after rent increases. The civic associations had different levels of committees that fulfilled various functions such as street committees and block or area committees. The various local civic structures were administered by umbrella bodies in each region, such as, for example, the Civic Association of Transvaal (CAST) or the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) that formed focal points where the various local executive committees met on occasions. Civic associations addressed immediate grievances regarding township administration, rents and evictions, and also mobilised and organised residents locally around national political issues in pursuit of national political change (Anon 1988:6; Moses 1990: 58, 78-79; Seekings 1990(b):145-146).

The first alternative structure of local government manifested itself on the Witwatersrand in the 1970's. The manifestation of these structures increased sharply until 1985 and made a major contribution to the radicalisation of township residents. The government feared that these structures had the potential to become sources of 'alternative power' or 'organs of insurrection' that could develop into "Revolutionary People's Committees", which is indeed what had happened. Radical

civic associations became meeting-places to discuss local and national politics. It became increasingly clear towards mid-1980 that the liberation movements were not interested in power-sharing as offered by the government, but rather 'power seizure', which made these structural extensions of their power-bases more of a threat to government (Lodge 1990:43-44; Seekings 1990(b):145, 178-179).

7.2.1 THE SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION (SCA)

During June 1977 residents in Soweto established the first radical civic organisation, referred to as the 'Committee of Ten' (Co10), which functioned as the 'Soweto Local Authority Interim Committee'. This Co10 was transformed into a comprehensive Soweto Civic Association (SCA) in 1979 with the original Co10 functioning as its executive layer or committee and retaining its name until December 1984 after extensive restructuring. Members of the Co10 were educated businessmen and professionals such as teachers and doctors. The aim of the Co10/SCA was to communicate the feelings and aspirations of the people to the government and also to deal with civic/township and national political issues although it was not directly affiliated to any political party. Owing to internal organisational problems and lack of direction in handling rent increases in 1979, the SCA restructured itself to become more assertive. The new SCA started to mobilise residents on a small scale against the new election of local councillors in 1982 under the Black Local Authorities Act. The organisation, however, played no decisive political role at that stage (Seekings 1988:5-8; Seekings 1990(b):147, 150).

At an Annual General meeting in 1984 the SCA was again restructured and incorporated more radical members that could facilitate 'rank and file participation in the organisation'. Inspired by the establishment of the UDF in 1983, the SCA started to refocus its attention on local issues such as rent increases and affiliated with the UDF in October 1984. After this the SCA became politically active and mobilised its members to boycott actions. During 1984 the main issues of discontent and mobilisation were rent increases. The SCA started to establish street committees to assist in administering certain functions (Seekings 1988:8, 13).

7.2.2 STREET COMMITTEES

Street committees formed the lowest level of a loosely constituted hierarchical three-tier civic

structure[15] in the townships. The second level in the civic structure constituted block committees that served several streets with a number of houses or sites, ranging from a few to almost a hundred. In some cases another level was added namely a ward committee. At the top was the executive committee of the civic structure. All these committees were responsible for the administration of community matters concerning housing, street cleaning or garbage collection and township maintenance operations, control of the water supply, education on hygiene and morality, the organisation of basic services, the discussion of consumer boycotts and the representation of residents on representative regional or national co-ordinating structures. Street committees also functioned as disciplinary committees responsible for crime prevention and the punishment of offenders and formed the primary courts operating in the townships' network of informal local community or people's courts[16]. Other structures often affiliated to the civics included self-defence committees such as SDU's (Self-Defence Units) to protect residents against security force actions and later also against protection units of other political movements, such as the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal and the Witwatersrand. The civic structures formed the main formal structures of the liberation for conveying the messages and information regarding strikes and rent boycotts to the people. The civics, however, also made use of coercive and intimidatory measures to mobilise people and to force unwilling residents to participate in mass actions such as rent boycotts. These intimidatory measures, however, eventually resulted in a general loss of support for these structures (Burman & Schärf 1990:706; Clarkson 1997:274; Moses 1990: 58, 78-79, Pavlich 1992:32; Singh 1994:9; Smuts & Westcott 1991:19).

Street committees demonstrated the actual potential of civic structures to organise protest action after the State of Emergency in 1985 when many UDF/ANC leaders were detained. The local political leaders attached to these committees organised the residents to perform local council duties after the formal local government structures collapsed. These committees functioned as communication systems with chains of command and authority, enlightening residents about dates, places and behaviour during marches and were crucial in organising residents. The aim was that the more organised the residents were, the more disciplined they would be and the better the chances of success of these boycotts, therefore they had to be structured. The successes of the civic structures could inter alia be attributed to the wide range of leadership that was available in the townships. The leaders came from various organisations or backgrounds, such as radical activists from student

---

15 *For additional information on the functions and nature of these committees, the following literature provides insightful reading: Clarkson (1997), Moses (1990), Burman and Schärf (1990), Nina and Schwikkard (1996:80), Pavlich (1992) and Van Niekerk (1995).*

16 *See Chapter 5 for a discussion on people's courts.*

organisations, Black Consciousness organisations such as the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the ANC, as well as disillusioned former town councillors (Clarkson 1997:274; Seekings 1990(b):168).

8. THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN BELA BELA

8.1 THE COMMITTEE OF TEN IN BELA BELA

One of the first alternative structures established in Bela Bela was the Committee of Ten[17] that was one of the most significant events in the history of the township. This signified the first formal attempt by the residents to organise themselves administratively to take control of their own affairs. The Committee of Ten was established on 5 March 1986 in Bela Bela and its members were arrested the following day, 6 March 1986. The arrested committee members were taken to the Nylstroom prison where they were detained under Act 50 (Detention without Trial) for 12 days before all, except one of them, were released. One of the members who was regarded as one of the political "kingpins" in the township was kept in detention after the others were released. He was later sent home where he was kept under house arrest after he sustained injuries during his detention. The Committee comprised of five adult members and five youths. The five male adults were people of status and position in the community. One of them was unemployed at that stage. The others included two teachers, a pastor and an employee at Albany Bakery. There are three versions in the community of how and why the Committee of Ten was established.

According to the first account residents became dissatisfied with the way their rent monies were spent by the town council and with the township administration. They demanded an explanation from Mr Knoesen, the then township administrator. On the recommendation of Mr Knoesen, two representatives from each ward in Bela Bela (there were only five wards at the time) had to be elected to form a committee. He would then meet with them on rent issues, the spending of monies, as well as the possible self-management of community affairs. The discontent among residents with the township administration, however legitimate their claims, coincided with the national political mobilisation strategy of the UDF, PAC and SACP.

---

17 *Although a Committee of Ten also existed in Soweto (Gauteng), no evidence of any formal ties between the two committees were found. However, since Alex came from Johannesburg, it is possible that he tried to institute a similar committee. This assumption could however not be confirmed.*

According to the second explanation the leaders of the UDF suggested during a general meeting in the community hall that a committee be formed to manage the community in the absence of municipal services, which were no longer functional because of the boycott actions by the community. Such a committee would be responsible for waste clean-up operations in the township, the managing and administration of township affairs and for negotiating decisions with the white town council. The community then suggested the names of ten people to act on their behalf.

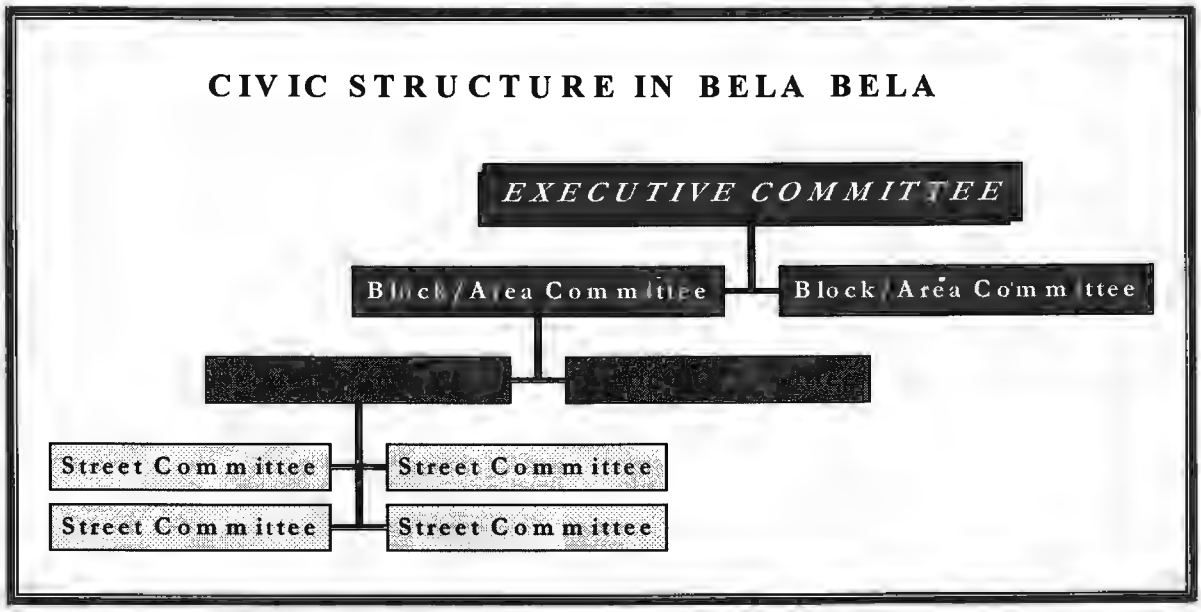
Another possibility is that the SADF and/or SAP instigated the formation of the Committee of Ten through the town councillors. This could have been part of the strategy of the security forces to identify the political leaders in the township. In this regard, the SAP/SADF possibly knew that during the formation of such a committee, the people would nominate certain young activists in the township to represent them. Election procedure normally constituted that persons be nominated from the audience or community. Through the general noises of approval or disapproval heard from the crowd a person would be elected or not. Usually a person that was not actively involved in the struggle would not have been nominated or chosen to sit on such a committee. According to a former activist normal practice was for leaders to suggest a few names of possible candidates, which would not have been turned down by the community for fear of being labelled sell-outs. Another option was for individuals in the crowd to shout or nominate names that were prearranged. Through this process of "democratic" community nomination and election, the appointment of prearranged comrades gave the followed procedure the required legitimacy or common approval as the community's choice. However, the true agent provocateurs of the political unrest in the township did not compromise themselves by being elected or being in the forefront of the political activities. They remained underground or secret and only gave orders to their recruits or those that fulfilled the tasks and took the risks of being caught by the SAP.

8.2 CIVIC STRUCTURES IN BELA BELA

The UDF officially established a civic structure in Bela Bela after March 1986. Here the civic structure was initially also responsible for the municipal duties of cleaning the streets and emptying dustbins. These functions were performed by the civics after the comrades prevented and disrupted the rendering of normal municipal services by the Warmbaths municipality through staging blockades. As part of the mass protest demonstrations the youth blockaded the streets with burning tyres and disrupted services by throwing stones at the vehicles and setting them alight.

The civic structures in Bela Bela corresponded with similar structures elsewhere in the country. According to fieldwork participants, several streets formed a section administered by a section committee and several sections formed a block or area committee (see Diagram 2 below). Although this hierarchy of structures existed in Bela Bela, only the street and area committees were operational of which the street committees played the dominant role. All these committees formed chains of command responsible to the executive committee. In instances where these committees functioned as people's courts, the different levels in the structure formed channels of appeal to a higher command if residents were dissatisfied with the former or lower ranking level's handling of the situation. No appeal cases are said to have occurred, since the residents feared the reaction of the members of the street committees if they disregarded their verdict or handling of a situation or issue. This would have constituted a breach of trust and was punishable. Members of the street committees had a reputation for being violent, aggressive and militant and that they would not tolerate any disobedience or any form of undermining of their authority and power. People were afraid that if they were regarded as disobedient they would also be labelled as sell-outs to the cause and could be summoned by a people's court and be found guilty of treason and punished accordingly. The news on radio and television provided enough examples of people who were necklaced or lashed for non-co-operation or for being labelled sell-outs. People were thus so afraid of the reaction of the comrades who administered the street committees and were also responsible for the people's courts that they rather conformed than stood their ground and confronted the comrades. Intimidation was clearly paying the dividends that the leaders of the liberation movements had envisaged.

DIAGRAM 2



Normal procedure in the case of conflict or problems that were encountered with or by local residents and/or UDF members had to be reported to the local UDF Executive Committee who actually formed the leadership core of the civic structure. The executive committee would then hold an internal meeting to look at the problem and if necessary summon the relevant individuals. Members of the disciplinary committee also formed part of the executive committee and were responsible for disciplining those individuals accused and found guilty of unacceptable behaviour. According to an activist in Bela Bela the 'apartheid system' felt that the formation of alternative structures was undermining its functions and responsibilities. The people who were operating in these alternative structures were therefore 'silenced' through arrest and detention. The young radicals in Bela Bela reacted by staging mass protest actions, blockading the entrances/exits of the township with burning tyres, setting alight local government vehicles and buildings and stoning security force vehicles that tried to enter the township while shouting liberation slogans with fists in the air. As a result of inter alia this form of state intervention, the street committees started to malfunction since most prominent leaders were detained.

8.3 MASS ACTION IN BELA BELA

According to former members of the SADF, the late Joe Slovo stated on Radio Freedom that Bela Bela was a model example of how the liberation struggle should be implemented and executed. He motivated comrades and resistance leaders to follow an example that worked, probably referring to the orderly and least violent manner in which the liberation struggle and its structures were implemented in the township. The media, such as radio and newspapers, were important instruments in the hands of the liberation leaders. Radio broadcasts informed people of what events or incidents took place or what were going to take place. Stations such as Radio Freedom served to spread propaganda and educate people on political matters and ideology on the one hand and incited or mobilised people to riotous and violent actions on the other. It also served to intimidate people, making them aware of the possible threat of violent death by necklacing or arson if they did not co-operate in the struggle.

The aim of the national leaders and strategists, who initiated and orchestrated the liberation struggle, was that all the black people in South Africa should actively support and participate in the struggle. If this participation needed to be obtained through strong-arm tactics such as intimidation, it was a justified course of action. Passive and politically uneducated residents of areas such as Bela Bela were therefore educated at meetings and sometimes mobilised through forced participation to actively

further the aims and objectives of the struggle. As in the rest of South Africa, the youth played an important and central role in the whole process of mobilisation.

8.3.1 MASS GATHERINGS IN BELA BELA

Although there were political leaders and activists present in Bela Bela, they were apparently not influential or sufficiently politically educated. As a result, a political leader by the name of Alex[18] was sent from the former PWV area (currently Gauteng) to mobilise the youth and give guidance to local leaders who were not active in the struggle. In the evenings Alex used to meet with the youth[19] in the open fields surrounding Bela Bela. According to one of the participants, whenever Alex had to take an important decision concerning the community he would first 'consult' with the community during community meetings. During these meetings he suggested to the community what to decide and when they echoed his decision he contributed it to them. When the decision was implemented, he acted on their mandate or behalf. People were usually called to the community hall for a gathering where they were enlightened about future marches and decisions. Community meetings were called or held without prior warning.

In the early stages of protest in Bela Bela mass community meetings or gatherings took the form of seemingly informal and spontaneous events. The activists were, however, organised through the civic structure with its street and block committees. These mass meetings were instrumental in facilitating cohesion through the shared experiences they created, through feelings of unity, fear, anxiety, common identity and cause, as well as enticement through the shouting of, for example, liberation slogans. These meetings also served to convey political ideas or communicate information about mass action activities and to enforce decisions by the comrades, such as planned rent boycotts, on the local community.

Participants stated that the comrades drove through the streets and announced on a mega-phone that all people should immediately gather at the community hall for a meeting. Comrades then ran down each street knocking on the doors of the houses calling people to attend the meeting. Since these comrades were part of the street committee structures they knew each person and if they did not attend. One resident stated that "no one defied the comrades, because they were feared". People

---

18 *The name Alex is fictitious and is provided to conceal his identity.*

19 *During the time of the liberation struggle, youth, according to the residents was 'anybody who was youthful, this included married people who were still young at heart and mind'.*

knew that they and their families would be killed or victimised if they did not attend. The whole atmosphere surrounding the marches was one of fear, anxiety and threat.

Meetings between activists were held at about 21h00 and even later at night so as to go undetected. During these meetings Alex gave guidance to the local leaders and youth on general riotous and protest behaviour. He informed them how to behave in the schools, what issues to exploit and capitalise on, how to organise a march, or get support from the people and so forth. During these meetings he would also teach the children the words of the freedom songs, which was heard in the township at night. Alex was approximately 26 years old, always neatly dressed, very articulate, well conversant in English and well informed about politics. He recited parts of the Freedom Charter especially during meetings in the community hall. He was self-assured and he constantly showed courage by challenging the authorities and getting away with it. When he spoke to people in positions of authority (black or white), he used to ridicule and belittle them by laughing at what they said. By doing this he demonstrated to the community or to those who accompanied him that he was not afraid and that he had more authority and power than those officials to whom he spoke.

In Bela Bela the Freedom Charter was given a symbolic, nearly god-like, supreme status. It was often recited at the opening of or during meetings as if it was a prayer. The words had to be repeated by the whole crowd thus pledging their loyalty to the creed, slogans had to be shouted in unity to express discontent against the white regime or against local town councillors. They tried to establish new relations and integrate people into a new social and political system. These songs and dances became symbols of the liberation struggle and public markers that characterised the strife for change and liberation.

8.3.2 INITIAL AND SECRET PROTEST MARCHES IN BELA BELA

Many national protest marches and actions also occurred in Bela Bela. These protest actions were usually accompanied by intimidation, either soft/indirect (threats of bodily harm) or hard/direct (burning of vehicles) intimidation. The primary aims of the initial marches and mass resistance were to make the people aware of the political situation in the country, to mobilise them politically, to create unity and participation among participants and to establish a common purpose and goal to free the country from white minority rule. The issues that were exploited were central to the Freedom Charter, such as the discontent among blacks regarding the white government, unequal distribution of wealth, access to resources and issues of historical value and sentiments concerning

land. At first toyi-toying or the singing of liberation songs did not accompany the marches. Since it was illegal to hold these marches noise would attract undue attention to the comrades.

The decision to hold marches was usually decided upon by the national leaders and communicated to the local leaders when they visited Khotso House in Johannesburg or by sending a messenger to them. After a decision was taken by the national and sometimes the local leaders (at their own discretion) to hold a march, the time and day that the march was going to be held was decided upon. These meetings, which were mainly attended by youth, usually took place late at night or in the early morning hours in the bushy areas surrounding Bela Bela. Some participants said that sometimes one could hear the people who attended the meetings singing liberation songs. The participants further said that the taxis that came in from outside Bela Bela brought with them new or strange faces from inter alia Turfloop, during the night.

The time and setting of the marches as well as their process or progression were well planned, organised, and co-ordinated. According to some participants the initial marches occurred, as did the mass meetings, around 21h00 at night, which contributed to the anonymity of the marchers and the leaders. Since there were no lights in Bela Bela the darkness provided cover for the marchers and gave them at least an hour before they were detected and their activities stopped by the police and/or defence force. The darkness also helped them to escape more easily through and between the houses, especially in the Soweto section where the houses were built closely together. The longer the leaders were able to avoid detection, the longer their strategies remained secret and the harder it was for the security forces to counter these strategies. Thus during the first few years, residents were not enlightened long beforehand as to when and where marches were going to be held, since someone could inform the authorities and the leaders would have been caught and detained.

The local leaders divided the youth into groups and made them responsible for the affairs of the people living in a certain street or block (street and block committees). When a march was held, a group of four to seven young people who were responsible for a particular street, would knock on doors, whistle to residents to catch their attention and shout "comrades support". People felt intimidated to join these marches. At the call or whistle, residents had to open their doors and all the able males and females had to join the march. After a short while, a second group of youth would come running or marching down the streets whistling and knocking on the doors, to see if everybody had joined the march. Sometimes these young comrades went into the houses and searched for people who were possibly hiding and not attending the march. If a person was caught not willingly participating in the march he/she was dragged outside and forced to join the march or be beaten. As

the marchers progressed down the streets, the crowds grew larger and larger. By the time the secret/illegal march was in full progress it was around 24h00, when most of the people in Warmbaths and Nylstroom were asleep. If it was not stopped beforehand by the security forces the marches usually progressed to the community hall or to the local police station in the township. During the marches all the residents in Bela Bela were kept awake all night. The secrecy of the marches lay in the procession towards the final destination. The aim was to progress as far as possible without being detected until the final destination was reached where detection was certain and confrontation with the police or defence force expected and provoked. It was especially these confrontations with the security forces that were feared and caused anxiety or stress among the local community. These confrontations posed the possibility that innocent residents could be shot at, killed, injured or arrested and taken away from their families and possibly ate tortured by the police to obtain information.

The day following the protest march as was described above, the people were too tired to go to work, which resulted in a natural stayaway from work and a consumer boycott of 11 days was called by the UDF. As a precaution the comrades blockaded the two roads into the township with stones and burning tyres, preventing people from leaving the township or from entering it. The people who wanted to attend work had to cross the veldt on foot before dawn in order not to be spotted. They also left their vehicles outside their homes creating the perception that they were home. Those who did defy the orders only came back late in the evenings to again ensure that they were not recognised or seen. People knew that if they were caught going or returning from work or town by the comrades, they would receive a humiliating public lashing by the comrades, their homes and families would be victimised and possibly burnt or they would be killed. The fear of the possible consequences intimidated most residents into complying with the commands of the comrades to stay home.

The activists/comrades stopped people on foot, in taxis or travelling by private car who went into Warmbaths to buy food or household goods. Their groceries were taken and thrown to the ground and destroyed. People who disobeyed the orders and attempted to enter the town were beaten and threatened that their houses would be torched if they disgraced the "cause". Those who claimed that they did not know of the arrangements had to beg for forgiveness (go rapêla – to beg in Northern Sotho) during a community meeting. Through these actions the unity and cohesion of the community was upheld and enough fear instilled in the hearts and minds of the people to limit transgressions and ensure compliance. Punishment for acts of disobedience was not as severe as

those reported in places such as Johannesburg, possibly because the community was a close knit union.

All the residents in Bela Bela were forced to participate in the struggle in one way or another. Even if people did not agree with what the youth were doing or how they were doing it, they did not resist the youth. Those who did not or could not actively support the marches had to show their support in various ways. These included:

- Staying awake all night and burning candles for the passing comrades to see;
- Keeping a bucket or container of water in front of their houses or yards for the thirsty and fleeing comrades to drink from;
- Not locking the doors, enabling the activists to flee through the houses (in through one door and out through the other), when they were chased by members of the security forces;
- Hiding or stowing away any activist who fled from the police, especially the preachers (baruti) in the community whose houses were not regularly searched;
- Furnishing the activists with a vehicle when they demanded it without any guarantees of safe return, or by ferrying them to meetings outside Bela Bela (in Pietersburg or Johannesburg) or to outside hospitals when they were injured.

The fieldwork participants said that if people did not show their support, the comrades intimidated them by saying that they would be regarded as collaborators of the white government. As punishment their houses would have been burnt or they themselves would have been lashed or driven from the township. They were afraid that if they did not comply with the wishes of the comrades they would be beaten or harassed or their houses torched. Even though the residents were constantly threatened with physical harm, only a few incidents of actual physical harm or burning of houses occurred. The threats of intimidation were sufficient as the residents never even tried to defy the youth in their efforts. During this period of political unrest nobody was killed by the activists in Bela Bela.

According to the participants all the able bodied people in a household had to join in the march. The comrades would also come to their houses and DEMAND that their sons and daughters join the marches. The demanding of articles, support and loyalty from the residents was new to the people and also not part of their way of living. According to participants, it was disturbing to them that children had no respect for their elders and would come to one's house and demand a vehicle, or

command people what to do and how to behave. Although the actions of the youth were disrespectful towards the elderly, the residents were too afraid not to obey the youth and their own children. Respect towards older people, especially men is an integral part of traditional Bantu-speaking societies with their patrilineal orientation in which men are regarded as people to be respected.

8.3.3 DEFIANT PUBLIC MARCHES IN BELA BELA

At the height of the national education crisis during 1984-1986, the youth in Bela Bela also started to actively mobilise and defy teachers and principals. During this period there were only one secondary school in Bela Bela and one primary school. The pupils started to behave in an undisciplined and defying manner, leaving classes when they wanted to, boycotting school, not doing their schoolwork, vandalising the school, setting classrooms alight and intimidating teachers. Local participants in Bela Bela mentioned that the unrest only manifested itself after pupils from Johannesburg and Pretoria started to attend school in Bela Bela. It was these pupils who instigated the misbehaviour, vandalism and violence at the schools.

National protest actions focussed on the use of Afrikaans as a language medium, the enforcement of the Department of Education and Training (DET) syllabuses and corporal punishment[20]. The teachers and especially the principals of the schools in Bela Bela were accused of being puppets of the government. On 1 May 1986 (Worker's Day), the simmering unrest erupted in a public display of violent protest in schools in Bela Bela that was instigated by members of the UDF. As part of their demonstration of power and to instil greater fear among the teachers; pupils from the Bela Bela High School burnt the Volkswagen Beetle of the Principal, Mr Snyman Mabula. Participants claimed that the general unrest was instigated by external agent provocateurs from Johannesburg, because shortly before the unrest began, unknown people were noticed in the township.

The largest, and also the first legal, public daylight march in Bela Bela occurred in 1986. This march was symbolic to the residents of Bela Bela since this was the beginning of the open defiance campaign by the residents and the local political leaders in Bela Bela. This march marked the transfer of the "defiance power" held by the covert and national leaders to the local leaders. For the first time the ANC, SACP and COSATU flags were publicly displayed at the community hall and freedom or liberation songs were sang openly. This was also the first public and recognisable display of ANC

---

[20] *The resistance against the execution of corporal punishment, was a politicised national trend.*

marshals during a protest march. During the procession of the march, the neatly dressed leader Alex walked in front of the procession, together with the religious ministers (baruti) and groups of small children. During this march a memorandum was handed to the town council and the SAP. This memorandum stated the community's grievances with the administration of Bela Bela by the town council. After this march the local leaders started to carry briefcases as a sign of their importance, even though they contained hardly anything.

After the first march, the nature of the marches changed. Consumer boycotts and public demonstrations against the town council started to emerge. During these marches the political leaders pushed the women and small children in front of the marching crowds since they knew that the police would not shoot at small children. During the marches in Bela Bela, streets were usually barricaded with stones and/or burning tyres by the youth. The vehicles of members of the security forces, as well as those of the town council, were usually attacked and stoned when they entered the township, while those parked in the township were set alight. Participants claimed that the marches were well organised and orderly. The leaders and marshals constantly called on and insisted on discipline by the crowds.

The marches that occurred during this time were filled with emotion and taunting towards the authorities and security forces, thus provoking confrontation. These marches, however, mostly proceeded without actual violence occurring. The holding of marches fulfilled various functions. Marches, as meetings, facilitated the creation of cohesion among the residents and help to help unite them as a group with a common goal and purpose. Marches gave direction and also served to show the residents that those who organised the marches had courage and could lead them. Adults mostly played a passive or subservient role and seemed to have accepted being victims of intimidation. Participants believed that since the adults were not very politically knowledgeable, educated or active by nature, they were easily intimidated. The change in the nature of politics to force the man on street to participate (voluntarily or involuntarily) in political activities, as well as the militant behaviour of the youth were indirectly threatening, especially since most adults were still upholding traditional values such as respect and obedience towards elders, authoritative figures and structures.

During the marches that took place, the people sang freedom songs and danced the toyi-toyi thus drawing the attention and interest of more people to participate. The majority of the community complied with the youth who were telling the adults what to do. On the question of why the people did not act against the youth, especially if they did not agree with their actions, people answered that they were afraid of what the youth would do to them. One resident said that during a rent boycott in

1986 the comrades wanted his daughters to participate in the march. Because he did not want them to be exposed to the activities and he feared for their safety, he hid them in the wall unit in his dining room and when the comrades came calling for support he told them that his daughters were visiting family elsewhere. Many comrades were arrested at this time during marches and gatherings when the security forces clamped down on these activities.

The imprisonment of former political activists/comrades served as a mechanism to spread the tactics, discipline and teachings of Marx and Lenin. According to a fieldwork participant in Bela Bela, the imprisoned activists embarked on a deliberate process of educating fellow prisoners on the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Before their arrests, an unknown man from Khotso House in Johannesburg used to hold meetings with the local and other activists from areas surrounding Warmbaths at irregular intervals in Bela Bela at night. During these meetings they received their commands of when and how to launch mass actions (boycotts, stayaways and marches) or how to mobilise the people. At times they were also instructed on the teachings of Marxism and revolutionary tactics.

The targeting of town councillors and policemen also occurred in Bela Bela. Although actual violent incidents to this effect were minimal, threats of impending attacks were rife. The few houses that were set alight or stoned in Bela Bela belonged predominantly to policemen and town councillors, causing them to flee the township, seeking refuge in police barracks and elsewhere. The communicated consequences of any discovered links of black people with the government were death, mutilation or excommunication/ostracism. These consequences were clearly broadcasted in the media, both from the side of the liberation movements on Radio Freedom and in other media such as newspapers and on television. In an appeal by Joe Modise as MK Commander on 1 December 1985 on Radio Freedom he stated that:

> *"Our people must organise themselves into groups, manufacture traditional weapons which must be used against the enemy. After arming themselves in this manner, our people must begin to identify collaborators and enemy agents and kill them. The puppets in the tricameral Parliament and the Bantustans must be destroyed" (Anon 1986:24).*

Visible and communicated proof of the threats on radio and television were sufficient to have a compelling, intimidating or inhibiting effect on the community's behaviour and state of mind. In this regard councillors resigned and most participants refrained from having contact with informers who were driven from, or ostracised by the community. In one incident a former police reservist, Mr Matsimbi, was appointed as justice of the peace in Bela Bela. One of his tasks was to provide

information to the security forces and the government on the activities of the activists. He was threatened several times to terminate his services or bear the consequences. Since he continued with his actions, his house was set alight and he and his family were forced to seek residence elsewhere. Family and friends in the township were forced to regard him as "dead" and had to sever all contact with him and his family. Those who refused would have been regarded as traitors and targeted as well. As a result the whole township for fear of reprisal excommunicated him. The subtle acts of indirect intimidation, such as the mere threat of physical harm, were so successful that little actual physical harm or death were required to serve as warnings of the consequences.

9. TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

The resistance movements reached an important stage of their envisaged goal of political liberation with the unbanning of the liberation movements and the releasing of political prisoners on 2 February 1990, a process that started in 1910. According to Buchler (1995:31), "the process of transformation which fundamentally altered South Africa's political landscape from 1990 ... was, in turn, influenced by the collective action and reforms begun in the 1970s". Here, resistance and social movements or civic organisations were forced from an early stage to transform and redefine their relationships to an envisaged ANC dominated state.

South African politics changed dramatically from confrontation to negotiation when the government unbanned political organisations, released political prisoners and committed itself to the abolition of apartheid. The period since the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990 is officially known as the beginning of the democratisation process in South Africa. The democratisation process was characterised by certain stages. Through an initiative or forum called the 'Convention for a Democratic South Africa' (CODESA), all the political role players met for the first time in December 1991 and began the processes of constitutional and structural change. However, where the NP regarded CODESA as an indefinite vehicle of transition and power-sharing, the ANC viewed it as a forum to set up a framework for the election of an interim government that would draft a new constitution, after which it would be dismantled (Buchler 1995:27; Hilliard 1993:9).

Between 1991 and 1993 racially discriminatory laws, regarded as the pillars of apartheid, were abolished by the National Party Government under former State President F.W. de Klerk. In 1991, the government set in motion a process of land reform when they launched the White Paper on land reform. The objective was to offer equal opportunities for the acquisition and use of land by all

people within South Africa. To facilitate this process the following Acts were passed, the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act 108 of 1991 and the Provision of Certain Land for Resettlement Act 126 of 1993. Act 126 of 1993 provided for the beneficiaries of land redistribution to stay on land and use it for both residential and agricultural purposes. These concessions and land reform measures were in line with one of the sections of the Freedom Charter, namely equal property and land rights for all citizens in South Africa. The government further repealed the former Native Land Act of 1913, the Development Trust and Land Act and the Group Areas Act. Other Acts that were repealed included the Mixed Marriages, Immorality, Population Registration and Separate Amenities Acts. However, incidents of violence, distrust, uncertainty and hatred among extremists on the right and left of the political spectrum persisted during this period. In 1992 the ANC embarked on a renewed campaign of "rolling mass actions" after a deadlock in CODESA and in September 1993 the *Washington Post* described South Africa as one of the most violent countries in the world with 20 000 murders annually. Contrary to the situation before 1990 where South Africa was characterised by the "liberation struggle" against the National Government, the main struggle during this period was among supporters of the main black political parties (ANC and IFP), prompted by the competition for support and political dominance, resulting in political rivalry and violent clashes (Buchler 1995:28; Liebenberg 1990:7).

In September 1992 the CODESA members reached a 'Record of Understanding'. In October 1993 Parliament approved the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), an Independent Media Commission (IMC) and an Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and formed a Multi-Party Negotiating Forum with the NP, ANC, IFP, DP and labour (COSATU) participating. In November 1993 an interim Constitution was accepted by the various parties, preceding the first multi-party, multi-racial national General Elections on 27-29 April 1994 – the date of formal political liberation in South Africa (Buchler 1995:28; Hilliard 1993:9; Liebenberg 1990:7).

South Africa inaugurated its first black State President, Nelson Mandela of the ANC on 10 May 1994 with the Deputy Presidents Thabo Mbeki of the ANC and F.W. De Klerk, former State President of South Africa and leader of the NP. Despite all the precautions taken by the Government of the day and other independent bodies, intimidation still occurred. In the Western Cape PAC candidate Patricia de Lille claimed that known ANC-members shot at a PAC booth and that a PAC branch secretary was stabbed by ANC supporters. It was also alleged that Khaki-clad men planted nails on the N1 highway in Venda between the Soutpansberg mountain range and Messina, causing vehicles transporting voters to overturn and leaving them stranded (*The Star* 1994:8). Intimidation thus played a decisive role throughout the liberation struggle and even during the canvassing period of the

general elections and during the election days of April 1994. As a strategy it was therefore unquestionably instrumental in achieving the goals of the liberation struggle.

10. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN KENYA AND SOUTH AFRICA

The political liberation struggle in South Africa and Bela Bela, its nature, movements, manifestations and consequences present similarities with the Mau Mau's struggle in Kenya. Both these countries are former British colonies where the resistance struggles were fuelled by judicial issues such as land rights and pass laws. Resistance movements in both countries exploited socio-economic issues and government regulations for mass mobilisation purposes through marches, rallies and mass gatherings. The similarities in the struggles stem to a large degree, from the communist influence of coercive tactics employed by the liberation movements. In each country both direct intimidation (violence, death, mutilations) and indirect (threat and fear of these actions) intimidation played central roles in the strategies of the liberation movements, in order to obtain secrecy, co-operation and liberation. Significant elements that manifested in the liberation struggles of both countries are inter alia:

Numerous resistance movements were established such as KAU, KCA and the Mau Mau to advance the struggle of the black population groups.	The ANC/UDF, SACP and PAC are of the most prominent resistance movements in South Africa that organised and mobilised the local population groups in their struggle for freedom.
The resistance movements in Kenya exploited and used socio-economic, land and political issues, as well as laws (pass laws) for mobilisation purposes.	Apart from also capitalising on socio-economic, land, judicial and political issues, the Freedom Charter served as the basis for mobilisation of the local populations on the grounds of humanity and basic human rights.
The resistance movements capitalised on the exploitation of cultural elements and sentiments such as oath ceremonies to intimidate and mobilise people. Traditionally	The movements exploited factors such as the fear of death by burning, communalism, singing and dancing (toyi-toyi) to mobilise and intimidate people. Apart from underlying

oath ceremonies bound members to loyalty and secrecy and during the liberation struggle also to achieve the objective of liberation.	cultural sentiments, movements such as the UDF/ANC used non-traditional symbolic elements such as flags, banners, posters, T-shirts and the Freedom Charter for mobilisation and propaganda purposes. Acceptance of the Freedom Charter especially bound members to loyalty and service of the cause.
Made use of mass demonstrations and strikes to illustrate resistance.	Made use of strikes, boycotts and mass demonstrations as forms of resistance and intimidation of government and white business.
Targeted soft targets such as white farmers to instil fear among the white population.	Targeted soft targets such as white farmers to instil fear among the white population, also through racial slogans by the PAC.
Kikuyu-speaking individuals dominated the resistance leadership of the Mau Mau.	Nguni-speaking, especially Xhosa and some Zulu-speaking people dominated the leadership of the ANC.
Established a hierarchy of local political and administrative structures, courts and leadership. The court system was based on the traditional model and implemented in a modified form.	Established a hierarchy of local, regional and national political and administrative structures (civics and street committees), leadership and courts (see the chapter on people's courts).
Attempted to obtain voting and political rights for the indigenous black people.	Strove for democracy by the people or power by the people.
Applied communist and socialist influences, ideologies and tactics in the liberation struggle.	Strong communist and socialist influences, ideologies and warfare tactics applied through the liberation movement's leadership.
The Mau Mau used the Weeping Kamaus as a military wing for their armed struggle.	The ANC and PAC used MK and APLA in their military campaigns.
Key leaders were arrested and exiled.	Key leaders were arrested and exiled.
The functioning of the various resistance	The functioning of the various resistance

movements was restricted by their legal banning, after which they operated clandestinely (underground) and from outside the country.	movements was restricted by their legal banning, after which they operated clandestinely (underground) and from outside the country.

11. SUMMARY

The original contact phase between the white Europeans and the indigenous black population groups in South Africa was characterised by accounts of conflict, resistance and violence. After prolonged contact blacks became more and more subjected to white rule and influence after being subjected the to the British expansionist policies. This resulted in changes in their political, social, religious, economic and cultural systems. In reaction to these changes, the Xhosa cattle killing occurred in 1857 in the believe hat the white Europeans would be driven from the country by the ancestor spirits (see also Chapter 2). As urbanisation and industrialisation increased and many people were forced to migrate to cities to earn a living to support their families, the number of blacks in the cities increased and a process began where the support for political tribal structures diminished. White politicians increasingly became aware of the possibility of increasing their power bases or constitutional bases by incorporating black votes. Blacks were therefore politically educated or stimulated and afforded voting rights in the Cape and Natal in mid-1850.

Blacks and Coloureds soon started to form independent political movements to represent themselves and communicate their needs. Many blacks and groups in other provinces in South Africa entertained hopes that they would also receive voting rights and participation in government especially after they assisted the British in the Anglo-Boer War. However, the increasing number of blacks that were becoming interested in political participation and the demands for land ownership and decision-making power intimidated whites to such an extent that black political participation was repealed after the institution of the 1910 Union Constitution. Initially voter qualification was raised to include only land-owners of all races above a certain value that excluded most blacks and then eventually changed to exclude all blacks from voting and political decision-making in parliament. A Land Act later followed in 1913; recognising land previously owned by and utilised by blacks, but preventing them from purchasing any other land.

The formation of the Union in 1910 and the subsequent restricting Constitution set in motion a series of opposition actions by black movements that resulted in the loss of life, insecurity and racial hatred in South Africa. Formal opposition to the government actions came with the establishment of the SANNC uniting blacks across ethnic lines in opposition to the white government and especially the stipulations of the Constitution and the 1913 Land Act. The nature and mission of the movement at this stage was to reach negotiated settlements with government through open communication in a peaceful manner.

Efforts by the SANNC to persuade government to change its laws continued to fail. Eventually the movement became more forceful in its actions after it established a Worker's Union that initiated worker strikes. The SANNC, which changed its name to the ANC in 1923, became infiltrated by communist leaders and members, whose goal it was to radicalise the movement and use it to achieve a communist revolution in South Africa. The incorporation of communist leaders in the ANC served to change the nature of the movement from passive resistance to radicalism and armed resistance. The struggle took shape at a time in the history of South Africa when separate development and territorial segregation was government policy from 1948. These policies were not supported by a large section of society, although smaller sectors supported it, especially in KwaZulu under the leadership of Chief Buthelezi and most of the whites. The policy of separate development and segregation resulted in many acts of resistance and criticism, both locally and abroad. It was these policies that prompted the drafting of the Freedom Charter, a policy document that formed the bases for the later Constitution of a democratic South Africa based on equality of all people in all aspects of life.

Violent resistance and deliberate campaigns, such as the defiance campaign of 1952 against the government, formed part of the strategy of the SACP and the ANC to make the country ungovernable. The mobilisation and disruptive mass actions in South Africa were the result of carefully planned and organised efforts by members of the liberation movements. In 1960 the ANC and the PAC established their military wings which carried out numerous violent terrorist and sabotage attacks. As the communities became increasingly unstable due to these actions and the security forces tried to quell the unrest and arrest the perpetrators, youth were selected and trained in defence tactics, subversion and terrorism. These youth then received the responsibility to protect the communities they lived in. The leaders of the ANC attempted to violently overthrow the government in 1963, but failed when their plans were discovered by the police in a house in Rivonia that resulted in the imprisonment of the leaders. The remaining leaders fled to neighbouring countries to escape imprisonment.

In exile, the remaining leaders regrouped and restrategised and embarked on the rebuilding of the movement. The vacuum that was left was soon filled in the late 1960's to mid-1970's by numerous Black Consciousness movements. These movements focussed on the arts, religion, politics and educational sector and led to the mobilisation of the youth in 1976 Soweto and the SPROCAS Programs were instituted to reroute or positively affect the subconscious images towards being black. Part of the whole process of the reorientation of the masses towards a new political ideology, resistance and revolt, was the psychological reorientation of blacks regarding their identity, capacity, ability and self-esteem to be able to reach this goal. Movements such as SASO, IDAMASA and NUSAS, for example, were instrumental in spreading the philosophy of Black Consciousness and played on the guilt of white people and the sentiments of Christianity to further the struggle for political freedom. After many Black Consciousness leaders were detained in the late 1970's, the UDF was established in 1983, uniting radicals and liberals of all age groups, sexes and races in a renewed effort to destabilise the country.

An advanced phase of the liberation structure was the devolution of power and control by the national leadership, marking the fact that they had sufficient support for their idea to establish such structures and through these new structures expanded their support and power on local communities. During the 1980's many structures were introduced in the townships to politically educate, mobilise and intimidate the masses into action against the government. Alternative structures of law and order (community policing, disciplinary committees, people's courts and self-defence units), administration (local government, civic structures) and support (local political structures/branches) were introduced as was seen in the discussion under local government. Especially the civic structures with their street committees served as decentralised extensions of the ANC/UDF representing the movement in all the local townships. Civic structures provided easy access to local communities through which to *reach and control the minds and behaviour* of the national population. They provided channels of communication with the communities making them aware of local issues and grievances and to facilitate mobilisation for mass action. They were also a means of creating confidence among the population that the liberation movements were capable of governing the people. Through these structures effective control through intimidatory mechanisms could be exercised over the population to ensure their loyalty to the struggle and the movement's goal of liberation. The people's courts intimidated people through acts and threats of necklacing and lashing if they did not comply or were suspected collaborators. The members of the civic structures and street committees used similar threats of punishment to voluntarily or involuntarily mobilise people to participate in mass actions such as worker strikes, consumer boycotts, protest marches and mass

meetings.

The liberation struggle unfolded and manifested itself throughout South Africa in very similar ways. Bela Bela thus serves as one example that represents other townships in the country at that time. As in the rest of the country in the 1980's, alternative structures such as civics were established to administrate the township after normal services were disrupted and the township made a no-go area for municipal vehicles and personnel by intimidating the officials through burning their vehicles and stoning the personnel. The township was divided into block, section and street committees and the local political leadership filled the executive positions in the structure. The civic structure mainly consisted of radical youth who provoked confrontation with the security forces and mobilised the community and fellow youth against school personnel and government officials (town councillors) who were considered to be puppets of the government and thus sell-outs to the struggle. Part of the strategy of the national resistance leadership to create unity among communities was to organise mass actions where group participation was required. Group participation and collective unity was enforced through forced group singing and toyi-toyi dancing that was taught to residents during involuntary mass meetings. Residents had no choice regarding participation, some were forcefully removed from houses, sometimes violently abused and intimidated to participate or their families threatened with assault if they disobeyed orders. The movements of the residents were constantly monitored by the youth and friends, thus creating an atmosphere of distrust and a feeling that one's life was constantly in danger. This had a severely intimidating and hampering effect on the day to day functioning of the residents.

The liberation struggle was, in the end, a success and the set goals were achieved, namely political liberation and freedom from white domination. What contributed to the success of the liberation process was the agreement on the goal of the struggle and the nature or character of the envisaged society. This vision and character was stipulated in the Freedom Charter, a former document and blue print of the principles on which the new society or political order would be based and to which all those participating or wanting to participate in the struggle could agree to. These principles included the redistribution of wealth and land, non-implementation of restrictive laws (such as pass laws and voter restrictions), equal job opportunities, equality for men, women and people of all races. The guidelines or strategies to achieve liberation or the goal culture were largely non-written and secretive, but it entailed inter alia the use of violent and non-violent methods of intimidation, the creation of unity across ethnic lines, the decentralisation of power and structures of the organisation to mobilise the masses and the use of violent means to overthrow the government if necessary.

To achieve the above goal of liberation and a new political order, the liberation movements employed various strategies and techniques ranging from passive resistance to acts of terrorism and sabotage to ensure government surrender and also mass participation of the black population. Strategies of passive resistance aimed at forcing the government to make concessions in its laws and bring about change included mass demonstrations such as rallies, strikes, public marches, work stayaways and consumer boycotts. The leaders of the liberation movements used the period of passive resistance to build their support and military capacity. Through the political rallies and mass gatherings, people were made aware of their poor social and economic circumstances - bread-and-butter issues, employment disadvantages and unfair and discriminating treatment and laws against them. During such gatherings people were mobilised into disruptive mass demonstrations of resistance and discontent. Part of the strategy of the leaders of the struggle was the deliberate intimidation of the masses and individuals who did not want to participate or support the struggle.

The ANC set out to destroy traditional political structures and replace them with their own hierarchical political leadership structures, in which women and youth also have a role and function. The movement set out to unite the various black groups in one black African group, regardless of ethnic origin, to support a party and leadership whose existence is based on mass popular support rather than ethnic adherence or birthright. Other traditional aspects such as songs and dances, however, were revived and utilised to help facilitate unity. The liberation movements succeeded in reviving the spirit of the black man and re-establishing his self-confidence and self-esteem, a goal articulated and formulated by the philosophy of Black Consciousness. The liberation movements in Kenya and South African show similarities with the revitalistic movements of Wallace that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. The ANC/UDF as liberation movement had a definite origin and a formulated vision of a future society. This vision was formulated by a core group of leaders and described in the Freedom Charter. This guidelines/strategy to obtain the culture/society was communicated through various mediums such as song, rallies, training and broadcasted messages on Radio Freedom, normal radio and television and also in books and articles. The actions launched through alternative structures (civics, people's courts, political branches and unions) also served as vehicles to propagate and internalise the message and vision nationally.

Members of the liberation movements, to achieve the following objectives successfully, used direct and indirect acts of intimidation:

- To unite people across ethnic lines and the barriers of diverse languages.
- To obtain and maintain political power and control over the masses.

- To ensure the mass mobilisation and participation of the local communities in protest actions. The success of mass action depended upon the participation of the largely unpoliticised masses that did not want to participate. The masses had therefore to be forcefully mobilised into participation, even if it meant using acts of intimidation, including necklacing, lashing or burning of specific individuals to instil fear among the larger population.
- To ensure the loyalty, secrecy, co-operation and commitment towards the movement and its goals and aims.
- To serve as a tool of coercion and pressure against the government to force it to recognise the movements and concede to their demands. By trying to cripple the government economically by means of work stayaways and consumer boycotts, the liberation movements not only demonstrated their power and mass support but also their strength and power over the influence government had on the local population.
- To serve as a mechanism to enhance or increase the tempo of the political reform process. It does not change the course or direction of change or transition, but mainly serves as a catalyst during this process. Intimidation therefore does not cause change. The utilisation of intimidation serves to heighten the tempo of discussions, change, transition and/or assimilation of individuals in a group.

CHAPTER 5

INTIMIDATION THROUGH PEOPLE'S COURTS

> *"People's courts and people's justice not only enforced a 'people's morality that conformed to the political ideas of their liberatory projects ...', but ... in its form and its content, it constituted the biggest ideological challenge and threat to the South African state and its legal system than ever before in our history. ... (I)t presented the South African state with one of its biggest hegemonic crises in the 1980's" (Moses 1990:).*

1. INTRODUCTION

As was seen in the previous chapter on the liberation struggle in South Africa, the liberation or resistance movements employed various intimidation strategies and tools on the local communities and groups. These techniques included marches, enforced rent boycotts and work stayaways. Some of the aims of these intimidatory techniques were to create collective unity, conformity and support. Another strategy was to impose on the aspect of law and order in society and black communities specifically. Through skillful manipulation and construction, the leaders of the movements introduced a type of innovative court structure, processes and punishment resembling that of traditional and modern courts. Through the processes and punishment administered by these courts, people were intimidated into loyalty, co-operation and unity.

It was estimated that 400 people's courts already existed in 1985. The actual reasons for the emergence of the people's courts can be ascribed to several factors. One explanation is that these courts were instruments in the hands of the political resistance movements to undermine good governance and transform the state. Another explanation is that the emergence of these courts was a direct response to the changing township conditions. With the increasing protest actions, rising crime, violence and undisciplined youth, residents and political organisations faced new and exacerbated old problems that required some or other form of action. With the breakdown in relations with state institutions and councillor courts or makgotla there was no recourse available to the police or alternative legal

structures for normal township residents. As a result of this vacuum, new or alternative institutions were sought for dispute or conflict resolution, namely people's courts (Seekings 1990(a):123-125, 132).

Although people's courts were new additions to especially township life, legal adjudication through court structures and procedures is not a new concept to black South Africans. Such structures form an integral part of their traditional cultural system as mechanisms to facilitate law and order and will be discussed later in the chapter. The fundamental principles of traditional law, namely to re-establish social harmony and enforce discipline and acceptable normative behaviour, were exploited and capitalised upon by the resistance movements for their own gain. A history of alternative court structures (see later in chapter), some established by white governments, existed in South Africa that Van Niekerk (1995:102) states was rooted in traditional Africa and adapted to suit the unfulfilled needs in terms of law and order of modern life.

Justice, or rather people's justice, was served through alternative and unofficial court structures operating in each township in South Africa, parallel with official or formal government instituted courts. These unofficial courts were predominantly connected to the political structures of the resistance movements. On the concept of *popular or unofficial justice*, Xaba (1995:71) states that "in many African communities, the arrest of a person who had stolen a TV or VCR or, any other form of property, is not necessarily justice. Justice is only arrived at when two things happen. Firstly, the person who lost his or her property gets the property back or is reimbursed for it; and secondly the guilty party is punished".

In Chapter 3 brief mention was made of the Mau Mau courts that existed at the height of their struggle for political liberation. Unfortunately no additional information on the nature and functioning of these courts is available. One of the purposes of these Mau Mau courts, however, was to punish and make examples of collaborators through excessive punishment, which often included death and mutilation. The threat of possible harm or death to the individual and/or his/her family thus served as a warning and deterrent to possible collaborators. Under the onslaught of the UDF, people's courts, similar to the Mau Mau courts, were also established and functioned as extensions of the UDF to serve the purposes of the liberation struggle.

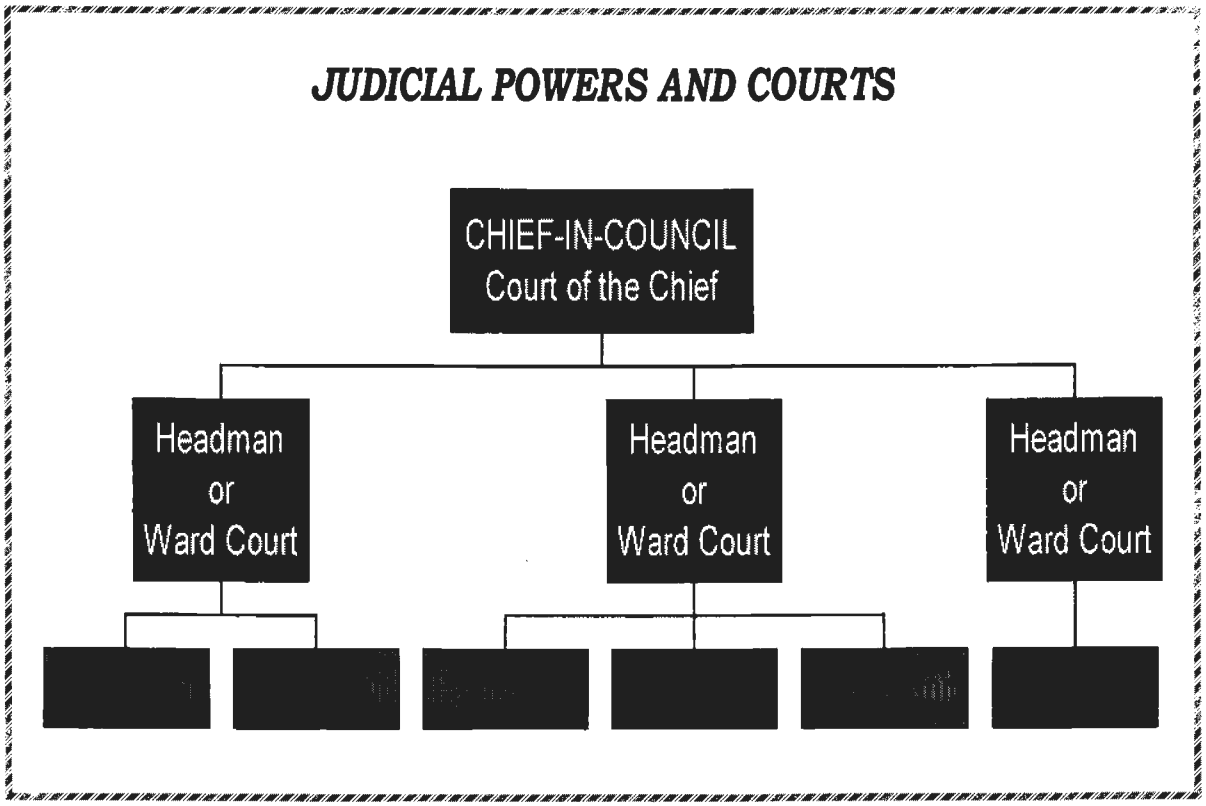
2. FEATURES OF TRADITIONAL COURTS

The judicial system in traditional societies is closely linked to the political system, as well as the social

norms of the tribe. Some language groups in South Africa such as the Swazi and Zulu people (Nguni origin), as well as the Basotho (Southern Sotho group) form large political units ruled by a Paramount Chief or King. Each of these large political units is sub-divided in smaller political and administrative units or tribes, each ruled by a chief. Each tribe consists of smaller wards, clans and lineague groups. These wards were ruled by headmen. Each ward in turn comprises of several households under the authority of the most senior male descendent or 'kraalhead'. In cases where a King or Paramount Chief does not exist or form part of the traditional structure of the people, the chief is the supreme head of the chiefdom. Traditionally there is no limit or restriction to the powers and authority of the supreme authority. He is the head or father of the tribe who accedes to this position through birth and is normally not elected. The chief is assisted by a council and has legislative, judicial and executive authority (Bruwer 1957:182-192; Duncan 1960:43-47; Singh 1994:1-2, 14).

Since all responsibility and functions (administrative, judicial, economical and political) are consolidated in the institution of chief-in-council, all disputes and injustices are taken to this body for adjudication and settlement. Traditionally there are various grades or levels of courts that correspond with the structure of the political organisation. There are basically two levels of courts as is indicated in the diagram below. The one is the tribal court (court of the chief) and the other is the headman's or ward court. Each family unit in a lineage is also entitled to some form of judicial authority in minor offences/cases that affected the members of the homestead. This is called a family council. The Sotho people also have special courts for women and regimentary courts to try cases relating to initiation school or regimentary matters. Each group or level of authority is responsible for dispute settlement between members of the same or different households, wards or tribes. In all disputes attempts are first made to resolve the conflict or dispute on the lowest level or at the level where it occurred, before it is taken to the next level. Should any party involved in a court case tried by a headman not be satisfied with the outcome of the hearing, they have the right to appeal to the court of the chief. The chief first tries to settle civil disputes through mediation in an informal and friendly manner, before adjudication is attempted. Any decision or judgement of the chief is binding and without appeal, see the diagram below for an example of such structures (Bruwer 1957:198; De Beer 1986:157-168; Mönnig 1983:310-311, Singh 1994:2, 14).

DIAGRAM 3



The chief who presides over his court is not elected or selected but born to the ruling and adjudicating status. The traditional legal and social values and rules are taught to him during his upbringing. The verdicts and rulings of these courts are therefore accepted without a word as these courts are regarded as legitimate. Headmen, however, are often appointed to their positions and assisted by the tribal or ward elders in adjudicating a case. Traditionally elders are regarded as the repositories of tradition and as such their views are afforded great weight in the settlement of disputes (Singh 1994:11).

2.1 JURISDICTION

In pre-colonial times there was no formal division between civil and criminal cases. After the co-option of tribal chiefs and other individuals in Western government structures, the Northern Sotho or Pedi terminology adapted to distinguish more clearly between criminal and civil law. In this regard criminal law is referred to as melao e amanang le ba tšholotšeng madi or "laws in connection with those who have shed blood" and civil law as melao e amanang le tša legae or "laws in connection with the home" (Bruwer 1957:192; Junod 1962(b):434; Mönnig 1983:303).

The headmen's courts have jurisdiction to try minor offences such as petty crimes and civil disputes arising from their wards, as well as to investigate serious offences before taking them to the court of the chief for adjudication. Regarding civil matters, important contracts (agreements) are concluded or entered into in the presence of witnesses. Matters including the breaching of dowry or commercial contracts, disputes over lobolo (dowry), the breaking of marriage promises or the untimely death of a party before the conclusion of a wedding ceremony are all taken to the headman's court if it could not be settled among the parties involved. Other civil court cases include damage to property caused by another person's animals, land disputes, adultery, defamation of character or a dispute arising from the mafisa custom for example when the animals "on loan" die (Bruwer 1957:193-196; Duncan 1960:19-42, 57-58, 81-82, 108; Harries 1929:99; Seymour 1970:77). Thus, civil matters concern disputes between families and individuals. These disputes have a direct impact on the current and future harmony in relations between these families, individuals and the communities they live in. The continuation of these disputes could lead to (blood) feuds that continue over generations. For the good of the community it is therefore imperative that disputes be settled in a manner that satisfies all the parties involved.

The court of the chief tries all major criminal and civil matters where the offences are regarded as a violation against the chief (insults), his authority (treason or refusal to obey his orders) or the well-being of the tribe (transgression of a taboo, damage to communal property and witchcraft). The courts of the headmen are also allowed to try minor criminal offences relating to his ward of jurisdiction. These criminal offences include assault, incest, rape, theft, malicious damage to another individuals property by a person (not an animal), abduction and seduction (Bruwer 1957:196-197; Duncan 1960:103-109; Harries 1929:4, 101; Mönnig 1983:303-304). Criminal offences thus include those matters that are concerned with the relationship between the public or tribal authority and its subjects. In this regard a transgression is a violation of public interest such as order, common interest (health and good rainfall) and welfare.

2.2 PROCEDURE

During the court sessions all *adult males* can attend the public court hearings. Apart from a complainant, it is the duty of every citizen to help bring offenders to justice. The parties take no oath and consequently there is no question of perjury. The headmen's courts adjudicate in council. All

verdicts have to be reported to the chief for confirmation. The decisions of the headmen's courts are subject to appeal to the chief's court (Harries 1929:99; Singh 1994:2, 13-14).

In traditional court hearings a chief or headman and his council sit in front of the audience and act as judge or chairman of the court hearing. As chairman he provides a short description of the accusation before the hearing commences. The audience consists of all the parties' involved and all males of the tribe who wanted to attend or participate. Communal participation is thus central to traditional court proceedings and the judicial process. The principle is that a person is assumed guilty and has to prove his innocence. Relatives assist the parties who are allowed to state their cases uninterruptedly. The claimant is afforded the first opportunity to put forward his case and then the defendant may react to the claim. An inquisitorial approach is followed affording every person at the hearing the opportunity to cross-examine or question the litigants. No evidence is omitted including circumstantial, hearsay or evidential evidence that has bearing on the case and the court judges it on merit. Before a verdict is passed, a great deal of discussion takes place by all present on the various features of the case. Where there is dissension on the verdict the matter is taken to the chief for a final decision. The whole process is directed towards accessibility, simplicity and reconciliation of the parties with the community at large (Bruwer 1957:198-199; Harries 1929:98-101; Singh 1994:4, 15).

It is customary for women and children to be accompanied by a male (husband or father), who acts on their behalf when they report or are involved in a court hearing. Women are only allowed to attend the proceedings if they are implicated in a case. Once an offence has been reported to the court, both parties are informed verbally or in writing of the date of the court hearing. The defendant or accused is then supposed to attend the court proceedings voluntarily. Should one of the parties involved in a court case not appear before the court, the proceedings are postponed. The chief then sends for such a person and when the court reconvenes he is afforded the opportunity to explain his behaviour. He will then be punished in the form of an apology, a warning or in serious cases he has to pay a fine to the court. Should any party/person be caught telling lies he has to pay a fine to the court if he does not heed the first warning. The authenticity of the admissions to the court is sometimes determined through the use of substantive and circumstantial evidence and supernatural practices, for example by relying on a traditional diviner to first determine the truth (Bruwer 1957:199; De Beer 1986:110-115; Harries 1929:5, 98; Mönnig 1983:310; Singh 1994:4).

2.3 *LEGAL REDRESS AND FORMAL PUNISHMENT*

The general function of law is to maintain order in a society as defined by the people's beliefs and values. To ensure that the proper norms and conduct are upheld, the communities employ various types of sanctions or measures against transgressors of these norms. In this regard ridicule, contempt, scorn, isolation or avoidance constitute informal sanctions of social control. At the heart of this community judgement lie the notions of reconciliation and the restoration of harmony or equilibrium within the community. Harmony will only be restored once all parties involved are satisfied that justice has been done (Mönnig 1983:300; Singh 1994:15-16).

The traditional legal system focuses on the importance and the readjustment of relationships within the group, the focus is on the *group* and not on the individual. The most common forms of formal punishment range from a mere warning, the paying of fines through money or cattle, corporal punishment, banishment/ostracism, to death and flogging. Compensation in the form of cattle is also paid to the prosecutor and to the court for their time, effort and labour. This form of compensation is more than mere punishment, but rather a form of legal sanction to effect redress (Bruwer 1956:192, 195-197; Mönnig 1983:305-308).

Fines or compensation to the victims or their families is paid, usually in the form of animals, in all civil and many criminal cases. In the case where animals repeatedly damage crops, gardens or property the owner of the animals must pay the fine or they will be killed. In the case of the breaking of a marriage agreement, restitution in the form of cattle needs to be paid or those given as part of the lobolo returned, depending on the court's decision. The punishment in assault cases depends on the rank of the person that was assaulted and the nature of the wounds inflicted. The fine is then paid to the victim or to his parents as payment for the treatment or medical expenses resulting from the inflicted wounds. In the case of accidental murder an individual is fined four or five heads of cattle, which go to the husband, parents or wife to compensate for the loss of the deceased. With wilful murder, if the person did not receive the death penalty, he has to pay ten head of cattle to the victim's family, wife or husband or he gives his daughter to the husband for 'raising seed (children) for the deceased'. The theft of cattle is considered a serious offence and the offender is deprived of all his property and animals if found guilty by a court (Duncan 1960:22-28, 79, 103-106; Harries 1929;103-110).

The death penalty as a form of punishment occurs rarely. The death penalty is normally inflicted in cases of actual or suspected treason or rebellion where offenders attempt to overthrow the authority of the chief. In cases of witchcraft and wilful or malicious murder the death penalty is inflicted most of

the time. Treason against a chief is also punishable by death, since it is regarded as a transgression or treason against the whole nation, as the chief symbolises the unity of the tribe (Bruwer 1957:196-197; Duncan 1960:103-109; Harries 1929:101-102; Krige 1988:224; Mönnig 1983:307).

A rare form of punishment in criminal cases such as murder and witchcraft is isolation, banishment, forceful removal, ostracism or deportation from the community. Chiefs have the right to forcibly remove trouble-makers and to burn their huts. Transgressors or those accused of witchcraft practices usually flee the area in fear of reprimand or punishment for their deeds. This latter form of punishment is said to have become more popular in traditional African societies instead of the death penalty, since chiefs no longer have the legal authority and mandate to try cases of witchcraft and murder (Bruwer 1957:197; Duncan 1960:66, 70; Mönnig 1983:307).

3. ALTERNATIVE MODES OF DISPUTE SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

After the British colonised South Africa, the British government incorporated traditional chiefs in their government structures. Here they combined the administrative and judicial powers of the chief to obtain power and authority over the local population groups. The role of the chief at the bottom of the hierarchy of government offices was to execute colonial policy, while still remaining the traditional leader of his people. The Black (Bantu) Administration Act, 38 of 1927 formally recognised the application of indigenous law in special courts, but impinged on the role and powers of headmen, chiefs and their councils (Singh 1994:2-3).

The Bantu Administration Act, 38 of 1927 provided for the institution of Chief's Courts, Headmen's Courts, Commissioner Courts and Appeal Courts for Commissioner Courts and in 1929 for special Divorce Courts for blacks. The chief's court adjudicated both petty criminal and civil matters. Chief's courts addressed civil claims rooted in customary law, except matters such as divorce or separation arising from civil marriage. Appeal in this instance was made to the Bantu Commissioner's Court who only had authority to adjudicate civil matters. Regarding criminal matters such as petty theft, the chief's courts were not allowed to impose punishment that involved death, mutilation, grievous bodily harm, imprisonment or fines exceeding R40-00 or its equivalent stock value. All matters arising from criminal matters were taken to the Magistrate's courts. In communities where there were no chiefs, headmen presided over such courts that were therefore called Headmen's Courts; this appropriation does not refer to the traditional courts of ward headmen. The rules and procedures that were followed in the

Chief's Courts corresponded with that of traditional courts. The authority of these tribal courts was also extended and forced upon all residents living in urban areas through the institution of the Urban Black Councils Act, 79 of 1961. As a result the Urban Councils were regarded as instruments of the apartheid government and their credibility declined in the eyes of the community, increasingly leaving a void in terms of legitimate structures for legal appeal (Seymour 1970:19-20, 25; Singh 1994:3-5). Owing to this void there was a growing tendency towards the use of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms that arose in black communities, rendering the instituted governmental court structures to an extent ineffective and powerless.

Realising the growing legitimacy crises in black areas, the government abolished the Urban Councils through the Community Councils Act, 125 of 1977 and replaced it with black town councils through the Black Local Authorities Act, 102 of 1982. These town councils were another attempt to control black urban areas and neutralise the challenge posed by unofficial dispute settlement institutions. These town councils, therefore, also had little credibility in the eyes of the local communities. In 1986 opposition to the town councils led to their dissolution when the majority of black councillors were intimidated in leaving the townships. Later that year, there was a restructuring of the official court system in South Africa. As a result the chief's courts and the special divorce courts were retained and on recommendation of the Hoexter Commission, the Commissioner's and Appeal Courts for Commissioner's courts were abolished and transformed into magistrate courts (Buchler 1995:24; Singh 1994:5, 8).

The above issues increasingly led to discontent among the black population. In black townships, before 1985, alternative modes of dispute resolution such as the township makgotla (unofficial courts) co-existed with the central state judicial system. These makgotla were headed by black town councillors or their ward representatives. The term makgotla (lekgotla singular) is a Sotho term that has various meanings such as 'council', 'meeting', 'court', 'the place of meeting or court session' and it also refers to the 'people' at such a meeting or to the 'advisors of the court' (Singh 1994:9; Seekings 1990:121).

The township makgotla had their origins in the government instituted Chief's Courts of 1927 that operated in the urban townships. In urban context the term makgotla referred to the unofficial or informal bodies involved in dispute settlement activities, as well as to vigilante groups, gangs, ward committees and counselling organisations. These makgotla had many functions other than legal functions and could therefore not be regarded as courts in the ordinary sense. However, with the Mamelodi Ward Four lekgotla the emphasis was on community participation, accessibility,

reconciliation and harmony. Court leaders were able to impose their own conception of order. The support for these courts stemmed from the belief that the kind of 'order' the courts imposed was functional to daily life. The makgotla were predominantly run by responsible adults and to a great extent focussed on family and civil matters and the enforcement of traditional values such as reconciliation, the Soweto makgotla excluded. In Soweto these courts were paramilitary in nature rather than judicial and directed towards coercion and were therefore deeply unpopular. The procedures that were followed by these courts closely resembled traditional court procedures. In times of violence and unrest people were able to unite and form themselves into makgotla, where they utilised concepts of indigenous law like the reconciliation of feuding parties and harmony (Singh 1994:9, 11-12; Seekings 1990(a):121-123).

The UDF, in the mid-1980's, started to transform the nature of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms such as the makgotla into organs of people's power. These structures or organs became known as *people's courts*. People's courts were the ultimate manifestation of popular or people's justice and administered generally by the youth through street committee structures. The principle these courts operated on was fear, coercive discipline and intimidation. Since people generally fear punishment, courts as legitimate mechanisms to administer punishment were the key institutions targeted for replacement by alternative structures and modes of justice by strategists of the liberation struggle. By mid-1980 nearly every township in South Africa had a peoples' court. People's justice in the form of informal courts is not unique to South Africa. This phenomenon is common in societies undergoing profound political and social transformation (Burman & Schärf 1990:721; Grant & Schwikkard 1991:305; 1992:4-5, 8; Singh 1994:9; Seekings 1990(a):122).

4. PEOPLE'S COURTS

People's courts can be defined by the nature of the cases that they tried, or by the general features that they possessed. These courts represented various types of structured informal courts established in African areas, which functioned independently from the state legal system and structures and had as their principle or core value, people's justice. These courts are referred to as communitarian tradition of justice, collective justice, township tribunals, informal dispute settlement tribunals, disciplinary committees or extra-state township courts (Burman 1989; Moses 1990:2-3; Grant & Schwikkard 1991:304, 307; LaPrairie 1996:1; Nina 1992:8; Pavlich 1992:30-31; Sanders 1988:42; Seekings 1990(a):120). In the words of Seekings (1990(a):119), "... people's courts were a barbaric instrument

of intimidation and repression, used by township agitators to enforce the compliance of moderate township residents in unpopular consumer boycotts and other campaigns".

The existence of township courts reflected a form of struggle against the state by removing the responsibility of issues from the state jurisdiction into the extra-state township arena. People's courts represented a major break away from the state authority and control. They represented the most coherent manifestation of organs of "people's power" and popular justice. People's courts filled the vacuum left by the makgotla and commissioner's courts after they became inoperative in 1986. These courts constituted more than mere dispute resolution forums. They were instrumental to the liberation struggle with domination of the local population as an unstated objective. At the height of the liberation struggle in the mid-1980's, these courts mainly operated secretly or underground to remain undetected, since the political or liberation movements to which they were affiliated were banned. By 1985/86 an estimated 400 people's courts had been established in townships around South Africa. Their ascent into the political landscape of the time was rapid until 1985/1986, when the successful implementation of the emergency regulations in South Africa during 1985 and 1986 made it possible for the security forces to clamp down on them (Burman & Schärf 1990:721; Moses 1990:57; Nina 1992:5; Pavlich 1992:29; Anon 1988:9-11; Sanders 1988:42; Seekings 1990(a):120; Seekings 1992:25; Singh 1994:10).

The people's courts conducted fundamental governmental functions, which gained the liberation leaders key access to communities. In some instances these courts were also used to sustain particular patterns of social rather than political order, continuing the work of the makgotla. Owing to their growing popularity and roles in the local communities the government perceived these courts as usurping its rightful place in society. These courts thus constituted a threat to the existing legal power structures and control of the government over its people, causing government to clamp down on the activities of these courts (Burman & Schärf 1990:721; Grant & Schwikkard 1991:305; Seekings 1990(a):126).

Children under the age of eighteen primarily conducted the administration of people's courts. This contributed to the unpopularity of these courts and the fact that the adjudicators or arbitrators (youth) jurisdiction or status to preside over these courts was not recognised. The possibility exists that the use of such young children was a deliberate strategy by the leaders of the liberation struggle. In terms of Section 227 of the Criminal Procedures Act, 51 of 1977, children under the age of eighteen could not be held accountable for their deeds and could not be sentenced to death by a court of law (Seekings

1990(a):126; Singh 1994:11). Seekings (1992:25) states that although these courts were newly established, there were important continuities with former court structures in the townships.

4.1 TYPES OF PEOPLE'S COURTS

When mention is made of people's courts, images of wild, undisciplined youth running rampant without any social control, issuing violent punishment without any consideration of 'facts', are brought to the minds eye, therefore they are sometimes called 'kangaroo courts' (Xaba 1995:51, 54). Participants who were politically active in the struggle spontaneously distinguished between 'people's courts' and 'kangaroo courts' as these courts were sometimes referred to in the media. A 'kangaroo' court, according to the participants is "a court of prosecuting people". "If a person has done wrong he was being prosecuted by necklacing or digging holes in the field". In this regard they translated it as ke court ya go tlaiša batho or a court that abuses (mistreats) people. A people's court on the other hand, was a court that was established to educate the members of the community in the ways of the UDF/ANC. These courts were supposed to serve as an ongoing education process for the people. They described it as ke court ya go lokiša diphošo gore motho a se hlwe a di dira, directly translated it means a court of healing or the court for revising or correcting a personal mistake. Other terms used for a people's court was lekgotla or lekgotla la batho (Anon 1996).

4.2 THE ROLE, AIMS AND FUNCTIONS OF PEOPLE'S COURTS

The reason for the establishment of a people's court also determined its role, nature and character. These courts were either established to complement or replace certain functions of the police (capture and try criminals), to substitute the state legal system, or to curb the incidence of violence and counter-violence, which existed in many urban communities (Xaba 1995:64).

These courts tried civil, criminal and political matters. Civil cases included disputes between families, love triangles, disobedient children, maintenance of illegitimate children and defamation. Criminal matters included assault and rape, while political matters involved consumer and rent boycotts, treason (sell-outs), impersonation of a comrade and disobeying stayaway calls (Singh 1994:11). Apart from the judicial function of these courts in trying various types of cases for the sake of law and order, they had two major functions in the context of the liberation struggle. They had both a political and a social role and function.

4.2.1 POLITICAL ROLE AND FUNCTION

The primary function of people's courts lay in their political role. According to Moses (1990:86-87), ideological and political re-education, democracy and reintegration stood central to people's justice. Re-education sought the destruction of the old legal structures and the legitimisation of new structures. In this regard the formal legal structure was regarded by many as undemocratic, because the majority of South Africans were excluded from it and had no meaningful relation to it. People's courts therefore sought to redress the situation through the embodiment of people's justice. People's justice was to be realised through a democratically elected, legitimate, adjudicating structure, through which all its members were represented and in which everyone had a meaningful role to play.

Popular justice and people's courts in South Africa served as parallel, independent or alternative systems of law, order and dispute resolution, replacing the western system and structures of policing and administration. The existence of these courts characterised a process of prefiguring or foreshadowing a future legal system, rejecting state justice as an instrument of social control. In this regard popular justice sought to attain autonomy or independence from the state by establishing community structures of self-governance, challenging state authority (Holtzman & Nina 1993:32; Nina 1992:5; Nina & Schwikkard 1996:73).

People's courts became especially important where state restrictions made it difficult to communicate with and organise local residents. These courts as stated in Allison (1990:410), Burman and Schärf (1990:722), Pavlich (1992:33-34), Singh (1994:10) and Van Niekerk (1994:23) were used as:

- Political forums to further and direct the cause of the liberation struggle.
- A means to make the government "irrelevant" in the daily lives of the black population by demonstrating to them that the liberation movements were capable of running most aspects of township life, including the administration of justice.
- Venues where a moral vision of a desired future South Africa could be communicated through speeches in these forums.
- A means to involve and unite all residents in political structures.
- A means to keep people abreast of political developments.
- A strategy to enforce consumer boycotts.

- A way of educating township residents politically and strengthening their dignity and feelings of self-reliance.
- A structure for dispute resolution of political, civil and criminal matters.
- An initiative to create disciplinary structures.
- A vehicle to increase confidence in community organisations and consequently to advance the struggle against the state.

4.2.2 SOCIAL AND CIVIL ROLE

These courts were also key mechanisms of dispute resolution and formed an important means of social control in communities such as Kagiso and Munsiville (Soweto). In theory these courts had to create cohesion, restore order, stability, settle disputes, remove distractions from important political tasks, help to control crime, rehabilitate and reintegrate offenders into society and restore social or interpersonal relations among community members. It also had to try and neutralise potential violence and reconcile all parties in a dispute. Furthermore, like township makgotla, people's courts had to encourage collective participation, which served to reaffirm and perpetuate the spirit of communitarianism and collectivity underlying indigenous law and social ordering (Allison 1990:410; Moses 1990: 54-55, 81; Pavlich 1992:34; Seekings 1990(a):126-127; Singh 1994:15).

Seekings (1990(a):127-128) makes mention of a people's courts that handled cases of child-care maintenance, assaults by husbands on wives, theft by a son from his father and family quarrels. People's courts also handled local disputes relating to the settlement of damages incurred by another member of the community and family relations.

4.3 VENUES AND STRUCTURE OF PEOPLE'S COURTS

The exact composition and venues of these courts differed from township to township. The environment of the area or township, as well as the people who participated in the procedures determined the venues. Popular venues for courts in modern townships were amongst others churches, schools, sports grounds and open fields. In the neighbourhood of Berea in Johannesburg, the court facilities included a "rickety" table (the presiding officer's desk) and a sharpened wrought iron pick (the judge's gavel). Tyres hung from the walls painted red and white, the reminders of death by necklacing that awaited collaborators of "the system" (Anon 1986(a):7).

These courts met regularly and were either 'democratically' elected or self-appointed. Both sexes were allowed to attend the court hearings. These hearings were also not restricted to the heads of families, or to adults only (Grant & Schwikkard 1991:309; Sanders 1988:42; Seekings 1990(a):120).

4.4 JURISDICTION

People's courts generally exercised control over a limited geographical area and the cases that they tried were often related to the specific purpose for which these courts were established (social, criminal or political). In some instances people's courts focussed mainly on criminal matters and tried only accused criminal offenders and were referred to as criminal courts. Contrary to these courts, there were also courts that had a "social" function, namely to restore social order and harmony. These courts mainly tried personal, civil or family matters and are referred to as social or civil courts. Thus while some people's courts exclusively addressed civil or criminal cases, other courts addressed both. Courts that were affiliated to or associated with political movements usually had a wider range of responsibilities than the so-called civil or criminal courts. Their responsibilities included civil and criminal matters, as well as politically related matters. Politically related issues constituted the enforcement of calls for boycotts and stayaways, trying individuals who defied prohibitions on the payment of rent and electricity, impersonators of comrades and informers. At times the distinction between criminal and politically orientated courts was not very clear as the criminal deeds were done in the name of or under the pretext of the struggle, sometimes by members posing as comrades (Grant & Schwikkard 1991:309-310; Moses 1990:2-3; Seekings 1990(a):120).

However, people's courts were generally associated with radical political movements. In this regard people's courts according to Moses (1990:60), Mutwa (1986:83-84) and Grant and Schwikkard (1991:309-310), commonly adjudicated civil, criminal and politically related matters relating to the following:

- The breaking of a consumer-boycott;
- The trying of impostors who, opportunistically, robbed people under the guise of monitoring the consumer boycott;
- Theft;
- Assault;
- Rape;

- The trying of informers; and
- The trying of suspected "witches".

According to Moses (1990:60) most rape cases and all murder cases were referred to the police. This enabled the activists to suspend in advance, all overt political activities in those parts of the township where the police would have to conduct their investigation of such cases. Also excluded from people's court-hearings were "love-affair" cases and cases involving family related matters, which were referred to family elders.

With regard to witchcraft, numerous incidents of witch-burning were reported in areas of the Northern Transvaal. The deeply religious connotation of the manipulation of supernatural powers associated with witchcraft, was one of the aspects exploited by the comrades to justify the burning of accused witches. With regard to traditional belief in the external causation of unnatural or untimely death, Mutwa (1986:83-84) states that "throughout southern Africa black people firmly believe that lightning does not strike and kill a human being unless some "wizard" or "witch" has caused it to do so. ... When the witch-burning of Lebowa started some ten years ago the "witches" were only burnt to death after having been "sniffed out" by some ... witchdoctor; but now the whole terrible thing has passed into the hands of "comrades", thugs and activists of the ANC and the UDF, who are using it as a tool of mass political intimidation of the tribal people for political ends".

This practice of witch-burning started in the area in the mid-1980's. "The epidemic has created a climate in which old scores can be settled and jealousies vented ... the ANC are deeply concerned that many of the witch-burners are youths claiming to be acting in the ANC's name" (Weekly Mail 10-16 June 1994).

4.5 PROCEDURES

Most courts seem to have followed more or less the same procedure to bring a perpetrator to book. Pavlich (1992:35) refers to the comrades that acted as marshals as a "pick-up team". As is the case in traditional courts, the physical presence of both the complainant and the defendant were required at the hearing. On their arrival the prosecutor and the rest of the interested members were usually already present. Moses (1990) and Nina (1992) recorded similar practices and proceedings in the courts that were held in the areas surrounding Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Pretoria.

In many areas such as Johannesburg, proceedings were conducted in camera, especially since these courts were outlawed. The nature of the interviews or interrogations in people's courts was inquisitorial and informal. No exclusionary rules of evidence were applied, but apparently there was a marked reluctance to arrive at findings merely on hearsay. If a case involved both a criminal and a civil element, both would have been dealt with simultaneously. The adjudicators, who are supposed to act as the mouthpiece of the meeting, delivered judgement (Grant & Schwikkard 1991:310; Sanders 1988:42; Van Niekerk 1995:110).

Only a few courts provided for a system of appeal to the civic association or the political movement, but this was a rare phenomenon. If an individual showed resistance to or dissatisfaction with the judgement, verdict or the punishment of the court, his reaction could have been interpreted as 'contempt of court'. This in turn might have resulted in an increase in the punishment, for example, that a person be sjambokked by all passers-by. Where the court was not affiliated to a political organisation or movement, even refuge to the members of the political body/movement was denied (Grant & Schwikkard 1991:311; Moses 1990:62; Sanders 1988:42; Van Niekerk 1995:110).

5. PUNISHMENT BY PEOPLE'S COURTS

The general aim of people's courts and their subsequent punishments seemed to have been conciliatory, the sentences not severe and focussed on attending to their immediate needs. These courts were even popularly supported, but became increasingly unpopular due to the types of judgements and sentencing that grew out of tune with what was considered acceptable or normative behaviour by the community (Seekings 1990(a):131). The evidence and media reports of inhumane and severe sentencing by these courts were sufficient to serve as indirect intimidation to other members of the population.

5.1 PUNISHMENT WITH THE AIM OF REINTEGRATION

The aim of restitutory punishment was to educate, reconcile, rehabilitate and reintegrate the individual to both the party he has offended and the community as a whole. The aim was not to alienate or isolate the person from society. Punishment was aimed at restoring the equilibrium in the community, at the re-education and conscientization of the person in the goals of, and the winning of him over, for the struggle against apartheid. An offender was thus forced to conform to the perceived community values as defined and introduced by the punishment of the comrades (Moses 1990:62, 81; Sanders

1988:42; Seekings 1990(a):126; Van Niekerk 1995:115; Xaba 1995:62).

Seekings (1990(a):128) also states that corporal punishment with a sjambok was routine in some people's courts and approved off by the residents, on condition that it was restricted to a few lashes. Educational and reconciliatory punishment according to Sanders (1988:42), Van Niekerk (1995:115) and Xaba (1995:62) also included:

- community service (cleaning parks or sweeping streets),
- (financial) compensation (especially in theft cases either to the person or to the community fund) and
- "modelling" - the guilty party had to march through the township accompanied by marshals, with a placard stuck on him describing his misconduct.

5.2 CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AS A MEANS OF INTIMIDATION

Although many courts administered sentences in accordance with the aims of reconciliation and re-education, others saw the function of sentencing as primarily punitive. In the latter cases, people received up to a 1 000 lashes leading to their deaths. People's courts became popularly known to order excessive punishment, especially towards the second half of 1985 when the youth became more lawless, militant and openly aggressive. In Soshanguve for example a defendant in a murder case tried by the people's court, claimed that he received 400 lashes (Grant & Schwikkard 1991:310; Seekings 1990(a):129).

The coercive value of the people's courts were vested in the unpredictable and militant nature of the youth presiding over these courts, the nature and coercive proceedings of the courts, the often unfair or subjective determination of guilt and the probable inhumane punishment by these courts. The legitimacy of these courts was compromised not only by the actions and arrogance of the youth, but also by their age and lack of respect towards the elderly. Although the mature residents resented being tried by their juniors, they feared their erratic behaviour and uncontrollable nature, especially when criticised on their handling of court affairs (Seekings 1990(a(:129-130; Singh 1994:11).

As the youth became more undisciplined, the courts became more self-serving, and activists were left leaderless after the many detentions. This made the creation of their own power bases more important. The power and loyalty of the communities had to be ensured at all costs and the most effective manner

in which to ensure this was through terror and brutality by means of severe punishment, intimidating people into subservience (Seekings 1990(a(:129). Xaba (1995:60-61) illustrates this principle with the following statement:

> *"Communities without many options - those without power, or with fragile powers to protect themselves from attack - are likely to exhibit extreme forms of punitive punishment against those who betray their interests. Anyone guilty of such a crime is made to suffer 'the most exquisite agonies'. Public flogging and torture confirm the superiority of the community over the forces represented by the accused himself/herself as well as his/her actions. In the ceremony of inflicting extreme pain, leniency against the guilty person is, at best, taken as encouraging the acts committed by the guilty party and, at worst, a direct assault against the offended community. ... In the townships, most people present at a hearing are expected to participate in the flogging (non-participation is considered as tacit consent with or approval of the accused's actions). ... Sometimes, the accused person dies, while being punished, before the crowd has satisfied itself that he has been adequately punished. In such cases, punishment follows the body beyond death [by setting the body alight]".*

In a number of courts the verdict and nature of the sentences were determined democratically in accordance with the majority vote of the court. Some courts restricted corporal punishment to six lashes, some to 200 lashes and others to a 1000 lashes (Grant & Schwikkard 1991:310; Anon 1986(a):7). Van Niekerk (1995:115) states that corporal punishment was induced by several members of the court to stress the fact that the misconduct or the injury to one person was an injury to all, to the whole community who did not condone the act.

5.3 NECKLACING AS THE ULTIMATE FORM OF INTIMIDATION

Many people's courts during the 1980's made themselves guilty of human rights abuses, mutilation and inflicting death upon individuals. As undisciplined militant youth increasingly took the positions of power and authority after political leaders were detained, punishment by people's courts became more violent and brutal. This resulted in a change in ethics of these courts and the emphasis shifted from education to severe punishment. Such courts increasingly became known as kangaroo courts. Methods of punishment that were abused by these courts were usually characterised by death through burning or necklacing and severe lashings or sjambokking. The punishment for being an informer was nearly always death by the necklace method or being shot (Clarkson 1997:276; Holtzman & Nina 1993:33; Moses 1990:64; Van Niekerk 1995:116-117).

Necklacing is the ignition of gasoline-filled tyres hung around the necks of selected ANC opponents. Such torture-murders serve to intimidate and terrorise other opponents of the ANC revolution to silence (*The New American* 1994:1). South Africa is, however, not the only country in the world where necklacing occurred. Similar tactics were employed by the Soviets who wanted to take over the Philippines, Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua, and other countries. It was further reported that on 15 October 1987 the Sri Lankan State Radio broadcasted that terrorists from the Marxist "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" (LTTE) organisation, murdered five Indian soldiers after capturing them during fighting on the Jaffna Peninsula. They were killed by the necklace method - by hanging flaming car tyres around their necks. The leader of the LTTE stated that they had been "frying the Indians" (Anon 1986(a):7; Anon 1987(b):3).

"By burning people alive, the ANC and the other activists are doing what amounts to mass intimidation of the black people in South Africa" (Mutwa 1986:87). The phenomenon of necklacing was politically related and had intimidation as its sole purpose. Mrs. Winnie Mandela mobilised the youth to institute actions of necklacing during her speech on 13 April 1986, where she stated:

> *'You who hold the power to reject this government, you are the people who are going to topple this government. We are here to carry out our mandate to overthrow this government. ... Together, hand in hand, we are going to liberate this country. With our boxes of matches and our necklaces we will liberate this country' (The New American 1994:1; Anon 1986(b):10).*

The following general characteristics and modus operandi that are common to cases of necklacing are described in De Coning and Fick (1986:24-25), Mutwa (1986:84), Anon (nd(a)) and Anon (June 1986(a)):

- The victim is held or captured by his/her executioners, his/her hands are frequently hacked off as a first deterrent to resistance and barbed wire used to tie the victim's wrists and sometimes ankles together.
- Many times the victim is abused, beaten with fists and/or knopkieries, kicked, stoned, etc. More times than not, other people are coerced into participating in the events of necklacing.
- One or more tyres are placed over the victims' shoulders or neck and filled with paraffin, petrol or diesel (the latter sticks to the skin when it burns and is therefore the most popular medium used).

- The fuel is ignited with a match. The victim is sometimes forced to light his/her own necklace. A common method of indirect intimidation that was employed by the Comrades was to exhibit a box of matches, thus threatening with necklacing and earning "respect".
- The fuel ignites the tyre, which rapidly attains a temperature of 400°C-500°C. The melted rubber burns into the person's body, and at this stage nobody can save the victim or extinguish the fire and the victim becomes a living corpse. The victim dies a horrible, screaming and choking death. It can take up to 20 minutes for the victim to die.
- While the person is dying and after his death (the event), he is further ridiculed and cursed by the Comrades by being laughed at and stoned.

It is undeniable that necklacing or the mere threat or indication that the method might be used had a definite deterring and intimidating effect on the people of South Africa. Diliza Mochoba of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) stated it clearly in his revelation: "when you attend a funeral ... and you hear those young Comrades chanting "long live the necklace" you are going to think twice about doing anything which will in any way offend the Comrades" (Anon 1986(a):7).

Necklacing had gained popularity among radical blacks as a means of terrorising dissidents and encouraging black political solidarity. At the end of 1989 the same treatment was also being used on suspected witches. The same people were the executioners of these acts, namely young black militants or comrades. An accusation will be made: "My neighbor caused the lightning which killed my cow during the thunderstorm last week. I know he is a witch, because once when he did not know I was watching him I saw that he had no shadow." Then the "comrades" will appear and drag the accused from his house. They will chant and dance a toyi-toyi before lighting the necklace. Anyone who attempted to interfere risked being treated similarly. In many cases the victim's entire family would have been subjected to the same punishment whether or not they attempted to protect him, because it will be assumed that they must have known about his witchcraft. It is suspected that jealousy sometimes lies behind accusations of witchcraft: a disproportionately large number of victims of necklacing recently have been among the most prosperous, successful or well-educated blacks in their communities. There are signs that 'necklacing may be emerging as the preferred black method around the world for enforcing conformity - at least in Africa and Haiti' (Anon nd(a)).

5.4 OSTRACISM AND ISOLATION

Ostracism, according to Seymour-Smith (1986:214) is 'a mechanism of punishment or social control, which consists of isolating an individual from social interaction or conversation. In its extreme form it might involve treating a person as if he was dead'.

By denying a person the 'right' to form or continue relations with another person or group, ostracism becomes a powerful intimidatory tool used against those who did not want to co-operate in the struggle. On the positive side, it can be used as an educative method to intervene in cases of unacceptable behaviour. This method or strategy is a non-violent, but just as effective form, of intimidation as the necklace. Ostracism was a common practice employed by the UDF against members of the black communities especially those who were security force members and were regarded as enemies, sell-outs, collaborators or opponents of the people. They were, for example, refused entrance to local shops or shebeens in townships where they lived. At times they were also forced to move from the townships, especially when "ostracism denigrated into mob violence" and the possibility existed that they could be killed by members of the mob (Smuts & Westcott 1991:95).

According to Themba Sono (1994:12), an individual cannot choose to be excluded from the community, as it was chance or destiny rather than choice that put him there, thus, the community becomes his destiny. Therefore, if a person breaks away from the group/destiny, it has the same effect as to define himself as an outsider. Alienation or excommunication becomes such a person's fate. The individuals who remain or survive in a community are those who keep silent and conform, confirming and affirming their own meaning and identity in this 'hierarchical scheme of things'.

6. PEOPLE'S COURTS IN BELA BELA

Only a few sessions of a people's court were held in Bela Bela. The exact dates of these sessions could not be recalled exactly, but according to some people they started in 1986, with the most recent case in 1995[21]. Most of the people's court hearings took place in Mandela Village (an extension of Bela Bela). The people of the Old Location (original part of Bela Bela) are said to have closer ties than the people of Mandela Village, since many of the latter people only settled in the area in the 1980's from areas such as Johannesburg. The perceptions of some participants are that the people in Mandela Village are

---

[21] *It was not possible to obtain SAP records or case files on these court cases, since the case files of the incidents reported before 1990, were destroyed and the latter case was still not prosecuted.*

more politically active and involved in criminal offences, than in the rest of Bela Bela.

6.1 VENUES AND COMPOSITION OF COURTS

According to research participants in Bela Bela, people's courts were held on the sports field or under a tree in an open space at the edge of town. The courts were mainly held over weekends, or late in the afternoons when people were not at work. The courts in Bela Bela were always presided over by members of the street committees. Members of the court were not democratically elected or chosen at random, but deliberately selected and placed.

Most people's courts in Bela Bela and elsewhere in the country were linked to or owed their existence to the strategies of the political movements. Since it was the youth who were on the forefront of the political activities and struggle, it was only natural that many of them also administered these courts. Thus, for young activists the whole process of administering court hearings and executing punishment was linked to their political authority and mandate.

People's courts in Bela Bela consisted of the following people:

- A judge, chair or "magistrate" who presided over the court proceedings and passed sentence at the end. This sentence usually concurred with the expressed or loudly uttered "feeling/opinion" of the rest of the court on the type and severity of the punishment.
- Members of the 'jury' – street committee members and interested residents.

'Policemen'/marshals who had to inform the accused of the complaint or accusation against him/her, when the court would be in session and who had to ensure the parties involved remain at the hearing. It was also the responsibility of the marshals to fetch the accused from his/her house or place of employment. In Bela Bela each street committee was responsible for court hearings mainly resulting from social cases and disputes between members living in the same street. In cases where a dispute or incident arose between people living on different streets, members of both street committees would preside over the case, unless an agreement was reached that only one street committee would take responsibility.

6.2 *JURISDICTION*

There is much controversy regarding the types of cases a people's court in Bela Bela was allowed to try and those that they actually did try. One of the former activists in Bela Bela stated those civil cases, such as domestic quarrels or marital problems did not fall under the jurisdiction of the people's court, but only cases where people "misbehaved" towards the community or the organisation. Other participants refuted this statement, saying that the only times people were tried at a court was for domestic problems. In this regard a woman once took her husband to the people's court for marital problems, where he was beaten. In another case a woman who deserted her husband was called by the court and received a few lashes from the members for desertion (they could not recall how many lashes were administered).

One resident said that during the period of political change, people were not permitted to take any complaints to the police, since they were not recognised by the civics or activists. Complaints had to be taken to the members of the street committees who either resolved them or took them to the block or area committees. Problems with the activists or street committee members had to be taken to the executive committee of the Civic who dealt with them. The police were perceived to be working for the white regime against the people. They had already been "replaced" by alternative structures. People who then took their complaints to the police were acting against the community and against the 'cause'.

To the knowledge of the participants no person was ever tried in a people's court in Bela Bela for political reasons, such as treason. If an individual committed an offence, the victim or any person knowing of his actions could lay a charge against him with the street committee. The prescribed rule according to a former activist was that the defendant then had to submit a written confession of his mistake/offence and his reasons for committing it, but in practice this did not happen. The street committee then discussed the case and a decision was taken of what course or action to take. Either the committee decided what actions to take or they called for a court hearing.

According to participants in Bela Bela it was degrading for them to be tried by young people who were known to them. One resident said that 'children were not supposed to know about adult matters, for example, what transpires between a husband and wife, since some cases in Bela Bela were about adultery. It was especially uncomfortable if one's own children or students (for teachers) and their friends knew about intimate details of a private affair. This diminished respect and made discipline so much harder. Participants responded by saying that 'how could a child listen to the problems of his

own parents and come to know what was happening between them'. When asked why the adults tolerated such behaviour from children, people said that they were afraid of being killed or harmed if they did not obey. The children were armed and at times involved in acts of arson, intimidation, vandalism and public displays of protest and their possible actions were thus feared by the politically inactive members of the township.

6.3 PROCEDURE

Participants in Bela Bela disagreed on the hours that the courts were held. Some participants said that they were only held over weekends (Saturdays and Sundays), while others stated that court hearings were not confined to weekends only. Courts usually commenced when everybody was available over weekends or after work. In the case of Bela Bela a formal charge/grievance was registered with an activist or comrade serving on the street committee of the street where the prosecutor lived. The activist serving on the street committee then convened a meeting with the rest of the street committee who discussed the case and decided on a date for the court hearing. They also usually formed the panel that acted as the court. The date of the hearing was then send to the accused through a marshal (who acted as an alternative policeman). A marshal then fetched the defendant/accused to the court the following day, over the weekend or after work on the predetermined date, even if it was from his place of employment.

The practice in Bela Bela was to permit attendance at the court hearings by township residents. No appeal ever occurred in Bela Bela. According to the participants they do not know if such an option existed. If it did, nobody took it, primarily because that would have resulted in further punishment or victimisation. By appealing against the court decision it indicated a lack of trust and belief in the legitimacy, power and authority of the court and court system which in itself constituted an act of treason in the eyes of the comrades.

The intimidating effect of violent punishment of offenders in other areas was so powerful that mere threats of punishment were sufficient to ensure a full attendance at court proceedings in Bela Bela. Participants all claimed that everybody who was summoned to court hearings, even if they were the accused in the trial, attended the proceedings without resistance in fear of being beaten. Participants furthermore claimed that they were threatened with the burning down of their houses or alternatively, that they would have to leave the township if they did not attend. However, people are said to have lived together by the principle that they believed and supported the philosophy and also the rules of the

section/street or township. When the court was held, residents living in the block and street attended the event and even brought their own sjamboks.

6.4 PUNISHMENT

6.4.1 GENERAL FORMS OF PUNISHMENT

With the initial introduction of people's justice in Bela Bela, offenders were forced to perform community service, such as digging holes where it was required and cleaning of the streets. Another popular form of punishment was a fine to the court, ranging from R50 to R200.

As the struggle progressed and the courts became more aggressive, people increasingly received corporal punishment, lashing with sjamboks, which was administered by the comrades. In Bela Bela the members of the street committee who acted as judges and jury decided upon the sentences that were administered. A sentence was carried out immediately, without the person being able to appeal against it. At one stage an offender, who was a female pensioner, was pulled over a 25-litre drum and received 20 lashes.

6.4.2 THE NECKLACE METHOD AS A FORM OF INDIRECT INTIMIDATION

Of the main aims of the punishment that was administered during the liberation struggle was to create, enhance or maintain unity, cohesiveness, secrecy, loyalty and group interest. Power and authority of an individual or small groups of individuals were two important elements or resources that had to be obtained and maintained at all cost.

No act of necklacing ever occurred or was administered by a court in Bela Bela. However, the reality or possibility of dying such a brutal death was enough to intimidate people to conform. People were however aware of a necklace murder that occurred in the township of Mawhelereng (Potgietersrus), approximately 100km north of Bela Bela. The news of the necklace murder became public knowledge among members of Bela Bela, strengthening their fear of this form of punishment. In this incident, the comrades accused an innocent person of being a police collaborator/informer or an impimpi. His death served as a warning to the rest of the community that the comrades intended to deliver on their threats of administering the necklace. This act thus deterred people from providing the security forces

with information about internal township matters or about the activists. It further intimidated residents into joining the struggle and refusing to act against the leaders and the 'cause'. The fear that was instilled in the people increased unity among community members against the threat.

Through the news media and informal channels, residents of Bela Bela and the surrounding townships were well informed of acts of violence and necklace murders occurring in their part of the world. This act served as a warning to the people in both Potgietersrus and further afield of what would happen to them if they betrayed the liberation. This constant threat of death or indirect intimidation was just as effective as the direct form of intimidation where people were flogged or killed. De Coning and Fick (1986:23, 35) state that the soul of an individual who is intentionally burnt to death, signifies that that person or victim's soul, will not find peace in the hereafter (supernatural world). This belief adds to the fear of being killed by the necklace method.

According to participants in Bela Bela only political reasons provided sufficient ground for death by necklacing. These reasons included:

- Collaborators and sell-outs to the white government
- Being an impimpi or informer to the security forces
- Being a suspected member or supporter of the white regime
- Treachery or deceit to the liberation movements

6.4.3 REPORTED CASES OF OSTRACISM AND ISOLATION

Participants in Bela Bela mentioned that the activists threatened them with social isolation and ostracism. They were threatened with ostracism if they were caught providing information to the security forces, or if they ignored calls for rent and consumer boycotts. They were told that, on being found guilty, they would be forced to leave the township, their homes would be burned down and they would be beaten or killed. Even in a modern township such as Bela Bela, one of the principle factors ensuring a common or public goal and good relations between the people was the principle of communality. Many people stressed the fact that the people in Bela Bela were a loose family. In this regard many of the people living in the same street or block in the Old Location were said to be related, belonging to a line of people who settled in the area many generations ago. Therefore, ostracism from the community or family was regarded as a serious form of punishment. It was

regarded as a form of symbolic death, where the individual was shunned and treated as if he had a contagious disease and was not welcome in the community. People deliberately disassociated with him.

In Bela Bela during the 1980's, several cases of ostracism occurred. One popularly known case was a former policeman who acted as Justice of the Peace and fell victim to social isolation and ostracism. As the acting Justice of the Peace he reported the activities of the political organisations and activists to the police on a continuous basis. He was warned several times by the local political leaders and activists when they visited him at his house or when they met him in the streets, to stop his activities or leave the township. They also threatened him and his family who were living with him in Bela Bela with bodily harm. The activists regarded him as a sell-out, because he acted against the well-being and unity of the community. As one resident stated, "he did not pull with the community". Since he ignored the warnings the activists in the community, set his house alight while his sister's child was still in it. The child was saved, but the family had to leave the township since nobody wanted to accommodate them. Residents did not want to associate with the targeted individual, for fear of being labelled by the comrades as sell-outs. He and his family left the formal boundaries of the township and occupied a house belonging to the National Party (NP) adjacent to the township. During 1996, the township was extended towards his house and already people were trying to get him and his family to leave the area again. He remained isolated and cast out by the community. During 1997 he was still living in very poor (appalling) circumstances with his wife and family. There is virtually no chance that he and his family will be accepted back into the community of Bela Bela, even after the struggle is over, indicating the seriousness and long term repercussions of the punishment.

Less drastic forms of isolation included stipulations that people who are or were isolated from the community were not allowed to buy from the local general dealers or drink and socialise in the local beer hall or associate with the members in the community. The community was informed of who the individuals were that were declared to be 'anti-community'. The names of such people were written on placards or pamphlets and placed all over the township, stating that "John Nkuna", for example, was against the community and had to be killed. Their names were also mentioned through regular community meetings that were held at the community hall or on the sports field, where people were informed of new developments, decisions, boycotts and marches. To ensure that people complied with this sanction or isolation, comrades or marshals were placed at strategic places, such as cafes or the general dealer to identify people who sold items to or were seen with the targeted individuals.

The ostracism of people from the community had a severe implication on their lives. These people, if they had to move, had to break ties with their family and friends. They were no longer welcome in the

community (the unit) and they were not allowed to bury their dead in the community cemetery. Their family members were also not allowed to attend their burial. These people were stripped from their support systems and could not rely on any emotional, social or financial support from family or friends. For people to whom unity, solidarity and family and group relations are very important, the implications of ostracism are a fate far worse than death.

7. SUMMARY

Wallace's description of the stages of revitalisation movements is not specific regarding the establishment, if any, of alternative structures of a judicial, administrative, economic, political and social nature. Especially with regard to movements of a political nature, various alternative structures such as military wings, unions, education or research institutions, policing, administrative or civic and court structures are usually formed. This was especially evident in the liberation struggles of Kenya and South Africa. It is not clear at what stage of Wallace's model, if at all, these structures will be formed, namely the organisational, adaptation or cultural transformation stage.

Alternative modes of dispute resolution were important mechanisms of order and control in traditional and urban communities, enforcing and regulating the intrinsic values and norms of interaction, behaviour and co-operation among residents. The liberation strategists recognised the value of such mechanisms as key functions to gain control over local communities. As part of their strategy to optimise, manipulate and replace all government structures and influences in black communities, they replaced these structures nationally with their own alternative structures for administering people's justice.

Activists affiliated to political resistance movements introduced people's court structures in black communities at the height of the liberation struggle. These courts that functioned as alternative courts or dispute settlement structures became powerful tools of intimidation in the hands of the UDF, to ensure order, discipline and loyalty among its ranks, issuing warnings to would-be offenders, non-conformists and collaborators through the administered punishment.

To an extent these modes of dispute resolution concurred with traditional courts, although there were no hierarchical levels in people's courts. To an extent people's courts revived some of the elements of traditional court procedure and punishment. Similar to traditional courts, people's courts tried both civil (family matters and adultery) and criminal (theft and witchcraft, with the exception of murder and

rape) cases, but added political cases such as the non-participation in boycotts. In both courts prospective cases were taken to a specific person or group (chief/headman-in-council or street committee) for resolution. These committees then held public hearings, which involved inquisitorial community participation towards both parties. However, in cases of witchcraft and treason (collaboration) it has been reported that no hearing or inquest was held to determine the innocence or guilt of the person, which led to the death of innocent people, such as the case of the man who was accused wrongly in Mawhelereng.

Contrary to the practices in traditional courts and the initial township makgotla, the youth rather than adult males of the community, presided over these courts. The adults, other than the youth in the communities, had the wisdom born from experience and the enculturated norms and values, to enable them to justly and fairly try matters arising in local communities. These youth were half or uneducated, undisciplined and in their adolescent phase trying to establish their place in society, often feeling lost and frustrated owing to the then white racial preference in employment. They therefore often abused the power, authority and free reign that the political movements allotted them in the form of their positions in the people's courts and street committees. The abuse, ignorance and unsuited punishment administered by the youth in people's courts, as well as their disrespect for elders in adult matters were demonstrated by the court in Bela Bela which publicly lashed an elderly pensioner.

As with traditional courts, the initial aim of people's courts was to restore harmony and equilibrium in the community and to educate members in the values and norms of the community. However, where punishment traditionally continued to serve justice to the whole community, people's courts became more radical and justice was often administered according to the whims of children and for the benefit of the struggle and not the community. Although in theory the possibility of appeal did exist in politically affiliated people's courts to the Executive Committee of the Civic Association or political movement's leadership, no examples were found of any appeal cases.

The forms of punishment administered by the people's courts were also related to that of traditional courts. However, contrary to traditional courts, members of the people's courts employed community sanctions, such as ostracism and isolation outside the courts, as forms of punishment to intimidate and control people. However, since townships are urban phenomena, the local population did not possess cattle or goats that could be paid as fines. Therefore money was mainly paid to the court or community service rendered, such as cleaning streets, which was actually a function of the street committee. The most popular form of punishment though was corporal punishment, which became increasingly popular towards the end of the liberation struggle, as was also demonstrated in Bela Bela.

This form of punishment was also instituted by traditional courts but according to the anthropological literature, it was nor nearly as popular a method as in people's courts. The death penalty was also used in both courts; again it was used only in extreme cases under traditional law. The necklace method issued by people's courts was, however, a new form of punishment, not only in South Africa, but it would seem also in the rest of the world.

Other effective forms of punishment that were not solely administered by the people's courts, but also by the youth and comrades in the townships were ostracism and other forms of isolation. The mere thought of loosing or permanently severing ties from one's family and friends, or being "dead" to them, instilled fear and tension in people. For people who are dependent for their emotional and sometimes physical survival on the support and social interaction on the people around them, ostracism is a fate worse than death. This form of punishment was especially intimidating since such a person could remain an outcast to the community forever, as the case in Bela Bela proved. Unlike the wounds of a lashing that healed after days or weeks and allowed the person to continue with his normal life, an outcaste was "dead" to the community and could never again rely on the financial, emotional or physical help or support from friends or family. Such a person was stigmatised forever and when he met residents from the township, he was treated as if he had a contagious disease or he would be totally ignored. People would shy away from interaction with that person.

Since the group principle and collective unity is central to especially the African way of life, threats of ostracism and examples thereof had a significant impact on the community as a whole. Other examples of intimidation included the isolation and victimisation of individuals employed by the security forces and government institutions such as town councils. These people were publicly ridiculed, boycotted and shunned, their property and families were threatened with malicious damage and physical harm, which placed a constant strain on them sometimes resulting in them fleeing the township, leaving behind their homes and friends. As a result isolation and ostracism were the results of indirect pressure brought about by intolerable circumstances. Sometimes the coercion resulted in these individuals leaving their places of employment with the government and joining the struggle.

Activists used severe methods of punishments to prevent people from collaboration with the white minority government. This served as a means to achieve mass mobilisation and to introduce new political values and ideologies to the masses. People's courts thus served as the ultimate tools of intimidation through the adolescent court administrators, the coercive nature of the followed procedures and the execution of harsh punishment. Thus, instead of focussing on dispute resolution

and playing a positive role in society to build relations and curb injustices as in traditional courts, these courts to a great extent, made use of negative means to instil fear in order to obtain political goals.

Intimidation through the judiciary manifested itself in several ways. The mere existence of these courts was an indirect threat to the local communities who felt vulnerable, fearing that they might be considered traitors, sell-outs, izimpimpi or collaborators by the youth and tried unjustly. This was true since one of the aims of these courts was to punish and make examples of traitors. The court hearing itself, especially for those who did not participate or openly supported the struggle was intimidating and direct intimidation occurred through the actual punishment (necklacing, lashing and possible death) resulting from court hearings. Another important factor that induced fear in the people was the fact that these courts were administered by radical, militant, largely uncontrolled and undisciplined youth. Their actions were thus unpredictable and they illustrated little compassion or mercy, they rather seemed to enjoy power brought to them by the fear they instilled through acts of violence and terror. People who were tried for political reasons by these courts knew that they had hardly any chance of being found innocent or not receiving severe punishment or the death penalty. Unfair treatment and punishment was regularly heard of in the media and on several occasions people were sentenced to death while actually being innocent.

Threats uttered by the local activists and political leaders in Bela Bela and elsewhere that people will be necklaced and their property destroyed, especially if they betray the cause and the leaders held communities and people, who did not necessarily believe in their methods, hostage in the grips of fear. These feats were endorsed through the deaths and severe punishments that were administered by the youth in the people's court hearings that communities either witnessed or that was broadcasted on radio and television. People's courts were, however, not the only mediums that were used by activists in the struggle for intimidation purposes. Other mechanisms, although less direct and violent in character, such as toyi-toyi dancing and the chanting of liberation songs, also posed various degrees of intimidation.

CHAPTER 6

LIBERATION SONGS AND TOYI-TOYI DANCES

"A-a-a-frica	*"A-a-africa!*
U-huru!	*Free-dom!*
Kwatsha!	*It is dawn!*
Amandla!	*Power!*
Awethu!	*It is ours!*
Amandla!"	*Power!"*

(Gunner & Gwala 1991:80-81)

1. INTRODUCTION

The performances of toyi-toyi dancing and liberation songs were characteristic of mass action during the liberation struggle in South Africa. These became popular forms of non-violent resistance and protest in the streets of townships, cities and at places of employment in South Africa where workers as a united force demonstrated their feelings of discontent and frustration through marches and strikes. These interactive performances served as vehicles of mass mobilisation and group intimidation, as well as enhancing collective participation among workers, students and communities. These acts of non-violent protest against the government according to Smuts and Westcott (1991:101) formed part of a series of symbolic non-violent acts, such as the displaying of placards and clothing with logo's, slogans and portraits of imprisoned leaders. This in turn strengthened and reaffirmed political support and loyalty among members and supporters of the liberation movements.

Dances can be described as rhythmically and spatially ordered steps accompanied by rhythmic body and feet movement. Dances provide emphasis, vivid or pertinent, to actions, messages, ideas or feelings expressed in songs and may suggest those actions without saying the actual words. During Zulu praise-songs, for example, the dancer often wields a spear to emphasise the importance of the chant. *Songs*, on

the other hand, can be described as tunes/melodies that are combined with 'patterns of words' or vocal behaviour that are recited to become songs. It is the rhythm to which the words are 'recited' that distinguishes singing from speech and the recital of praises or narration. Dancing and the playing of instruments can also accompany songs, which then becomes music (Bowra 1962:28-29, 57-59; Blacking 1967:16-17; Kebede 1982:3, 101-103; Lomax 1968:3; Okpewho 1992:43, 47-48, 133; Rycroft 1991:5; Williams 1978:213).

Singing and dancing are universal human traits that are culturally specific or "culturally patterned". Each culture thus has a different or unique style and interpretation of events, history, stories and activities through songs and dances, demonstrating their diversity. Unique styles, rhythms and tempos are further distinguishable between the dances and songs of men and women and between different age sets and occupational groups. Song and dance performances are also associated with virtually every aspect, activity, occasion and event in the life of people that are of a historical, political, social, recreational, military, kinship, health, economic and religious nature. The Zulu, for example, seldom engage in any work activities such as weeding, planting, hoeing and thrashing corn without singing. Songs and dances are, however, not static but dynamic and are subject to change influenced by factors such as the natural environment, urbanisation, experiences, historical events such as wars or famine (Xhosa cattle killing episode in 1857), change of government and industrialisation. These changes and events are reflected in the words of the songs and the styles of music (Bruwer 1957:178; Kebede 1982:101; Krige 1988:338; Okpewho 1992:43, 133).

Songs and dances are culturally specific phenomena that have various functions in society. During the liberation struggle these cultural phenomena were exploited as resources to help achieve the set goals of the liberation movements. In order to understand and illustrate the significance of the exploitation of culture during a period of political transformation, attention will first be given to song and dance in the African context. This will be followed by a brief outline of the cultural significance of song and dance in Bantu-speaking societies in South Africa. Finally, attention will be given to the use of songs and dances as cultural resources to achieve the goals of the liberation struggle as well as to their application within the context of Bela Bela.

2. SONGS AND DANCES IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

2.1 TYPES AND NATURE OF SONGS AND DANCES

Dance and music styles and movements differ among people of various African and Bantu-speaking cultures and tribes as well as between different age sets and sexes. There is a distinction between the body movement of men and women depicting or symbolising their various roles in society. Men, for example, move more vigorously than women with jumping, kicking, stamping of the feet and leaping movements into the air, while women's dances contain less violent and more shuffling movements. Dance and song performances can also be specific to certain occupational groups such as fishermen, hunters and woodcutters who have their own songs that mimic movements from their occupation, for example, sowing seed or stalking animals. Rhythmic activities such as the beating of drums or the clapping of hands coupled with rhythmic body motion such as hip swinging are also common features of African dancing. Another common phenomenon is that dancers often wear rattles on their arms or legs that emphasises the rhythm and add to the sounds and aesthetic value of the performances (Kebede 1982:101-104).

The performance of dances and songs also differs in terms of tempo, rhythm and meaning. Where war dances, for example, are normally wild, others are more artistic and rhythmic. Songs and dances are primarily *functional* (ritual and ceremonial) and therefore have religious, political, economic, intimate, recreational and social value. The various *forms/styles* and characteristics of songs and dances are therefore related to their respective functions and are always specific to an occasion or typify an event. In this regard they are fundamental to ritual ceremonies accompanying important events/themes such as weddings, the coming of age, cleansing and initiation ceremonies as well as in preparation for, during or after a war. In both traditional singing and dancing there is *intense participation* that is a reflection of the sacred atmosphere. Songs can be further divided into sacred songs (religious songs) and secular songs that deal with human experiences, events outside the religious sphere (hunting songs) and relations between sexes (love songs), politics and military (songs of war) and family members (insult songs). There is not, however, always a clear distinction between secular and sacred songs, as in the case of funerals (Blacking 1964:371; Bruwer 1957:178-179; Kebede 1982:4; Krige 1988:340-342).

Communal dancing and singing is an integral part of *group activities* in sub-Saharan Africa. Most vocal performances in African and Asian societies are characterised by group songs with chorus lines and consist of a large quantity of singers between ten and twenty-five. The singing of Oriental African and

South African women is characterised by *ululation*; a shrill, high-pitched sound to express pleasure over a performance or activity or to show their approval (Blacking 1967:22; Casalis 1861:148; Kebede 1982:5-6, 36).

The most common form of collective singing throughout Africa is called antiphonal singing. Antiphonal singing is where a group of people (two or more) interacts in the performance that is usually interspersed by solo singing by a member of the group. This is also known as a "call-and-response" or "question-and-answer" sequence. Repetition is a fundamental feature of group singing where a repeated line, word or phrase provides a certain sing-song quality to the performance and the audience who identifies with it, sings along and becomes an interactive part of the performance. Repetition also places emphasis on a certain point that needs to be stressed, such as for example, rain-making chants. The repetition is often the response by a chorus that lends urgency to the words and meaning of the song or chant. Often words such as "Oo-ao" are repeated for their musical quality and aesthetic value or functionally as a means to provide rhythm or beat while the performers stamp their feet to it. Other characteristics of songs include a four-by-four repetition pattern. Here a phrase is repeated four times, followed by a short response, which is also repeated four times. These songs were also followed or *accompanied by the chanting of slogans* (Casalis 1861:150; Groenewald & Makopo 1991:81, 93; Okpewho 1992:71-74, 135-137).

Many, but not all, African songs or verses are short and simple. The singers often simply take up any current event, put it into two or three strophes and repeat it several times. The songs themselves do not consist of many words or lines, but are repeated several times. During collective singing, there is usually a chanter or lead singer who recites a verse, which is then followed by chorus singing from the group or first the chorus and then the soloist. The singing is usually accompanied by the clapping of hands by the women (Bruwer 1957:178). Bowra (1962:88) states that sometimes the black African needs to "convey to others something as strongly and sharply as he feels it himself ... aroused by some unexpected change or need". Junod (1962(a):185, 283) provides an example of a typical short compact song sung together by an audience and a soloist who repeated the song several times:

TRADITIONAL THONGA SONG:

Chorus:	Ao! *Aao!* (X4)	
Soloist:	*U ya kwihi, mamane?*	(Mother, say where do you go?) (X4)

2.2 *FUNCTION AND MEANING*

Music, songs and dances are in essence a form of formally organised and *specialised communication* used to convey messages of a social and normative character and aim. It is a means of expressing feelings and emotions in a social, religious or political context when the normal expression of these carries the danger of reprisal as custom or law prohibits them. While songs are a form of verbal communication, dances are essentially a form of non-verbal communication. As such dances emphasize the words or carry the meaning and feelings conveyed by songs through facial expressions, body movements and gestures (Kebede 1982:102; Lomax 1968:3; Nash 1968:771; Okpewho 1992:137-142; Seeger 1994:688, 698; Soko 1990:154-155).

Songs and dances also contain therapeutic value in that they facilitate emotional release, express feelings of anger at times of war, happiness at weddings and sadness during funerals; this helps with physical relaxation and self-awareness. Songs are used to convey underlying principles such as group cohesion, societal values, norms and ideals to the often younger members of the society to guide them through life and to older members to remind them of the underlying principles of society. It is thus a form of *education* furthering the traditional objectives of society (Bowra 1962:28-29, 57-59; Blacking 1964:4-5; Blacking 1967:16-17; Kebede 1982:3, 36, 101-103; Lomax 1968:3; Nettl 1956:6-8; Okpewho 1992:43, 47-48, 106, 115, 133, 137-138; Rycroft 1991:5; Seeger 1994:698; Williams 1978:213).

The primary social function of the dance in African society is to produce a condition in which the unity, harmony and concord of the community are at a maximum. It creates feelings of patriotism, solidarity and belonging. The well-being and existence of society depends on unity and harmony and the dance, by making the unity intensely felt, it becomes a means of maintaining it. The dance is usually performed whenever dynamic social harmony is required, namely before a battle and during rituals that are performed at different stages in the life cycle of individuals or groups. It may also be performed during ceremonies performed with periodic changes associated with natural changes, for example, ceremonies during seasonal changes (Kebede 1982:102; Krige 1988:336-340; Lomax 1968:174; Nash 1968:769). According to Lomax (1968:170-173) an underlying principle of group cohesion and teamwork is that personal conflicts are subordinated to the imperative of a common goal. In this regard music and dancing, as an outcome of teamwork, principally want to:

> *"... augment the solidarity of a group. Singing the same melody, dancing to the same rhythm, even utilizing the same pitch or the same levels of accent or any of the shared regularities of behaviour essential to song or dance performance arise from and enhance a sense of commonality. Such activity represents a decision that a certain stretch of communication is of central significance to the group producing or attending it. Thus every performance demands and brings about group solidarity in some degree".*

Singing and dancing cannot create or instil brotherhood or group solidarity or any other social value; it can merely *enforce, confirm or reaffirm values*. The social values concerning group importance and collective unity are thus reinforced through music. These values are what connects or unites people through the music and *brings people together*, if they can *identify with it*. Music *cannot rally people together*. The ease, with which the members of a collectivity act in concert and co-ordinate their actions, demonstrates their level of cohesion (Blacking 1964:414-417; Lomax 1968:170). Regarding the role of the group Mbiti (1969:108-109) states that:

> *"only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of his own being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities towards himself and other people. ... Whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group, and what happens to the whole group happens to the individual. The individual can only say: "I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am". This is a cardinal point in the understanding of the African view of man".*

Sono (1994:7-8, 11) states that African culture demands consensus (unity, uniformity and solidarity) and it is thus 'prone to coercive pressure and to moral agreement' to ensure it. Refusal to consent or communal agreement frequently evokes punishment, thus intra-group disagreement constitutes an act of sacrilege. Thus saying "no" to group pressure, actually (or rather symbolically) means saying no to the group and to group participation. This in turn means the person is excommunicating himself from the group, its identity, beliefs and goals. Therefore, to participate means to affirm, to agree with the demands, vision or view of the community or group. You are either for, or against the group, there is no room for neutrality.

Songs and dances were exploited in several African countries by blacks during their struggles to liberate their countries from colonial rule. The singing of political or protest songs featured especially during the periods of political transition in countries such as Kenya, Mozambique, Zambia in the 1950's and Zimbabwe in the 1970's. Songs and chants served to overtly express protest against oppressive conditions, law-enforcement and living conditions, but it was also used by members of the resistance movements to intimidate people as coercive measures to join the struggle. In Zimbabwe considerable

revitalisation of traditional songs, dances and folktale performances took place during the liberation struggle, where traditional songs were exploited by liberation movements to change the political attitudes and psychological mind-sets of the people towards liberation. The traditional songs and culture assisted to 'transfer energy from earlier and more clandestine forms of anti-colonial cultural resistance to the modern political organisations and assist in unifying their national aspirations'. The initial changes or major trends were initiated through theatre performances in guerrilla or military training camps in Mozambique and Zambia and inside liberated zones in Zimbabwe. These modes of performance were used to influence combatants with accounts of colonial occupation, local revolutionary history since 1896 and to articulate the political aspirations and roles of the people in the fight for liberation. The occurrence of all-night song-dance-political rallies called Pungwe was common in Zimbabwe with popular forms of traditional and ritual dances, chants, slogans, story-telling and songs being used to dramatise and promote the "people's struggle". Through these performances, the ideology of socialism was concretised and transformed into a vehicle to transfer political and economic power to the people (Chifunyise 1994:55; Gunner & Gwala 1991:7; Kaarsholm 1994:230-231; Kunene 1992:37; Okpewho 1992:147-149; Rycroft 1991:9).

3. CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SONGS AND DANCES AMONG BANTU-SPEAKING GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Singing and dancing among Bantu-speaking people form part of every cultural aspect namely religion, politics, education, social and economic life and also serve as entertainment. Songs and dances that are performed during rituals, social occasions or ceremonies are either performed individually or collectively. Solo performances include songs of love and praise by adults, as well as solo singing by children when playing or looking after the cattle. These solo performances are usually performed without dancing, except in the case of the initiation of a traditional healer. Songs and dances related to rituals and ceremonies of war, religion, economic, education and social activities such as marriage and beer-drinking are usually performed collectively in groups (Bruwer 1957:178; Groenewald & Makopo 1991:81; Kebede 1982:101).

3.1 INDIVIDUAL PERFORMANCES

As among other African societies, solo song and dance performances are also characteristic of the life of Bantu-speaking societies. In this regard *love songs and lullabies* where a mother lulls her baby to sleep are two examples of solo performances related to private occasions among Bantu-speaking people. The

words of a Venda lullaby that are sung repeatedly by the mother until the baby is asleep relate to the fact that Venda children continue eating even though they are satisfied, are as follows: *'My nursemaid's stomach is full; although I am full, I go on eating'* (Blacking 1967:43). Lullabies (songs of love) by the mother are forms of security and comfort to the baby and show her love and presence. These songs are usually sung or hummed in a soft, tender and loving voice. Zulu mothers invent a special lullaby for each child called an isiHlabelelo, which is identified with that child and with which he/she has a special bond throughout life. The iziHlabelelo of female Zulu are sung again to them at the time of their first menstruation and for the last time when they get married. While growing up, songs are taught to the child by his/her parents, peers and other adults (Blacking 1967:43; Bruwer 1957:178; Kebede 1982:4-5, 37; Krige 1988:33).

The *praise-song* is another well-known form of (semi-) solo singing performed by a praise-singer or poet and is mainly reserved for special occasions such as the coronation of a king. Praise-poems are referred to as izibongo in Zulu, maboko in Tswana and serêtô in Northern Sotho. The Northern Sotho and the Zulu call praise-singers, respectively barêti (singular: morêti) and izimbongi (singular: imbongi). Praise-poems, songs or chants are midway between speech and songs, as they are often recited in a melodramatic and musical voice, 'half-spoken and half-sung', and are only sometimes accompanied by instrumental regulation. Themes in traditional praise-poetry focus on prominent individuals such as kings and traditional leaders, occasions, deeds, virtues or events where heroism or personal honour is at stake such as during wars, hunting trips, initiation ceremonies, weddings and raids. Praises are often founded in feelings of admiration for a person or subject (Bruwer 1957:178, Groenewald & Makopo 1991:83, 87; Gwala & Gunner 1991:1; Krige 1988:338-340; Okpewho 1992:44, 130-133, 142-144; Pollard 1980:6, 10, 46-67, 86-91).

An important aspect of chants is audience participation through encouragement or group recital of certain chorus areas. The praise-chants, for example, are conveyed in a high-pitched voice or tone that is loud in volume and very fast in speech. The rate or tempo of the words sometimes carries the force of the event. The high degree of tonal pitch mobilises people to intense emotional excitement and together with dramatic body movement emphasises the importance of the conveyed ideas. As time progressed the themes changed to include modern political leaders that are regarded as being of a higher status than traditional leaders (Bruwer 1957:178, Groenewald & Makopo 1991:83, 87; Gwala & Gunner 1991:1; Krige 1988:338-340; Okpewho 1992:44, 130-133, 142-144; Pollard 1980:6, 10, 46-67, 86-91). The words of a praise-song for the late traditional leader Moshoeshoe in English are quoted from Okpewho (1992:144) as an example of the content of such songs. In this praise-song one finds some genealogical information that is portrayed in praising the warrior qualities of Moshoeshoe,

information about the loyalty of his capital, as well as reference to rival groups such as the Pedi, Ndebele and Zulu:

SOTHO PRAISE-SONG FOR MOSHOESHOE:

You who are fond of praising the ancestors,
Your praises are poor when you leave out the warrior,
When you leave out Thesele, the son of Mokhachane;
For it is he who is the warrior of the wars:
Thesele is brave and strong,
That is Moshoeshoe-Moshaila.
When Moshoeshe started to govern the Sotho,
He started to at Butha-Buthe:
Thesele, the cloud, departed from the east,
It left a trail and alighted in the west
At Thaba Busiu, at the hut that is a court:
Every nation heard,
And the Pedi heard him too.
Moshoeshoe, clear the road of rubbish
That the Maaooa may travel with pleasure,
And travel with ease.
The Ndebele and the Zulu's heard too. ...
Thesele, great ancestor, child of Napo Motlomelo,
Protective charm of the Beoana's land. ...[21]

Gunner and Gwala (1991:14) provide an example of a traditional praise-song for king Shaka of the Zulu, where mention is also made of two other Zulu royal ancestors, namely Phunga and Mageba[22]:

ZULU PRAISE-SONG FOR KING SHAKA:

Inyathi ejamengomkhanto phezu koMzimvubu	(Buffalo that leans frowning on a spear above the Mzimvubu)

22 *Mageba is also known as uNdaba, the special ancestor of the Zulu.*

Aze amaMpondo ayesaba ukuyehlela.	(Until the Pondos were afraid to come down.)
Ningambhlabi ngoba niyobe nihlaba uPhunga noMageba.	(Don't stab him because you would be stabbing Phunga and Mageba.)
BAYETHE! BAYETHE! UYIZULU!	(HAIL O KING! HAIL O KING! HE IS THE ZULU NATION!)

According to Kunene (1992:39), militant poetry among blacks directed at the white Europeans in South Africa can be traced to the early 19th century with the Great Trek of the Boers and the "wars of dispossession". In both poetry and songs, the courageous acts of the heroes are articulated and immortalised for future reference and measurement. Kunene (1992:39-40) provides an example of a traditional praise-poem. Apart from relaying the courageous acts of the hero, the general aim of such a militant praise-poem was for the audience (young warriors) to derive pride, courage and a sense of confidence from the acts and to boost their morale to face the enemy. The poet tells them that there was no room for fear and diffidence in their ranks. The poem reads as follows:

MILITANT ORAL PRAISE-POETRY (in Southern Sotho)

Le sa mpate bahlankana beso!	(Do not hide my actions, servants of my country!)
Ha le ke le re ke nna ka mo thula!	(Will you not say it was I who struck him!)
Ha le re ke nna ka bolaya pele?	(Will you not say it was I who killed first?)

Solo performances are therefore reserved for special occasions such as coronations or personal bonding (mother and child) and have both a sacred (praises) and intimate (love songs) nature. Praise-songs are considered sacred because they are usually devoted to kings or traditional leaders who are the link to the supernatural and ancestral world or to individuals who performed brave deeds and are thus blessed by the supernatural. This sacred nature is especially portrayed by the manner in which these songs are sung – respectful and without dancing. The words of these songs that are rarely accompanied by dancing are saturated with meaning and the emphasis was not so much through movements as through tonal variation and tempo.

3.2 COLLECTIVE PERFORMANCES

The literature provides numerous examples of songs and dances that are performed collectively by various communities, groups in the communities or families. These collective performances manifest

especially in economic, family (birth and child rearing), social, recreational, religious, political and military environments. By way of illustration only a few examples will be provided regarding each sphere of the culture of the Bantu-speaking groups in South Africa in the discussion that follows below.

Prominent communal songs among the Zulu, for example, include their national anthem, regimental songs and their various sib-songs. Apart from the national anthem and the regimental songs, sib-songs or iHubo form an integral part of the identity of the members belonging to a specific sib or lineage. These songs are sung by members of the family assembled in the cattle kraal before a child of the household leaves to be married as well as at the funeral of a hunter. These occasions are usually grave or solemn and remind the people of a time of peace and abundance of food. It is a moving performance accomplished with much gravity of manner, usually with up-lifted shields and accompanied by a dance (Krige 1988:339).

3.2.1 SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL PURPOSES

Dances for *entertainment* purposes are popular. During such dances among the Tsonga and Venda, unmarried youth of both sexes come together on 'moonlight' nights in autumn and winter to dance. During these dances future husbands and wives are often identified. They sing short, repetitive, rhythmic, melodious songs and clap their hands for rhythm without the accompaniment of a drum. The dances contain stamping and jumping. On such occasions the boys and girls stand a distance away facing each other. A boy dances out and touches a girl and together they dances back to the boys' line. The girl then touches another boy whose place is taken by the first boy who dances back with the girl towards the female line and he then touches another girl. These play-dances assist a child to master dance techniques and to appreciate the ethos of adult music. The Venda also have numerous play-songs that form part of children's games. These children are also taught mocking songs or songs of insult through which they can tease women who are working hard or boys who are considered to be 'sissies' (Blacking 1967:24-25; Kebede 1982:37-38).

Music among Bantu-speakers is fundamental to the celebration of special occasions. Among the Tsonga and Venda special communal *beer-songs* are associated with special social occasions namely the organising of work-parties and the arrangement of marriage. They also mark the celebration of important life cycle events such as pregnancy, birth, dropping the umbilical cord, closure of the fontanel, first walking, first menses, initiates returning from initiation school, betrothal, marriage, death

and the various stages of progress through the spirit world. During these occasions the relatives give each other gifts of beer that are accompanied by singing and dancing where the objective of the occasion is explained through the songs. During the performance of these acts, in-laws express friendly criticism, solidarity and cleavages that might exist amongst themselves. These beer-songs have an irregular rhythm and are emphasised by hand-clapping or by the dance steps of solo dancers who stamp and jump in time to the rhythm of these songs (Blacking 1967:21-23, Blacking 1969:25; Kebede 1982:38-39). Kebede (1982:39) provides the words of Tsonga beer-drinking song sung at a betrothal:

TSONGA BEER-DRINKING SONG:		
Call:	*Byala-a hi lebyi maseve!*	(Here's beer at the betrothal!)
Response:	*Hi lebyi maseve.*	(In in-lawship)
Call:	*Byala hi lebyi maseve!*	(Share beer at the betrothal!)
Improvised line:	*Hi lebyi maseve!*	(Hurry, hurry I lack my share)

3.2.2 MARRIAGE AND BIRTH

Dancing and singing brings men and women of marriageable age together where they interact with each other on a social level such as described above. These performances also form an integral part of the *wedding* process. At some weddings, for example, both sexes and the parents and grandparents perform dances, usually in double file in which the participants often meet and separate. Among the Tswana the families of the bride and the groom engage in dance competitions to provide a better wedding party and entertainment. Sometimes professional musicians are hired to improvise poetic verse in honour of the couple and worthy singers and dancers of the village are invited to perform at the wedding. Part of the wedding ceremony of the Swazi king, for example, is where warriors sing various songs such as a sacred songs which comprise amongst others the burial song of kings, the song of the annual ceremony of kingship and songs of other major occasions (Kebede 1982:38, 102-104; Kuper 1947:80; Schapera 1940:75, 79; Schapera 1970:151).

Among the Xhosa, a girl is isolated or secluded before her wedding. During this period the women perform various dances. The first dance begins after the period of seclusion has started and is called the umngqungqo or women's dance and lasts for two days. The women are dressed in their best attire with beaded aprons and faces painted with red ochre. After the women's dance has ended, the men's dance or umdudo commences and lasts from two to six days. This dance has three basic movements.

The men, dressed in loin cloths or short kilts, divide into several lines consisting of ten men each and wait for the opening dance-song or umyeyezelo sung by women and accompanied by the beating of the ingqonggo or ox-skin drum. The men start by throwing their left feet forward and striking the ground with a 'resounding' thump while at the same time flexing their bodies forward. They then return to their original erect positions in unison, and repeat this sequence three to four times, followed by three to four leaps into the air. After a while a whistle by the leader stops this first movement sequence. The opening song is replaced by the ngoma kaMhlala or Mhala's song, which introduces the second movement, called ingqaqu. This movement is performed with much more vigour than the first one and the more active young men engage in it. The leader of the movement breaks away from the line of men and advances quickly while moving each leg alternately. Each step is initiated by a short hop and is followed by the other dancers in a single file in a 'follow-the-leader' fashion. The dance movements are free and there is room for initiative while moving about the floor. The second dance also stops at the sound of a whistle and is followed by the last dance called umxentso or umtyubulo. The dancers who participated in the second dance break into small groups where each person dances vigorously according to his own style, their bodies assume various attitudes in response to the rhythm of the song. The dancers' torso muscles and biceps are made to quiver with a fluttering motion (Soga 1932:218-220, 236-238).

Songs and dances are also part of an individual's life before his/her *birth*. Singing and dancing are performed during pregnancy to ask the gods and ancestors for safe delivery, as well as later in celebration after the child is born and also during the name-giving ceremony. Among the Pedi male and female dances are performed when a child is presented to family and friends for the first time after the birth. Part of the festivities is a special dance-performance in honour of the child. If the child is male a dance called the ba e tia kati is performed by the men and led by a male guest who is industrious, honourable or brave. During this dance the leader holds an assagai and the men give long, halting jumps. With female children the women perform a shuffling dance called ba hlakela that is concluded with shrill shouts and led by a woman who is a noted worker with a hoe in her hands (Kebede 1982:37; Mönnig 1983:104).

3.2.3 EDUCATION AND INITIATION

Special children's songs called nyimbo dza vhana play an important role in the *education* of Venda children. These songs are sung huskily, breathlessly and haltingly and are not accompanied by the clapping of hands. They are divided into two broad categories, namely daylight songs sung at any time

of the year and night-time songs sung in late autumn and winter. These songs are subdivided into 'songs for boys', 'songs for girls' and 'songs for both boys and girls'. The children have special counting songs, through which they learn to count and name their fingers, toes and other body parts or to nominate a person to do an undesirable job. These songs are also used to teach the children about their family history, important people and events in the tribe, as well as values and norms and to distinguish between right and wrong (Blacking 1967:23-24, 35; Kebede 1982:38).

Communal dancing and singing are fundamental to both traditional male and female *initiation* ceremonies and processes in South Africa. Instructors and the initiates marking the initiation process sing special initiation and ceremonial songs. Among the Pedi male initiation songs are usually sung in the early mornings, late in the afternoons and in the evenings. The aims of these songs are to 'warn' females of approaching males so that they avoid them during this period, to create group cohesion, correct unruly behaviour, to convey the facts of life, learn family and royal genealogies, codes of conduct, values, obedience, norms, laws, roles of men and women, warnings, taboos and customs to the initiates. Such songs are sung by males and are referred to as 'songs of law' among the Tswana as they teach them to honour, obey and support the traditional leader, the value of cattle and to expect and endure hardships for the sake of the tribe (Bruwer 1957:104, 106, 108; Elliot 1970:84, 88; Kebede 1982:4, 38, 102-104; Krige 1988:102-103; Krige & Krige 1947:114-117, 122; Mönnig 1983:115, 118-119; Schapera 1940:255-256, 259).

Circumcised boys or abakweta among the Xhosa perform their own dances called umtshilo. The umtshilo dance is confined to the lower limbs and does not have specific uniform steps – each dancer creates his own. The abakweta perform these dances at several kraals and when they return to their seclusion hut, the women of the host kraal sing a song called unomdlisayo upon which the boys continue with their dancing. At the end of the circumcision period a festive period commences in which the huts are burnt and a praise-singer (imbongi) praises every initiant and gives each of them a new name. At the end of the female initiation ceremony among the Xhosa, for example, youth of the area gather at the kraal of the initiant and they perform a dance called umdudo (Bruwer 1957:103; Soga 1932:256-257).

The Venda have both separate male (thondo) and female (vhusha) puberty schools and ceremonies as well a combined social dance-ceremony called the domba pre-marriage school where marriage partners are often chosen. After the vhusha the young women also have to pass through the tshikanda or intermediary school before the domba. During the vhusha ceremony the instructors perform fatiguing dances that are repeated by pairs or two to four initiants for six nights to learn endurance and dance

skills. The dancers fold their arms and execute a variety of dance movements according to the rhythm of the songs. These dances are said to be difficult, strenuous, quasi-gymnastic and require physical or muscular strength and co-ordination of movement. Before and after dancing the dancers perform the Venda greet (u losha) in a special way in that they sit with their arms folded and heads lowered. When it is their turn to dance they losha by lying down on their left sides, facing inwards with their hands together, fingers curled and legs drawn up almost in a fetal position. When the dance is over the dancer losha again but lies on her right side. During the thondo ceremony no drums are played, because they are kept in secret in the bush. Here the boys have to pledge an oath of secrecy not to reveal anything of the initiation process and are even beaten to emphasise the importance of this secrecy. At the ceremony marking their transition from boyhood to manhood, the young men dance at the hut of the traditional leader for two nights after which they have a short break and then start dancing again. This procedure continues for a week. The domba dance, also known as the python-dance, is accompanied by the playing of the alto and bass drums. During the dance the males and the females stand in a long row with the males in front, clutching each other's shoulders or arms. The procession moves slowly forward, shuffling their feet around the fire to the beat of drums. Every now and then on the signal of the leader their arms move slowly up and down in a wave-like movement with their bodies, mimicking the movements of the python (Blacking 1967:21-22, 34; Bruwer 1957:107-111). Blacking (1969:34) provides the words of a special female initiation song that is sung during the tshikanda ceremony referring to their passing through the tshikanda:

VENDA INITIATION SONG:

Ahee, ndodzi dzi a wela.	Tears are falling down.
Ahee, mbembe dzi a wela	The young birds are crossing over.
Ahee, asidzo dzi a wela!	There they are crossing over!

CHORUS:

Ahee, ee, ee, dzi a wela.	They are crossing over.

3.2.4 ECONOMIC PURPOSES

Work-songs are common, especially when repetitive physical movements are required such as, for example, the chopping of wood and during seasonal work. These songs help to determine the tempo

of the work. Among the Southern Sotho, for example, songs are sung when the men are busy softening ox-hide and become more rapid as their work progress. Among the Venda work-songs have a regular rhythm/pattern and during the period of planting and weeding ritual music and work-songs are performed regularly. Towards the end of the weeding season Venda girls start to practice for their dance, the tshigombela, which they perform in other parts of the region as representatives of their local headman after the weeding has been completed (Blacking 1967:21-22; Casalis 1861:134; Kebede 1982:40).

Among the Swazi work-parties are common practice. The work-party or communal labour requested by an ordinary citizen is called lilima (derived from kulima – to hoe) and that of a traditional leader is umemo (derived from kumema – to carry back). Singing, dancing and boasting are important aspects of the social festivities of such work-parties. Before a task begins for political leaders begins the party sings and dances at the home of the host and, when the work is completed, the festivities are marked by renewed singing and dancing for entertainment purposes. The performances are marked by men and women sitting in separate groups chanting old national songs with every now and then an individual rising and flaunting his or her dancing skill in honour of the host and to the rejoicing audience. The traditional leader of an area is always invited to a large lilima so that this represents an occasion where he can get into contact with his subjects (Kuper 1947:144-148).

A practice among the Zulu that has nearly totally disappeared is an annual feast in honour of the spring visit of the Princess of Heaven (uNomdede or uNomkhubulwana). At the time when the corn is planted, girls used to go around and beg corn for beer from neighbouring villages. The beer would be brewed and on an appointed day the girls, wearing special dresses of grass, would gather at noon in the veldt where they would dance, feast and sing traditional songs in honour of Nomkhubulwane. While singing they would beat together stones held in their hands to produce a clanging sound. At the end of the celebrations the women would take hoes and plant mealies that would not be eaten on a special piece of land for Nomkhubulwane (Krige 1988:198-199).

Singing and dancing are also common before and after a successful *hunt* among the Zulu. Before the hunt each company of men assembles at the hut of the host kraal where they dance in salute to the 'master of ceremonies', yelling and boasting their prowess. After the hunt the hunters gather around the master of ceremonies, each man carrying his kill and each section again dancing and singing and recounting their actual deeds, telling the traditional leader how many animals they killed in the hunt. On their return home they would chant and sing a hunting song (Krige 1988:204-207).

3.2.5 RELIGIOUS PURPOSES

Ritual dancing and singing is fundamental to religious worship and occasions. Music, songs and ritual dance performances are ways through which a person can communicate with the unknown and the supernatural world of gods and other deities. These performances form an integral part of thanksgiving rituals for rain and harvests. Dances, songs and chanting of religious texts are sacred and as such used to ward off evil spirits, enhance religious meditation, appease and celebrate special days of the spirits and gods, and ensure harmony between a person and his universe. Dancing and singing also form an integral part of the sacred rites performed at the first-fruits and rain rituals in South Africa (Kebede 1982:4, 40).

The Zulu first-fruits ritual (umkhosi) is accompanied by much singing, dancing and feasting. This is also the forum during which the king announces new laws for the people. After this announcement the king's song, an old Zulu family song or national anthem (inGoma) is sung and it is said to be able to ensure rain. After the umkhosi festivities, each military regiment competes in military manoeuvres and dance competitions. During this occasion the freedom of speech is afforded to the army who can air their grievances or content and denounce, interrogate or insult the king with exemption. The Zulu ritual of the first-fruits is, for example, concluded by the singing of the inGoma by the King and his army and the rest of the gathered Zulu nation, after which the king is cleansed with medicine and the men take a bath in the river. The festivities then continue with singing and dancing by all present to show their appreciation for the new crops that were secured by this ritual, sacrifice to the ancestor spirits and the army's performance of great military manoeuvres (Bruwer 1957:148-149; Krige 1988:259-260, 339). The words of the inGoma or king's song as recorded by Krige (1988:260, 339) are as follows:

KING's SONG FOR RAIN:

'The calf (traditional leader) celebrates the *Umkhosi*
Ye, ye, and the sky becomes overcast.
The sky bears the clouds of Soshangane[23],
Ye, ye, the sky becomes overcast'.

[23] *Soshangane was the first traditional leader (chief) of the Shangana section of the Tsonga, a former field general of Shaka who broke away to form the Shangana.*

THE INGOMA OR ZULU NATIONAL ANTHEM:

'They hate him, they love him;
all nations hate him, and
are arranging evil for him,
the descendant of Ndaba.
Stand! Stand!' (meaning live forever)

Among the Venda, young men gather at the place of the paramount traditional leader for the first-fruits rituals (tevula) where they perform a dance called the tshikona that lasts until midnight. The next day a priestess (tshife) sprinkles specially brewed beer on a sacred black bull and cow who were fed the first ripe sugar cane (impye) of the season or gives it to them to drink as part of the ritual to honour the ancestor spirits and bring them special offerings. Sometimes the rest of the beer is poured over sacred stones and other sacred objects or it is given to everybody to drink and a woman gives a shout of joy that is echoed by all other women. A man then gives a signal to the flautists and the gathered audience engages in more dancing, singing and music-making to encourage joy among the people and to show their happiness because the ancestor spirits have accepted their offerings (Bruwer 1957:149; Stayt 1968:254-256).

Singing and ritual dances are also fundamental to sacred rituals, for example, to secure rain which is essential for economic purposes to ensure crops and thus food for the people. The Venda have an annual rain ritual and believe that drought is the punishment for the transgression of a taboo or is sent by angry ancestors. Rain is then induced by magical and religious means. In the case of an offended ancestor, his identity is established by a diviner and his living relatives are summoned to perform the sacred tshikona dance in a village within hearing distance of the grave or in the bush near the grave of the offended ancestor. The traditional leader then visits the grave and lays the stomach contents of an ox on it. Previously all the traditional leaders of the MaKhwinde sib gathered at the ruins of Dzata where the paramount traditional leader prayed to his ancestors for rain, while the rest of the gathering danced the tshikona (Stayt 1968:310-311).

The Lobedu people of the Northern Province near Duiwelskloof, believe that a lack of rain is caused by someone who has greatly angered the rain-queen, Mujaji, causing disharmony with the supernatural world, a situation that needs to be rectified. The tribe makes use of a sacred drum to create rhythm for

the ritual dance and songs to secure rain. A traditional rain-doctor always forms part of this ritual ceremony and prepares special rain-medicine (Krige & Krige 1947:126, 272).

The Xhosa and Venda also engage in rain-making rituals. A prominent feature of the Xhosa rain-making ritual is an ntlombe or a song-party. Singing (ukwombela) without clapping (ukuvumisa) accompanies the rain-maker throughout all his dancing and invocations or 'prayers' (Kebede 1982:104-105; Soga 1932:176).

The Pedi according to Mönnig (1983:155-157) practice various *rain-making* rituals. In cases of serious drought sacrifices to the ancestors are the main method of rain-making. For annual seasonal rain-making practices, the principle wife of the traditional leader, who acts as head-priest, is responsible for arranging a date for the rain-making ritual, called mothokgo. The traditional leader summons and consults all tribal witch-doctors as to whether additional medicine needs to be added to the rain-medicine (mohlapo) that is kept at the back of the principle wife's hut. On the set date for the ritual all uninitiated girls of the tribe dressed in front and back aprons gather at the traditional leader's kraal, each carrying a small clay-pot containing water collected from all the water sources in the area that is mixed with traditional medicine. After this water has been sprinkled over all the lands the girls return singing the following song that is believed to possess magical value:

NORTHERN SOTHO (PEDI) RAIN-MAKING SONG:

Magabegabe re nyaka pula mogatša Kgobeane	(We want plenty of rain, wife of Kgobeane[24])
Malepe! Malepe!	(That which hangs! That which hangs!)
Malepe! Malepe!	(That which hangs! That which hangs!)
Pula e lepelele	(Rain is hanging down)
Malepeledi a pula	(The hanging rain)
Pula e lepelele	(Rain is hanging down)
E ana eyana pula digorogo!	(It rains, it rains the rain which has arrived!)

Krige (1988:173) states that after the *burial* of a Zulu king the returning army sings his favourite anthems, while the izimbongi (praise-poets) in front of the soldiers shout his praise. The death of a king causes the whole tribe to mourn his death through singing and rejoicing for a whole year. After

[24] *Kgobeane refers to the son of the Kgobe that is the personal name for Modimo the Supreme Being or God.*

the death of king Shaka's mother Nandi, songs of mourning were sung to him for the period of a year to share in his grief and to show compassion.

Traditional healers can also cure a patient by singing songs and performing prescribed dances. Dancing and singing in the form of 'music-parties' (intlombe in Xhosa) are integral to the *healing process*. A traditional healer or diviner among African groups is usually called upon to determine the cause of an illness. Among the Xhosa he/she is called an igqira and if he/she cannot determine the cause, the help of a specialist called an isanusi is requested. The initial meeting with the igqira is characterised by dancing, singing and the clapping of hands by the audience/consultants where the healer makes statements and the audience has to reply with the word ukuvuma (to agree) to his statements. The loudness and enthusiasm of their statements usually tells the healer which statement of his is correct in terms of the nature of their visit to him. If he cannot heal the person, an isanusi is called upon who together with the igqira begins a process of healing. This process is characterised by singing, dancing and clapping when the igqira first arrives at the kraal. A "take-off" song (intsusa) is sung when the igqira joins the audience and some people start dancing (ukuxentsa). The isanusi arrives shortly afterwards when all dancing ceases and the intsusa is repeated, followed by Mhala's song (ingoma ka-Mhala). While the song continues the isanusi and his protegees' called abakweta rise and dance. The isanusi then thanks the audience for providing the musical or song party (ntlombe) and he then selects another song performed by him and the abakweta while they continue dancing before they start the procedure of question and answer to determine the nature and cause of the illness (Soga 1932:160-162).

Traditional healers and their patients can also achieve a status of self-induced trances to communicate with the ancestors spirits through spirit-dances or *spirit-possession-dances* such as the malopo or mapale-dance practices by the Pedi and Lobedu people of South Africa. The malopo-dance is a medium through which a well-meaning ancestor spirit makes contact with a person by making him/her fall ill. The ill individual consults a traditional healer who makes the diagnosis of malopo-illness and recommends as treatment the malopo-dance to identify the ancestor that is causing the illness and his/heer needs. The patient, traditional healer and his apprentices participate in the dance that is regulated by the beating of a drum. The dance continues for hours or days until the patient falls into a trance when the spirit possesses him and during which he communicates with the spirit. Among the Pedi the patient is said to chant on the same note while the healer interprets telling the audience/family what sacrifice to bring to appease the spirit. Among the Lobedu the patient sings a song through which he identifies the spirit and the audience echoes the refrain accompanied by rattles as musical instruments. After the spirit possession the person is on his/her way to recovery with the help of

traditional medicine from a traditional healer (Kebede 1982:40, 101, 105; Krige & Krige 1947:244-245; Mönnig 1983:87-88).

3.2.6 POLITICAL PURPOSES

Special performances containing music, songs, dances and poetry are performed on special occasions to acknowledge the authority of the traditional leader. The Venda, for example, perform their national dance, the tshikona, at the instalation of a new ruler, to honour a ruler when he visits the homesteads or kraals of other traditional leaders under his jurisdiction, at the sacrificial rites at the grave of a ruler's ancestors and at the commemoration of an important ruler's death. During this dance the men move ant-clockwise in single file with a 'walking' step and circle around the women who play bass, alto and tenor drums. Each dancer produces one note of the total pattern on an end-blown pipe so that the end performance depends on the co-operation of the whole group (Blacking 1967:26-27; Kebede 1982:39, 102; Stayt 1968:205).

The Swazi have a national ceremony, the incwala, in which the whole nation participates and in which the king or paramount traditional leader is the most important figure. The purpose and function of the incwala, of which the first fruits ritual forms a part, is to strengthen kinship ties, to reconcile conflicting parties and to illustrate the cycle of kingship (his development, identification with the well-being of the nation, his death and the new successor). The collective singing of special incwala songs, the shouting of praises to the king and special collective dances are important aspects to ensure participation, create collective unity and convey messages of hate, love and criticism to the king. The incwala is divided into two sections, the Little Incwala or umemo and then the Big Incwala. The first day of Little Incwala ritual commences the night of the longest day of the year on or around 22 December during a moonless night and continues until sunrise and is characterised by dancing and singing. The main participants are the king, his mother, the queens, the kings' artificial blood-brothers and the main royal regiments. No dangerous weapons are allowed so as to prevent any injury or fighting that might occur when the excitement runs high. The men, however, carry sticks (not spears) and shields in their left hands to free their right hands for the incwala dance. Before the dance the regiments shout a praise-song after which the leader commands silence and the veterans slowly start singing the sacred 'hand-song' (see below for an example of the song). During the song the men of the capital jump into the middle of the area and the commander-in-chief arranges the regiments into a crescent. The women then come through the cattle byre to join the dancing and singing (Kuper 1947:197-203, 223). Kuper (1947:203) provides an example of the sacred dance-song that was repeatedly sung during the Little

Incwala by the male veterans of the regiments of the king's grandmother's village and which was concluded after several repetitions of the last two sentences:

SWAZI SACRED "HAND-SONG" SUNG DURING THE LITTLE INCWALA:

Uye uye oyeha - you hate the child king mu u u oyeha,
You hate the child king.
I would depart with my Father (the king),
I fear we would be recalled.
Mm m u oyeha – they put him on the stone:
Mm m u oyeha he – sleeps with his sister:
Mm m u u u he – sleeps with Lozithupa (Princess):
Uye uye oyeha - you hate the child king.

Concluding verse after the above song was sung repeatedly:
Shiyo ihi hi hi shiyo ihi hi hi (repeated four times)
Hi Hi Hi.

Kuper (1947:204) states that after the first sacred song of the Little Incwala ceremony of the Swazi they start a second sacred song/chant. The men take the sticks in their right hands and point them forward in accordance with the slow rhythm of the song. The women raise the wands that they are carrying and with skillful movements of the fingers make them quiver in time with the song. The words of the second sacred song are as follows:

SECOND SACRED SONG SUNG DURING LITTLE INCWALA (SWAZI):

Shi shi ishi ishi - you hate him,
ishi ishi ishi – mother, the enemies are the people.
ishi ishi ishi - you hate him,
Mother - the people are wizards.
Admit the treason of Mabedla
ishi ishi ishi - you hate him,
you have wronged,
ishi ishi – bend great back,

those and those they hate him,
ishi ishi - they hate the king.

After a long time the song is concluded with:
Awoshi awoshi
Hi Hi Hi.

The second sacred song of the Swazi incwala is followed by numerous solemn, but not sacred chants or imigubo that are full of historical references and moral principles. While the chanting is in progress the belwandle treat the king with their medicine. After being treated and after the sun has set, the king enters the sacred enclosure (inhlambelo) and the dancers change their formation from a full crescent to a circle, from a partial to a full moon. Young regiments are ordered to stand outside the inhlambelo and the others move upward to surround the king and repeatedly sing a song (simemo). The simemo song is a song of sympathy and relate to important episodes of every king's life, such as his marriage to his ritual wife, when the ancestral cattle are brought back from the royal graves and when the king himself dies. The simemo is abruptly ended when the belwandle shout "Out foreigners!" referring to those who do not owe allegiance to the king or may harbour hatred to the king. After the king has spat medicine to the east and west to strengthen the earth the people sing the final anthem entitled Ingcaba Kangcovula (see the song below). After the Little incwala there is an interim period of approximately fourteen days during which the words of the incwala songs and the dances are practised and performed at the kraals of minor traditional leaders. The themes of the songs convey the hatred of the king by internal enemies and his rejection by the people. The actual words are few, mournful and are repeated continuously and are only sung during the weeks of the incwala (Kuper 1947:204-208).

The Big Incwala follows the interim period during which where the sacred tree or lusekwane (an acacia species) representing prosperity, revitalisation, prestige and fertility is searched for. Singing and dancing in which the king and the rest of those present participate accompanies the departure of the search party to find the tree. When the tree is found and is being hacked with knives, the young men sing the third sacred incwala song, a special lullaby (see the song below). While singing the lullaby the men beat their shields against their sides mimicking the rhythm that a women uses to rock a child to sleep. It is said that this song was sung by a queen in exile to her son who later became king (Kuper 1947:208-210). The words of the lullaby and the Swazi national anthem noted by Kuper (1947:210, 205) are as follows:

THIRD SACRED INCWALA SONG OF THE SWAZI

We lull him, shiyawo, shiyawo,
The Child grows, we rock him, shiyawo, shiyawo
He who is as big as the world, shiyawo, shiyawo

SWAZI NATIONAL ANTHEM (*LIHUBO*) OR SECOND SACRED INCWALA SONG:

Here is the Inexplicable,
Our Bull! Lion! Descend.
Descend, being of heaven,
Unconquerable.
Play like tides of the sea,
You inexplicable, great Mountain.
Our Bull ye ye, etc.

In societies such as the Venda open criticism of the political authorities is not tolerated. In such instances songs provide a means to express or communicate political sentiments towards a leader, desires for political freedom, the need for more political freedom, to enhance political consciousness or to push forward political action. It constitutes a way in which the amount of power and authority a person has over a group can be determined. It can, and was used by traditional leaders to either include or exclude people or to validate their positions of power among a group of people. An important dimension of traditional praise-songs or chants is the criticism of the political leaders' conduct. The aim of this criticism is to remind the leader or traditional leader of the standards and norms of society that he might be loosing sight of. It can also be a source of personal restitution, an outlet for relieving injured feelings (Blacking 1987:95-97; Gunner & Gwala 1991:7; Okpewho 1992:147-149).

3.2.7 MILITARY PURPOSES

War dances are usually performed before a battle, where young men are yielding shields and spears. By performing war dances young men learn the subtle war movements, mentality and manoeuvres. War dances are used as a form of mental preparation, where the initial fear of war is replaced by patriotism and eagerness. However, owing to growing national consciousness and unity among Africans, ethnic or tribal warfare is declining. Many traditional war dances are presented as contemporary entertainment in

the form of dance drama, with themes depicting former liberation or interethnic struggles becoming sources of historical information and entertainment or reflected in African poetry, portraying the abilities and skills of the men/warriors (Kebede 1982:102-103; Okpewho 1992:151-155).

The actual war-dance among the Thonga was a wild performance called the gila or giya. The dance was performed in a circle where an elderly man usually detached himself from the circle and stamped his feet on the ground with all his might. His feet beat down in cadence with one blow being long, then followed by three short blows. During this process he brandished his weapons forcefully in the air, uttering Zulu words and was interrupted by encouraging shouts from the crowd. The man then returned and his performance was concluded by a kind of prolonged high piercing whistle – zu...iiii, which suddenly descended to a deep and guttural tone – i Aaaaaa .... A young man then jumped into the middle of the circle and continued to jump like an antelope piercing at an invisible enemy with his assagai or spear. His eyes were wild and the army immediately entoned a song to glorify his deed. The whole performance is ended by a great final cry from the group. After this performance the army was filled with an extraordinary "war spirit". These performances inspired and incited fighting instincts to their highest pitch by the repetition of patriotic choruses and dramatic representations. After the excitement had reached a culminating point, the warriors received treatment from a traditional healer to render them invulnerable to the enemy. The Zulu and Thonga war performances can be described as mixtures of dramatic, epic and lyric poetry (Junod 1962(b):463-464). Junod (1962(a):289-299) provides an example of a traditional Nkuna war song, explaining that the traditional leader gives the orders and the regiments obey. This song also portrays the readiness and eagerness of the warriors to engage in battle:

"SONG OF THE SPEAR":

Hi yikwa ka makhosi,	War comes from the traditional leaders,
Siphuma ka makhosi,	It is ordered by (or comes from) the traditional leaders.
Si gambuza!	We go and kill!
Umkhonto se sandhleni.	The spear is in our hands.
Eji! Eji!	Eji! Eji!
Umkhonto u sao gobee.	The spear kills and bends in the wound.

Junod (1962(b):469 and 1962(a):289) also provides an example of a traditional Tsonga army marching song, which was sung by the warriors on their way to confront the enemy:

TSONGA MARCHING SONG:

Solist: (sung at high pitch)	*Abafo!*	(The enemy!)
Response from army:	*Nangwya, E-e!*	(Here they are, E-e!)
	E-e! Enena!	(E-e! Here they are!)

The Zulu army traditionally consisted of several regiments. All the regiments had their own regimental or march songs called amaHubo which had no sacred characters as a clan-song or iHubo had. These regiments had their own regimental war-songs and war-cries and performed marches and war-dances as a form of drilling in army formation lines. Apart from the regimental identity, there was also a national war-song and a national war-cry. Before battle each regiment uttered its war-cry but during battle all regiments used the national war-cry as a symbol of unity. At times of peace the Zulu warriors at the military kraal (ikhanda) performed social dances that served the same purpose as organised drills, namely for exercise, obedience and discipline. The movements in these dances resembled the movements of soldiers in battle or simulated fights. It is said that King Dingane spent much of his time composing new songs and designing new dances to be performed by the women of the isigodlo or royal kraal. At one time a local traditional leader accompanied by his regiment wanted to acquire shields for his regiment. They conveyed the extent of their deeds in battle to the king through energetic gesturing, violent leaping sententious running and charging, vaulting their feet into the air, drawing their knees up towards their chins at the same time passing their hands between their ankles (Krige 1988:109-110, 240, 262, 266, 339).

According to Casalis (1861:147-148) women are present at the war-dance of the Southern Sotho (Basotho) to sing songs and shout 'cries'. The men form a circle and move their heads and arms simultaneously as one. Their feet strike the ground violently and in time with such might that the vibration is felt for more than 200 yards away. The faces of the dancers are distorted in a ferocious and savage expression. In another war-dance the men form a single line and charge forward, singing as if attacking an enemy. When they reach a certain distance they stop, some men leave the formation and lunge from right to left and then return to the rest of the men who receive them with great acclamation. When the line formation is restored they charge back to the starting point.

All these movements and war-cries are performed to intimidate the enemy thus making them afraid of their opponents and weakening their spirits. These war-cries and songs that are sung by the armies also create group cohesion and team spirit and incite the warriors to fearless action against their enemies.

3.3 CHANGE

Culture change, according to Krige and Krige (1947:299-303) is inescapable, continuous and ever-present. The most visible changes are evident in altered village structures, marriages, political systems and religious practices. The changes in the culture of Bantu-speaking people were initially slow and evolutionary before contact with Europeans, but changed fundamentally after prolonged contact between the members of the two cultural orientations. Initially the work and beliefs of especially missionaries enhanced the process of change in the respective cultures and cultural attitudes. With the spread and conversion of an increasing number of people to Christianity, traditional ways of conduct were increasingly viewed as heathen and thus abandoned or adapted. In this regard Schapera (1970:151, 177, 214, 207-208, 217) states that the Tswana under the rule of Khama and Bathoen I, was forbidden to undergo circumcision or dance at wedding and burial ceremonies, in accordance with Christian custom and beliefs. Dancing for recreational or entertainment purposes was also forbidden at night because of the noise and because it sometimes resulted in the seduction of girls. Dancing was, however, such a prominent part of the lives of the people that they, in many instances, disregarded this rule and continued to dance.

Peripheral or marginal art performances sometimes co-exist with traditional performances, for example, where personal praises are found together with those normally directed at traditional leaders to celebrate their power. Often these 'unofficial genres' become the basis for the transformation of cultural norms and forms in an urban or migrant environment. The adoption of new forms, styles or fashions in songs should not be regarded as a rejection of the older songs, but seen as reinterpreting and revitalising them. Song and dance performances represent resourceful means to induce change within societies. Songs, especially, can transform human attributes such as visual, mental and oral capabilities into accepted cultural codes of representation, reception, ideals, values and norms, which can be integrated into political and social upliftment programs or projects. In various of H.I.E. Dhlomo's plays the transition towards radicalism, militant nationalism and the need for self-awareness and self-determination by Cetswayo, Moshoeshoe and Dingane were illustrated clearly (James 1994:84-87; Peterson 1994:35-37).

Within the modern political context in South Africa, songs and dances are expressions of needs and feelings adapted to express the contemporary needs of especially urban blacks. They served to portray the then social and political situation, issues, environment and mood of the people in South Africa. The black man has changed the message of his music to correspond with the time in which he lives. One example of the revitalisation of traditional music is South Africa's current national anthem "Nkosi sikelel i-Africa" (God bless Africa), which is an original Xhosa hymn composed by Rev. Enoch Sontonga in 1897 and officially adopted as the black national anthem of the ANC in 1925. This song, although originally composed in Xhosa, has been translated and adopted in English, Sotho and Zulu and overrides the boundaries of ethnicity. Nkosi sikelel i-Africa was sung by most groups in defiance of the government and in motivation of the struggle for freedom. Its tune was adopted for the composition of the words of the national anthems of Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the former Transkei homeland in South Africa as an expression of Africanism, the advocacy of unity among all black Africans in their striving to be liberated from colonial domination (Blacking 1964: 347; Blacking 1973:53, 104; Groenewald & Makopo 1991:79-81; Rycroft 1991:6-8).

4. SONGS IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The importance of singing in the life of Bantu-speaking people was exploited throughout the liberation struggle. Music, especially the singing of liberation songs and the shouting of slogans were emotional outlets for the black people in South Africa and were popularly performed wherever political unrest manifested itself. In South Africa the origins of modern liberation songs can be traced to the period of black political assertiveness from 1940 until the banning of the ANC in 1960. Reuben Caluza composed the words and music of a song called "i-Land Act" in as early as 1913 in protest of the stipulations of the Natives Land Act of 1913. This song was aimed at making people aware of their invoked land rights. The composition and public singing of protest songs was, however, not a common or national manifestation in the country at that time (Kebede 1982:40; Kunene 1992:45).

The introduction of liberation songs formed part of the political strategy of the leadership of the liberation struggle. After the formal introduction of Apartheid in 1948, the words of hymns and school songs were adopted in political songs to veil the message of political protest and to call for boycott actions or resistance. These types of songs are an epitome of the antagonism that existed in South African politics and reflects the racial hatred of the time. One musician pointed out that "if they [government] tried to stop us from singing, then, I promise you, there would be a revolution in two days". During the period of the actual liberation struggle (1980-1989), liberation songs were sung

frequently on commuter trains, at the funerals of comrades, victims, leaders or heroes of the struggle that served as political forums, as well as during official political meetings, rallies, marches and strikes. These songs found fertile ground in communities where political activities were banned or repressed due to legal measures and security force presence. The composer of the songs and the songs themselves became the voice of the people. The central message of all liberation or political songs was that of freedom or political liberation and the creation of a new society (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:78, 84; Kebede 1982:40; Kunene 1992:37; Rycroft 1991:9; Seekings 1990(b):277). Groenewald and Makopo (1991:91) provide an example of a song that professes the message of political liberation and the envisaged new society or utopia:

MESSAGE OF POLITICAL FREEDOM:

Abashe i-apartheid regime, abashe! ***Abashe!***	(Let the Apartheid regime burn, Burn)
Mayibuye ***i-Africa!***	(Return to Africa!)
Away National Party away! **Away!**	
Say yes to the African National Congress, say yes! **Yes!**	
Say no the National Party, say no! **No!**	
Say no to SADF, say no! **No!**	
Say yes to MK, say yes! **Yes!**	
Mayibuye ***i-Africa!***	(Return to Africa!)
Amandla ***awetu!***	(The power is ours!)
Amandla ***awetu!*** *!*	(The power is ours!)
Viva i-ANC, viva! ***Viva!***	(We are the members of the ANC, and we are alive! **We are alive!)**
Viva i-MK, viva! ***Viva!***	(We are the members of MK, and we are alive! **We are alive!)**
Viva i-SACP, viva! ***Viva!***	(We are the members of the SACP, and we are alive! **We are alive!)**
Viva i-SWAPO, viva! ***Viva!***	(We are the members of SWAPO, and we are alive! **We are alive!)**
Amandla ***awetu!***	(The power is ours!)
Down AWB, down! **Down!**	
Down AWB, down! **Down!**	
Gandla AWB, gandla! **Gandla!**	(Strike the AWB to the ground)

Amandla awetu!	(The power is ours!)
Amandla awetu!	(The power is ours!)
Amandla awetu!	(The power is ours!)
Forward People's Republic of South Africa, forward! **Forward!**	

4.1 FEATURES OF LIBERATION SONGS

Freedom songs were mainly sung in indigenous languages and a few in English. The words of the songs that were learnt in Johannesburg were mainly in Zulu, because the African language spoken in Johannesburg are predominantly Zulu (Seekings 1988:9). In this regard Sepamala (1988:10) states that "... since trade unions added their muscle to the resurgence of resistance against apartheid the issue of English as the vehicle for freedom seems to have begun to decline. Ethnic languages, music, drama and dance have become unifying cultural elements".

Liberation songs had various other features. One of the most outstanding features of liberation songs was that it was *accompanied by toyi-toyi dancing* or generally as "songs sung with the feet". These songs in general can be contrasted with hymns that have religious connotations or origins, and are remnants from the early missionary influences among blacks in Africa. Hymns for example are usually not accompanied by dancing. The contents of the political liberation songs were adapted from war and drill songs to include the expression of modern and socio-political issues (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:79-81; Rycroft 1991:6-8).

Another characteristic of liberation songs is that it was not provincially bound or restricted to a certain area, town or city. This is a feature that also holds true of some traditional songs such as national war songs and anthems that are sung by the whole tribe, with the exception of praise-songs that are specific to an individual and his actions. The performance nature of these songs resembles that of traditional group singing in African communities that are normally short, repetitive and interspersed by solo performances. Another similarity between liberation and traditional songs are the shouting and using of short 'power-words' such as *amandla* (power) in liberation songs and *abafo* (the enemy) in traditional war cries. Most liberation songs are also sung in the traditional call-and-response mode of many African songs during which a solo performer or group sang one or more lines and another line(s) was repeated by a chorus. The whole refrain was then repeated again in the same manner (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:81-82). Groenewald and Makopo (1991:94) provides an example of such as song:

MODERN ZULU POLITICAL SONG IN A CALL-AND-RESPONSE FORMAT:

Lead:	We are the future!	
Audience:	*Shimu, heyi shimu!*	
Lead:	*Amabutho anqobile*	(The regiments have conquered!)
Audience:	*Shimu, heyi shimu!*	

4.2 FUNCTION AND MEANING OF LIBERATION SONGS

4.2.1 LIBERATION SONGS AS FACILITATORS OF COLLECTIVE UNITY

Freedom songs were mainly sung in indigenous languages and a few in English. The words of the songs that were learnt in Johannesburg were mainly in Zulu, because the African language spoken in Johannesburg are predominantly Zulu (Seekings 1988:9). In this regard Sepamala (1988:10) states that "... since trade unions added their muscle to the resurgence of resistance against apartheid the issue of English as the vehicle for freedom seems to have begun to decline. Ethnic languages, music, drama and dance have become unifying cultural elements".

Liberation songs had various other features. One of the most outstanding features of liberation songs was that they were *accompanied by toyi-toyi dancing* or generally as "songs sung with the feet". These songs in general can be contrasted with hymns that have religious connotations or origins and are remnants from the early missionary influences among blacks in Africa. Hymns are, for example, usually not accompanied by dancing. The content of the political liberation songs was adapted from war and drill songs to include the expression of modern and socio-political issues (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:79-81; Rycroft 1991:6-8).

Another characteristic of liberation songs is that they were not provincially bound or restricted to a certain area, town or city. This is a feature that also holds true of some traditional songs such as national war songs and anthems that are sung by the whole tribe with the exception of praise-songs that are specific to an individual and his actions. The performance nature of these songs resembles that of traditional group singing in African communities that are normally short, repetitive and interspersed with solo performances. Another similarity between liberation and traditional songs is the shouting and using of short 'power-words' such as *amandla* (power) in liberation songs and *abafo* (the enemy) in

traditional war cries. Most liberation songs are also sung in the traditional call-and-response mode of many African songs during which a solo performer or group sang one or more lines and another line(s) was repeated by a chorus. The whole refrain was then repeated again in the same manner (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:81-82). Groenewald and Makopo (1991:94) provides an example of such as song:

A ZULU SONG TO STRENGTHEN COLLECTIVE UNITY:

An injury to one is an injury to all ***Awuzw!***
An action killer man is an action commander ***Awuzw!***
An action to one is an action to all ***Awuzw!***
Detention to one is detention to all ***Awuzw!***
Dubula inyamazane ***Awuzw!*** (Shoot the wild animal)
Wabulala mina ubulale sonke ***Awuzw!*** ….. (If you kill me you kill all) ….

The power of control through group actions to achieve a common or specific goal was fundamental to the success of the liberation struggle and was fully understood by its leaders. Therefore the underlying principles of collectivity and communality played an important role in the efforts of the leaders and organisations to mobilise people and achieve their immediate and ultimate goals, namely mobilisation and political liberation. On the role of political or liberation songs as a means to facilitate unity in black communities, Blacking (1987:96-97) states that:

> *"modern African political songs played an important role not only in transmitting verbal messages in pleasant ways that were easily recalled, but also in binding together in a common cause people who came from different ethnic groups and spoke different languages. This was achieved by the sounds of the music, which symbolized a modern way of life ... the enjoyment of music has absorbed and sometimes fossilized 'revolutionary' zeal, and stifled political ingenuity, by containing frustration and anger in the rituals of song and dance".*

The liberation song as well as the toyi-toyi dances mainly existed in, thrived upon, and could be fully appreciated through their performances. Through their performances the leaders achieved their goals of building solidarity, mutual support, the advertising of a forceful presence and the creation of a certain political consciousness, awareness and alertness. Through the performance of these songs, the activists had the opportunity to engage the audience and be engaged by them "in a direct dialogue in which ideas are shared, something possible only in oral performances" (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:79). Toyi-toyi dancing and the singing of freedom songs gave people a sense of belonging,

making them a part of the struggle. These acts bound together people who shared similar grievances and feelings of discontent. On the other hand, these mechanisms also intimidated people who either wanted to stay neutral or did not agree with the course of action. Those who did not participate in the struggle were labelled collaborators and sell-outs. To force people across ethnic lines to support and participate in the activities of a political movement, inter alia through the singing of liberation songs, implies that the whole atmosphere in which these performances occurred and by implication the words of the songs would have been intimidatory.

4.2.2 LIBERATION SONGS AS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Through the non-violent performance of liberation songs, supporters of the liberation struggle expressed or communicated their membership, loyalty, support, common identity and goal of political liberation. The songs and dances constituted more than the mere communication of a message, they conveyed acceptance of and unity with the inherent new values that the struggle stood for. It was the voice of a common consciousness, of what a whole society or a representative part of it felt on certain occasions and it implied a high degree of shared assumptions. Distinctions of class, profession or wealth did not exist among the performers of these songs and what concerned one, concerned all. The message that was transmitted by the group through song was a "body of thought" transmitted on behalf of the entire community and bore the weight of authority, of a collective achievement (Bowra 1962: 32-34; Sono 1994:10).

Singing is a language that is used as an expression of feelings and ideas, both positive and negative. The words of songs are not static but dynamic and continuously change to verbally portray or express the changing political, economic, social and religious environments. In the political context songs and singing can be associated with the way a portion of the population experience the world, their socio-economic living conditions, physical and emotional surroundings. Apart from expressing a general awareness of socio-economic issues and circumstances, it also served to communicate political aspirations, attitudes, militancy and accumulated frustrations and to mobilise and incite people politically, spread political ideology and fuel racial hatred (Blacking 1964: 347; Blacking 1973:53, 104; Groenewald & Makopo 1991:84-85).

A further aim of liberation songs was to subconsciously suggest or imprint new social and political values and to enforce these upon the black communities. These new social and political values advocated militancy, radicalism and open resistance to the government as opposed to traditional

respect and obedience to authority in times of peace. There was also a disregard for traditional and government structures of authority especially among the youth. Although the new social values emphasised collective unity and team or group participation, it also emphasised the role of women and youth in leading community and political positions. This was contrary to the traditional belief that adult males should take the leading and decision-making roles in society and that women had no social or political status in relation to men. Liberation songs also served as a means to educate people living in non-literate, semi-literate or unpoliticised communities. Through the words of the songs people were told the names of the prominent political leaders and the aim of the struggle – political freedom. People were also informed of previous events and sacrifices that liberation leaders made for them to provide them with political freedom from white oppression and better social and economic conditions (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:84-85).

As was discussed earlier under traditional solo performances, praise-poetry is used to make people aware or conscious of an individual's status and right to rule, therefore mainly kings and traditional leaders had praise-singers. The theme of war and courageous efforts by the hero or king was often a central theme in praise-poems. The heroic ethic code in praise-poems is flexible and adaptable in that the words and nature of the praise-songs are changed to suit the occasion and to illustrate the heroics or character of the individual. Due to its dynamic character, praise-songs can easily link up with a liberation or oppressive system, by praising new radical and militant heroes, deeds and events and by letting people believe that their deeds are correct, brave and noteworthy. Political poetry helps with the formation and propagation of a new self-identity. In a liberation context, it carried with it the message of assertiveness, militancy and defiance (Gunner & Gwala 1991:7; Sitas 1994:151). The changes in these oral performances from one era to another usually accompany similar changes in political songs and other modes of performance such as theatre. Groenewald and Makopo (1982:83) provides an example of a modern political praise-song meant as an ode to the stature of the mentioned leaders, by urging people to remember their unmentioned deeds and be inspired by them:

MODERN XHOSA POLITICAL PRAISE-SONG:

"My izibongo zeenkosi kaziqedwa
Ngingakhohlwa kanjani amaqhawe ase-Africa
Amaqhawe anjengo J B Marks noMoses Kotane
Amaqhawe anjengoMoses Mabitha noJohnny Makhathini
Kanye nabanye sebakhothama ..."

"My praises of the kings are never complete
How can we forget the heroes of Africa?
Heroes such as J B Marks and Moses Kotane
Heroes such as Moses Mabitha and Johnny Makhathini
And other that have passed away".

The words of a liberation song with words of praise that was sung in Soweto during the late 1980's, was obtained from a former ANC comrade in exile. The following song identifies some of the leaders that are held in high esteem and in the content of the words they are requested to hear and respond to the calls of the 'nation' that is calling upon them to do something about their fight for justice. Groenewald and Makopo (1991:96) also documented a similar song to the one recorded below and stated that this song was usually sung between speeches at mass rallies:

MODERN POLITICAL PRAISE-SONG:

Lead:	*Baba uMandela - Sabela uyabizwa*	(Father Mandela – Respond/answer, you are being called)
Audience:	*Uyabizwa - Sabela uyabizwa*	(You are being called - Respond you are being called)
Lead:	*Baba uSisulu - Sabela uyabizwa*	(Father Sisulu - Respond, you are being called)
Audience:	*Uyabizwa - Sabela uyabizwa*	(You are being called - Respond you are being called)
Lead:	*Baba uKathrada - Sabela uyabizwa*	(Father Kathrada - Respond, you are being

		called)
Audience:	*Uyabizwa - Sabela uyabizwa*	(You are being called - Respond you are being called)

4.3 MILITANCY AS CENTRAL THEME

Many of these liberation songs in South Africa had their origins in MK military training camps in African countries such as Zimbabwe and Tanzania. As such many of these songs were characterised by militarism or propagated militancy and hatred. The strong elements of militarism, intimidation and radicalism in liberation songs were emphasised by the forceful forward movement of the toyi-toyi, reflecting some of the movements described in the traditional Zulu military dance (see Item 3.2.7 above). The protest and intimidatory nature of these songs can be described in Zulu by the word ukuzabalaza, meaning to 'stand firm, refuse to give away or to be stubborn'. The best translation in English for this word is *resistance*. "The poetry suddenly comes alive with the 'we' (Black man) / 'you' (White man) dialectical confrontation, in which the accusatory 'you' is hurled like a barbed spear at the white oppressor" (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:79, 81, 84).

The simple but emotionally filled words that were repeated very loudly in a chorus for hours on end during mass protest action incited the people to fearless action. Groenewald and Makopo (1991:81) state that as in many traditional healer initiation ceremonies an impact word is used at the end to emphasise the meaning of the event and performance, such as siyavuma (Zulu), meaning 'we agree'. There is thus a correspondence with liberation songs where words such as siyaya or awuzw (meaningless word) were used at the end of slogans or liberation songs and were pronounced loudly and forcefully to create impact and intimidate people. See the military drill song below quoted from Groenewald and Makopo (1991:92) in this regard:

DRILL SONG:

'Come MK roll on Awuzw ('how about that')
Namaza (or Namazaka - possibly meaning barbed spear)...
Awuzw, Awuzw (ga ga ga ga ga – imitation of gun fire) ...
Follow Mr Thambo Awuzw'
Killerman/kill a man Awuzw', Awuzw'

Follow Mr Thambo Awuzw'
Namazaka Awuzw', Awuzw'
Move underground Awuzw'
We-MK Awuzw'
Move underground Awuzw'
Namazaka Awuzw', Awuzw"

Liberation songs were used as a vehicle to mobilise a group of people towards a common goal. It was therefore necessary for either the group and/or its leaders to make the issues of mobilisation simple and clear. The leaders of the group needed to create consensus amongst themselves and to incite its members and members of the community to act with conviction and emotional commitment. If people did not want to interact with the group to convey the messages of discontent through songs and other actions, they were simply forced through threats or indirect intimidation or actual physical harm to participate (Seeger 1994:697-698).

5. TOYI-TOYI DANCING AS A FORM OF NON-VERBAL PROTEST IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Klaaste (1991:9) refers to the performance of toyi-toyi dancing as a *military drill.* He states that "this type of thing is understood by military folk who force soldiers, through drill, into becoming instruments of death". According to a fieldwork participant the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe used similar drill movements to those of the toyi-toyi in their drills. He stated that it was the freedom soldiers or fighters who initiated the movements in South Africa.

There are several opinions on the origins of the word toyi-toyi. One explanation is that the word is derived from a *Xhosa children's dance*, where the call and response contains the words *toyi, toyi.* Another explanation is that it was derived from *a Russian dance*, which more or less sounds the same as toyi-toyi. This dance was supposedly taught to and brought to South Africa by the guerrilla fighters after their foreign training in combat techniques supposedly in the late 1970's (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:80).

The rather aggressive rhythmic feet movements of toyi-toyi dances were performed publicly for the first time in South Africa during mass demonstrations of the youth in Soweto in the 1976 uprisings and featured during most, if not all, marches and mass demonstrations especially since the 1980's. Toyi-toyi dancing was popularly accompanied by the singing of liberation songs, defiant chanting, ululation and

the shouting of slogans. From a perspective of intimidation, toyi-toyi dances were successfully employed to mobilise the masses, especially when a march progressed down the street. Some people spontaneously participated but others were forcefully pressured to join the march. It also roused emotions to "fever pitch" height and taunted and tried to provoke confrontation from members of the security forces (Clarkson 1997:61; Smuts & Westcott 1991:139). Klaaste (1991:9) states that toyi-toyi dancing hypnotised and put into a trance those who participated in it. The participants in the dance became one in step, mind and spirit. The toyi-toyi dance is a total commitment to something grave, something dangerous. However, there are many renditions of the dance.

Intimidation had various goals, functions and roles. As with the singing of liberation songs, toyi-toyi dancing maximised social interaction, either through spontaneous or forced participation. As was stated before (see Item 4.1 above) toyi-toyi dances fall within the category of "songs sung with the feet". As a result, the forceful nature and uncensored language of political songs was strengthened and emphasised by the forceful rhythm of the toyi-toyi. Sometimes vandalism, intimidation and violence accompanied it owing to the presence of thugs or undisciplined young radicals and this served well to intimidate people into fearing the implications of such toyi-toyi dances and marches. Here the aim and function was to intimidate white and black businesses rather to make concessions or support the struggle than suffer the consequences of a disruptive and damaging march. The effect on the black population was the fear of watching such a procession and being forced to join and, should a confrontation with the police ensue, people might be killed or injured. In reacting to these marches with violence, the government in effect admitted its fear and inability to control the marchers, a factor that was again exploited by the activists to show the population that the government was weak and treating them unfairly with violence. The toyi-toyi became an expression of self-emancipation, an act where a person or group was able to confront the oppressor face to face and in so doing intimidate and tell the oppressor in uncensored body language (in which a spear or fists were raised) what the group's feelings were. Since dancing actually supports and emphasises the nature and meaning of songs, without the singing of the politically related or liberation songs, the toyi-toyi would have had little meaning and impact. The nature of the songs provided the context for the toyi-toyi dancing. There was thus a special relation and connotation between the singing of liberation songs and the dancing of the toyi-toyi (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:79-81, 84).

5.1 THE NATURE OF TOYI-TOYI DANCING

According to Groenewald and Makopo (1991:80) movement and body language are important aspects of toyi-toyi dancing. The movements, as the nature of the toyi-toyi dancing, vary from situation to situation. One form of toyi-toyi dancing can resemble military on-the-spot drill marches when the crowd is dense. During such occasions the feet are not lifted very high from the ground, but the crowd is kept in constant motion through alternate bodily movements to the right and the left.

When there is more space for the crowd to spread out, the knees are brought up higher than usual towards the chest area. These marches are hardly ever a spontaneous or spur of the moment decision by a group of people. Marshals, who participate in the marches, exercise crowd control through utterances such as "bopha", meaning "tie up or hold it" in Nguni. In Northern Sotho the word is "bofa". This message is also communicated through sign language by holding the two index fingers interlocked in the air for everyone to see, silently communicating to the crowd not to leave the formation. Thus, although a group of marchers may seem uncontrolled and out of control, the marches were organised and control exercised. Furthermore, apart from the political and intimidating value of the singing of liberation songs and the dancing of the toyi-toyi, the participants also perform these acts out of sheer pleasure (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:80).

According to fieldwork participants, a sound or utterance such as "*huh-huh*" usually accompanies these movements when the feet every now-and-then are brought harder to ground than at other times. Many times a fist or some form of 'weapon' or stick is raised in the air, and one or two people forcefully shout '*Amandla*!' (power!) which is answered by an equally forceful chorus group - '*Ngwethu*!' (to the people!), contributing to the threatening and intimidating nature and impact of these actions on the surrounding crowds.

The toyi-toyi performed by a group of protesting pupils took the form of a group "jogging in step along carefully defined lines". During this "jogging" a silent humming could be heard, 'a primeval chant accompanying this revolutionary dance, which easily becomes the dance of death' and was therefore very intimidatory in nature. It is usually during these marches and toyi-toyi dances where people are psychologically transformed into 'primeval' beings with basic instincts such as to kill, where suspected collaborators were caught and lynched or necklaced. Women also form part of the procession and contribute to the incitement of irresponsible behaviour and the promotion of anarchy through their seemingly hysterical behaviour, accompanied by shouting and chanting (Klaaste 1991:9). The liberation songs together with the toyi-toyi dancing created an intimidating atmosphere of fear

among those who did not want to participate willingly. But as they were taken up in the singing and toyi-toyi dancing of the crowd, they became so absorbed or engaged in the process that they lost touch with reality and would do anything expected from them by the masses.

5.2 VALUE, EXPRESSION AND UNDERLYING MEANING

The performance of liberation songs and toyi-toyi dances during marches were highly visible acts and vehicles of passive resistance and protest action against the government. One of the foremost implications or messages with toyi-toyi dances as a form of non-violent protest actions, was the deliberate defiance of government rules, structures and governmental expectation of "good" behaviour from its citizens or subordinates. Toyi-toyi dancing formed an integral part of protest marches and displays of defiance. It was an important and very effective vehicle for mass mobilisation. On the similar role of dances or 'dance-drama' in the Zambian liberation struggle, Crehan (1994:266) states that it "was an important weapon in the nationalist movement, employing traditional and modern forms and techniques in its satirical, anti-colonial sketches".

The military and intimidating character of the toyi-toyi dancing is probably a symbol of what Crehan (1994:265) calls a celebration of "revolutionary or military discipline", and thus soon became a threat to the white government. Klaaste (1991:9) contradicts a former statement by Groenewald and Makopo (1991:80) in the previous section by stating that the participants in the toyi-toyi *are not having fun*. Klaaste states that the dance is a representation or demonstration of or focuses on the 'unbearable misery, on all the inexplicable things' the masses find so hard to articulate. The toyi-toyi dance is a picture of the terrible 'psycho-drama' that involves black lives.

If, as Blacking (1964:415) states, that "both the conditions of performance and the form of music express something about society", then the liberation songs and the toyi-toyi dance gave a clear indication of the state of society as a whole and of the feelings of a large segment of it. The feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction from a large segment of society were clear indications of the political and emotional turmoil of the people and their rebellion against it. These songs and protesting militaristic movements were signs of a feeble society in conflict with itself, manifesting in civil strife, intimidation, terrorism and acts of sabotage. These actions were clear expressions of frustration, anger and imminent action against the broader society, its functioning and its values, bringing forth conflicting and destructive measures.

The rhythmic movements of the toyi-toyi dances had an intimidating value or effect on the communities and among workers and other groups in whose presence it was performed or who participated in it. The liberation songs and toyi-toyi dancing were thus valuable methods of intimidation. A procession of comrades singing and dancing the toyi-toyi could be a terrifying experience for fellow members in a community, especially if they were not supporting the cause or joining in the procession. Such a procession heading for the local government offices, the police station, a rally or to bury a slain comrade can sometimes resemble a hurricane. "It sweeps and uproots everything in its path. People scurry for cover. Shops and other businesses close, public transport comes to a standstill, and is then hijacked. Demands are made for food, water, and cigarettes. People watch from the 'safety' of their bolted doors and drawn curtains. Others hide behind, acting out the motions. When the hurricane has subsided, the less fortunate lick their wounds, while the fortunate thank their lucky stars" (Groenewald & Makopo 1991:85). Klaaste (1991:9) states that while witnessing a toyi-toyi dance performance, he "felt a chill of fear, a raising of the hair from the nape of my neck ... I was unaware of the powerful and frightening impact of this ritual. There was a seriousness about these children. They seemed to be in a trance, in a state of self-hypnotism. They were also very serious, ..., they were like a group of loping wolves. I experienced through a haze of fear, something almost like the incubus of death dancing in the air".

The deliberate or accidental non-participation in the performance of toyi-toyi dancing by members of the community according to Schechner (1994:626), implied that these individuals also rejected the group and the liberation struggle and therefore also the aims and objectives of the group as a whole. In return the group rejected or excommunicated these individuals. If only a few people were absent, it would have been the few individuals who suffered; but if many stayed away the group and the political cause was in trouble and would have been faced with dissolution or division. That is why the use of intimidatory methods such as songs and toyi-toyi dancing were of paramount importance, to ensure the continued participation of as many people as possible in mass action activities.

6. THE BELA BELA EXPERIENCE

Toyi-toyi dances and the singing of liberation songs featured prominently during mass actions such as meetings/rallies, marches, strikes and blockades. These acts played a supporting role in the struggle to enforce the national political objectives of the UDF/ANC, to strengthen support bases, aims (collective unity and co-operation) and strategies (intimidation). These tactics and strategies were primarily induced by structures such as civic organisations through the street committees. In Bela Bela the marches and displays of mass resistance raised political awareness among the residents, mobilised

them politically, created a special bond or collective unity and participation and a common purpose and goal among them. A Northern Sotho fieldwork participant in Bela Bela used the following maxim to describe the idea of group consciousness or collective unity: "Motho ke motho ka batho", meaning 'a person is a person through people'. In other words, no person can exist in isolation, because human beings are to a large extent defined through the group or community. This principle of unity was thus further emphasised through the performance of songs and dances in Bela Bela.

Anybody who has ever witnessed a march through the streets of South Africa will not doubt the intimidating impact of crowd behaviour. Several fieldwork participants in Bela Bela stated that they experienced fear even when they were participating in the toyi-toyi dancing. They stated that several marchers, who were otherwise responsible individuals, were absorbed in the rhythmic trance-like toyi-toyi dancing, compelling them to act in an irresponsible manner, sometimes in oblivious of their behaviour. The protest marches and especially the toyi-toyi brought about a terrifying feeling of danger, which intimidated the bystanders and also the targeted individuals, businesses or government structures. The feelings of fear and anxiety experienced by the onlookers or the euphoria and total absorption of people in the crowds' rhythmic movements, singing of liberation songs and the shouting of slogans, became apparent when watching news bulletins on these marches. A popular political slogan that was shouted repeatedly during marches and rallies by groups of protesters nationally and also in Bela Bela during the liberation struggle, went as follows:

NATIONAL POLITICAL SLOGAN:	
Khululani uMandela!	(Free Mandela!)

The movements of the toyi-toyi were steadily spread throughout South Africa by leading activists to all black communities. According to participants in Bela Bela, the words of the liberation songs and the steps of the toyi-toyi dances, were taught to the local UDF leaders when they went to Khotso House in Johannesburg. Sometimes leading activists from Johannesburg visited Bela Bela in secret at night where they met with the local activists on the border of the township. During these visits the external activists taught the local comrades the required performances or informed them about a march that had to take place, as well as when they needed to perform the toyi-toyi dances and what songs or slogans to sing. During local protest marches and representative community meetings in the township's community hall the activists forced residents to learn the rhythm of the toyi-toyi dance as well as the words of some liberation songs. These collective and interactive performances created a bond among

members of the community. Furthermore, during such mass gatherings and marches, the display of power, militancy and strength demonstrated through the collective performances and by activists wielding weapons, shouting threats of death and physical harm and promises of war, filled residents' hearts with fear.

The people of Bela Bela, who speak mainly Tswana and Northern Sotho, indicated that there is no indigenous word for a liberation song and therefore the English word (liberation) was coopted into their languages. Although participants commonly used the English term, they provided a direct translation and description of a liberation song in Tswana namely pina ya kgololesegô ('tune of freedom'). In Northern Sotho it was described as koša ya kgololô. Participants further described a praise-song as a poem or lyric that was 'sung' or recited in a monotonous tone, and was repeated several times to praise an individual. A praise-song in Northern Sotho is referred to as go rêta or koša ya tlhômphô (a dance song of honour/respect) (see Kriel 1983). In Tswana a praise-song is referred to as pina ya tôtlô. Even in modern western society the services of praise-poets are still employed, for example at the inauguration of Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC as President of South Africa in 1994 at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

In reality the community made little distinction between liberation and praise-songs, although they recognised that there is a difference. Praise-songs were generally regarded as liberation songs, because in essence they captured the spirit of the resistance and the liberation struggle. Some of the liberation songs that were sung reflected elements of praise to a political leader, but the collective nature, tempo, rhythms and words distinguished them from traditional praises that were mainly sung solo in a high pitch voice and in a 'half-spoken, half-sung' manner. Instead of focusing on giving praise, honour, adulation or criticism to a leader through the use of symbolic language, the aim of most of these songs was to mobilise and incite crowds to resistance and to fuel racial hatred. According to research participants, where words of praise were sung during marches, it had the same meaning and effect as a liberation song. The songs symbolised the hopes, dreams and expectations for the future of the community and the black population. The participants of Bela Bela were all in agreement that no songs of praise were sung in the adulation of local political leaders, but only of national political leaders.

Usually liberation songs contained short messages of approximately two lines, which were simplistic, direct and uncomplicated in nature. One of the reasons for the simplicity, according to participants was to make it possible for the crowd to learn and remember the words of the songs within a few minutes. The words had to be taught in a short period of time to ensure that the security forces did not clamp down on their meetings or activities or become aware of the presence of the group before

they had mobilised sufficient numbers of people for their marches. The significance and influence of this characteristic on the community should not be underestimated. It provided a basis for indoctrination and manipulation of the community by repeating the words or short phrases for hours. Because of this people started to identify with the cause. Since these phrases are short and endlessly repeated the words and meaning remain with the person in his subconscious mind. The following is an example of a slogan/song that served as a short marching or mobilisation song urging people forward. It has the characteristic call-and-response mode of traditional and many other liberation songs. This song was obtained from participants in Bela Bela and was also documented by Groenewald and Makopo (1991:81, 93):

SLOGAN OR LIBERATION SONG IN TSWANA:		
Lead:	*Siya' ePitoli. **Siyaya siyaya***	(We are going to Pretoria. **We are going, we are going**)
Audience	*We baba siyay' ePitoli. **Siyaya siyaya***	(We are going to Pretoria. **We are going, we are going**)
Lead:	*Umandel' uboshelweni? **Siyaya siyaya***	(Why was Mandela jailed? **We are going, we are going**)
Audience:	*Siya' ePitoli. **Siyaya siyaya***	(We are going to Pretoria. **We are going, we are going**)

Apart from those songs that were directed towards the praise or plight of leaders of the struggle, others portrayed the revolutionary character of the militant spirit of the young activists who wanted to see change and action. Such songs were specifically designed to inspire and intimidate the activists and radical youth to take violent or militant action against the government, system, legislature, and political, economic and social order. One of these songs was as follows:

MILITANT SONG:	
Awulethe (u)mshini wam(i) sesi khorthele maje	(Bring my machine gun we are tired of waiting (for change))

A few songs and slogans were openly directed at the white population. Such songs and slogans were commonly associated with the PAC. The PAC made similar statements during the liberation struggle

and it is known that they had a strong anti-white sentiment. Such statements were used especially by radical or revolutionary elements to mobilise the radical youth into violent action and to fuel their hatred of whites or amaBhunu (Boers). These statements were highly intimidating to especially the white population, making them feel targeted and threatened. Groenewald and Makopo (1991:79) state that amaBhunu not only refers to the white population, but also to certain elements (perceived traitors and sell-outs) amongst blacks. Possibly referring to their status as traitors or sympathisers with the white government. Blacks who did not actively support the liberation struggle, were regarded as opposing the idea, spirit or aims of the struggle and therefore posed a general threat to become a sell-out or informer. The following song and slogan illustrates the underlying militancy, racial hatred and political intolerance experienced and instilled in the subconscious minds of especially the radical and impressionable youth:

RACIALLY-BASED LIBERATION SONG IN ZULU:

Siza ba dubula Mabhunu (We are going to shoot the whites)

RACIAL SLOGAN:

Shaya maBhuru (Beat the Boere or "Slaan die boere")
"Kill a Boer Kill a Farmer!"

The liberation songs that were sung in South Africa and in Bela Bela specifically intimidated the residents, both in the manner in which they were sung and through the words of the songs. Participants said that the volume of the songs and the force of emotions that were generated while the songs were sung by the masses often while marching and toyi-toying through the streets overcame them with 'spirit' and emotion, thus spontaneously causing them to join the ranks of the masses. Residents who did not participate in the singing of the songs were labelled collaborators. As was illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5, people who were considered collaborators were punished by dying the most horrible deaths, such as necklacing. Liberation songs thus served as vehicles of mobilisation and also as indirect forms of intimidation. Through the use of threats, the leaders attempted to prevent people from providing information to the police and in so doing become informers, sell-outs or izimpimpi. Such acts were regarded as offences against the community and in fact amounted to treason against the struggle. People were threatened with the burning of their houses or by death threats to them or their families if they were suspected of either being from another party or of being an impimpi.

The comrades capitalised on the fear of the community of being branded a collaborator to gain their co-operation. The people were explicitly warned through the songs of the consequences that would befall them if they were suspected of being collaborators. It is thus clear that the nature of the songs, the words, meaning and consequences contained in them instilled fear in the hearts and minds of the people. The words of the songs that were repeatedly shouted intimidated people not to even contemplate providing information to the police as the following slogan or song illustrates:

INTIMIDATION OF INFORMERS (ZULU SONG):		
Lead and audience:	*Sizo xibulala izimpimpi.*	(We are going to kill the informers.)

People found guilty of 'treason' were intimidated through verbal confrontation by comrades, the words of liberation songs and also through acts of violence such as the stoning of the individual's house or by setting it alight. These acts of violence were sometimes celebrated in another song where these actions were legitimised and condoned. Such a song in Bela Bela, for instance, comprised the following words:

SONG OF JUSTIFICATION IN ZULU:	
Lead and audience:	*Umama uwa jabula ma ingigibele ephezulu gendlu ya Piet ge lefwe.*
Free translation:	My mother is glad when I am on the roof of Piet's house with stones. (Meaning that the mothers consented/approved or agreed with the actions of their sons, when they threw stones at the houses of those who were regarded as informants).

The liberation songs and toyi-toyi dances do not seem to have had a lasting or long-term effect on the life of the community of Bela Bela. These songs mainly seem to have been situational and their impact on the community lasted as long as these performances were needed to reach the goals and aims of the liberation struggle. During the time of the liberation struggle, songs and dances had value as tools of intimidation to prevent people from divulging information about the comrades and their planned actions and also to mobilise people into action. Since the cessation of the political struggle, these songs and dances have lost their impact, meaning or relevance to the community. They were soon forgotten as many participants could not remember the actual words of the songs but only their implications and impact on the community at the time.

One of the fieldwork participants gave the following explanation on the transient nature of the liberation songs in the community. His words were "*Dinaka tša phoko di gorweswa ga di kgomarela*". As he explained it - 'the horns of an ox stick to his head by nature (a permanent fixture and will remain with him), but to try and stick horns to the head of a bold person will not last' (it is a temporary situation). This explained the insignificance of liberation songs in the life and day-to-day activities of the community of Bela Bela. Liberation songs were thus situational, contextual and only relevant in their political context and format for the duration of the struggle and were therefore mainly remembered for the purpose they served. There is no evidence that these performances brought about a significant change in culture. Dancing and singing are fundamental elements in the lives of the Bantu-speaking people and were therefore used as resources in the liberation struggle. At the time of the struggle these performances served their purpose of bringing about a mindset change in terms of political participation, in bringing across the message of liberation, politicising the community, gaining co-operation and support and intimidating pacifists into action and participation.

7. SUMMARY

Song and dance performances are fundamental to the life of Bantu-speaking people in South Africa. The information obtained in the literature provides sufficient evidence of the integral role of songs and dances in various aspects of the culture of Bantu-speaking people. They therefore served as excellent meiums of change and methods in propagating and enforcing political change. Songs and dances as elements of culture were successfully utilised by members and leaders of the liberation movements as resources and methods to bring about change. By using known or traditional styles, structures, types and rhythms of songs, as well as messages of racial hatred and militancy, they enhanced the process of indoctrination or mazeway transformation as proposed by Wallace. Owing to the deep-rooted relation of blacks to songs and dances, they served as practical mediums to gain access to the hearts and minds of the communities. They also served as valuable tools to indoctrinate and mobilise the masses with the message of subversion.

Certain parallels can be drawn between traditional songs and dances and liberation songs and dances (toyi-toyi). Regarding the nature of performance, both the traditional and liberation songs varied in length in that they were both short or lengthy. In both incidents the songs were performed in a group context as part of group activities or mass actions and were repetitive in nature where certain words or phrases were repeated to emphasise the meaning of the songs, to create rhythm and also to intimidate,

'hypnotise' and indoctrinate those present to participate in the group actions. In some instances the songs were antiphonal in character and were characterised by a call-and-response or question-and-answer sequence. In both the traditional and liberation context, political songs were accompanied by dancing or rhythmic feet movements which, in the context of the liberation struggle were called toyi-toyi dancing. The toyi-toyi dance, similar to traditional dancing was characterised by the stamping of feet and the aggressively high lifting of the dancers' knees. The principle of creating unity through singing and dancing is harmless enough, however, the intensity and overwhelming loud sounds of the songs and the hypnotic rhythm of the toyi-toyi dancing manipulated and scared participants and bystanders who were often forced to participate. But it was not only the rhythm and the loudness that served to fill people with fear, it was also the words of the songs themselves (in reference to the liberation songs quoted previously in this chapter). The toyi-toyi dance was used to accentuate the feelings of antagonism, the radicalism, militancy and the revolutionary nature and political meaning of the words of the songs. Contrary to the violent dance that was traditionally reserved for men, females also participated in the dance and dance steps and often served to incite the group to more aggressive and radical movements and gestures. By drawing on traditional concepts and structures of songs and the tempo and rhythm of war dances, strategists of the struggle succeeded in establishing a familiar medium to ease the transition and adaptation to the envisaged utopian culture and society.

Liberation leaders emphasised and relied heavily upon African cultural norms and values such as communalism or group interest to achieve collective unity as a priority before they could mobilise the masses and achieve liberation. The creation of unity was essential to the success of the liberation struggle because a divided group of people could not achieve a common goal. Songs and dances traditionally created and maximized unity, group interaction, harmony and concord. Liberation leaders therefore enforced collective unity through forced group activities and performances such as the collective singing of liberation songs and slogans, toyi-toyi dancing, forced community meetings and group decisions to strengthen bonds among community members as was the case in Bela Bela. Non-participants were forced to participate in group activities and in so doing share common experiences such as the reactions to these mass actions by the security forces. Forced collective singing and dancing represented a form of mass intimidation or coercion since people had to participate in the mass actions or risk being labelled a traitor or collaborator. This 'spontaneously' created a bond among the people as such incidents created a common threat to their existence. Toyi-toyi dancing and the singing of liberation songs were therefore instrumental in facilitating the forced creation and maintenance of group cohesion (a collective support base) and the display of a 'united front of support' across ethnic lines to the government. The interactive group performances (songs and dances) created a moment for

the people to be and act together at a time when they were confused and scared and their lives disrupted by political and social changes.

Group actions were used as visible displays of strength, power and solidarity to influence and intimidate the unpoliticised and peaceful masses. Songs and dances were essential means in the establishment of a common goal by targeting key issues such as racism, discriminating laws and the unfair distribution of wealth, both at a local and national level. In order to achieve a form of unity in the shortest possible time, the revolutionary strategists used and manipulated culture elements such as singing, dancing, courts and group cohesion to achieve their goal in a forceful and intimidatory manner.

The changing political order and structures, meanings and militant messages were communicated and reflected through the words of songs and the dances thus converting more and more people to believe in the merit of the envisaged society. This was especially necessary since the existing order of life and relations were disrupted and in many cases abandoned, disturbing the normal functioning and relations in local black communities. Many participants said that they felt protected in a way when they formed part of the marches because they were "one of the masses". Being part of the masses made them anonymous and unidentifiable. These people were not necessarily intimidated to join but joined voluntarily. It is therefore contrary to popular belief that all people were forced to participate. However, those who did not want to participate in the protest actions were forced to join and they complied in fear of the possible crowd reaction towards their lack of demonstrative support.

Liberation songs and the toyi-toyi dance performances provided the necessary means to breach most underlying problems of communication and understanding owing to diversity in language that a community might encounter. Linguistically separate groups of black Africans in South Africa, each with its own distinctive identity, were forcefully united into solidarity by strategists and activists of the liberation. The toyi-toyi dance was a method implemented to control the marching masses progressing down streets, keeping them orderly, disciplined, focussed and occupied, since it could reach a wide range of people and facilitate co-ordinated mass action.

The messages contained in the songs, together with the messages at political rallies, the media and in the churches facilitated political revitalisation among the masses. In both cases these modes of performance were functional mediums used to communicate or transmit political messages to the local communities. Both traditional and liberation songs and slogans offered alternative channels for the expression of negative and positive political sentiments, aspirations and injured feelings of a section of society towards the actions and policies of the political authority or towards an authoritative figure. Liberation songs

became a means to communicate and air aspirations of political freedom and independence form white rule. Through liberation songs, intimidating messages of death and injury to suspected sell-outs or non-participants were communicated and through praises the honourable deeds of leaders wee commended. They were also used during the struggle to rebel against authority as well as to mobilise the masses into action, including women and children and not only warriors as in the traditional context. Songs were successfully used to air political and social grievances towards the government and even to insult political leaders or criticise their decisions and behaviour. As in traditional societies, liberation or political songs were used to inspire, entice or mobilise the 'warriors' against the enemy, especially through special war-like cries such as "*Amandla!*".

The intimidatory role of liberation songs and dances (toyi-toyi) was directed at the enemies of the resistance who included the government, white businesses, informers as well as black local councillors and policemen who were employed by the government. The purpose was to intimidate these people and instil fear in their hearts about the capabilities of the resistance movements to cause them harm and in so doing force them to surrender. Through the words and the rhythm of the songs, intimidation was very subtly used to warn people that they would be killed if they were identified as collaborators or izimpimpi. The white population of the country was also targeted through the songs and threatened with death, of which the slogan "kill a Boer, kill a farmer" is well known.

Toyi-toyi dances and liberation songs were purposefully introduced and strategically used instruments of the strategists of the liberation struggle to educate and mobilise the masses and to propagate a common goal. The added forceful nature or intimidating value of these songs contributes to the sometimes involuntary changes or adaptation that a group of people has to make. Songs in themselves do not have enough power or influence to cause change but, as an added measure together with other measures such as people's courts, marches, violent intimidation and political messages, songs can facilitate change. The nature of songs (words and rhythm) in some respects also reflects or can serve as a kind of 'measurement' or indicator of the existing changes or adaptations already made within a society, especially from a traditional context to a modern or politically radical environment. Especially in a society undergoing profound changes, songs seem to reflect the mood of the people or of a portion of society, either at the receiving end of radicalism or militarism or at the inducing end thereof.

In conclusion, the performance of liberation songs and toyi-toyi dances played the following key roles and functions as part of the liberation struggle. They represented:

- Alternative channels to air the concerns and political aspirations of a part of society;

- Instruments to facilitate political or revolutionary education, change and revitalisation;
- A means to bring about coherence and collective unity by consolidating different groups and to emphasise collective endeavours;
- Communicating life experiences (economic, social and political), grievances, feelings of discontent,
- Communicating messages of unity and political advancement, hope, freedom and emancipation, political liberation from white domination;
- It raised political consciousness, racial hatred and militancy among blacks;
- Forms of the new moral and ethic cultural codes of conduct and expression;
- They facilitated the development of a sense of nationality or a common identity;
- Instruments to reach the audience since it was attuned to their emotional needs;
- A means to facilitate mass mobilisation.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

> *"We are waging a war for changes. ... (N)o one must forget that the changes are the result of our struggle ..." (Afonso Dhlakama in Hoile 1994: 1).*

1. REFLECTIONS ON CONFLICT AND RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Culture change as the result of the processes of acculturation has been evident since the bearers of the various cultures come in direct and continuous contact with one another in South Africa. Two of the three phases of acculturation, namely contact and collision have already occurred in South Africa with the third phase, namely restructuring currently taking place. The possibility exists, however, that South Africa could return partially or fully, to the collision phase should restructuring and reintegration not be successful, especially when there is an unwillingness among the constituent groups to grow together into a new unit.

The centuries of prolonged contact between white Europeans and black groups in South Africa was characterised by both friendly encounters with missionaries, for example, and hostile contact. On numerous occasions the hostile conflict led to violent conflicts such as the nine Frontier Wars and also formal and organised resistance to white domination among the Black, Indian and Coloured population groups. Differences in numeric strength, in technological skills and sophistication, as well as the vast differences in culture, racial and linguistic features among the nine indigenous black groups, as well as English and Afrikaans speaking white and Coloured groups, further created barriers for co-operation, integration and trust among these groups. These factors strengthened feelings of ethnocentrism where one's own culture is regarded as superior or the best, and also intensified conflict, racial hatred, antagonism and resistance among these groups. The decades of conflict and resistance in South Africa in the socio-political arena culminated in a formal liberation struggle that

peaked in the 1970's and 1980's. Crucial to the resistance was the use of force and intimidation as tools to enforce change in general and more particularly to affect the tempo and direction of the change in black communities.

Since the last phase has only begun in South Africa, there is not sufficient information available to make an evaluation of the situation or to determine to what extent integration through amalgamation, assimilation or incorporation will occur, or if these changes will be at all successful or permanent. However, the deep-rooted feelings and memories of violence and brutality, as well as the resistance to political domination by an ethnically or ideologically different group could again cause division and violent conflict among the people of South Africa. This would especially be true if all groups (minority and majority groups) do not feel that the present government takes their needs, expectations and interests into consideration. Should this happen, reintegration and restructuring will be hampered and the country will again become unstable and the collision phase may reoccur. To prevent disintegration, a common identity and central value system has to be defined and it also needs to be implemented, managed and applied uniformly to all groups.

2. THE ANC AS REVITALISATION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

During the collision phase it is characteristic that groups of people disillusioned or dissatisfied with the political, economic, social, value or religious systems of a country establish resistance, reactionary or cultural adjustment movements of a revitalistic nature. There are numerous examples, as was indicated in Chapter 2, of revitalisation movements of a religious and political nature, such as the Cargo Cults from Nieu Guinea and the Ghost Dance among the Indians of North America. In Sub-Saharan Africa, *political* movements such as the Mau Mau of Kenya and the ANC in South Africa, represented prominent types of movements responsible for cultural revitalisation and change. They are popularly called *political liberation movements,* and fight for the liberation/freedom of the local black inhabitants of the country from foreign rule and dominance.

It is possible to apply the model of revitalisation or cultural adjustment to the liberation movements in South Africa. Revitalisation or the remodelling of society or a portion thereof is an option and at times also necessary for people or a group of people to survive. Revitalisation is usually instituted when people experience a great deal of stress due to severe pressure over a long period of time to change their behaviour, norms, values, beliefs and way of life. In South Africa, missionaries and successive

British and white Afrikaner governments introduced and implemented numerous new religious and other values as well as laws that differed vastly from the traditional way of life, thus placing great stress on indigenous black groups and individuals. Of the most significant factors causing stress among these groups were the changed economic, social, religious and political environments. Through instituted laws, blacks were forced to live in social confinements prohibiting them from practising their normal economic activities and keeping livestock. Through the Natives Land Act of 1913 blacks were further prohibited from owning land outside demarcated areas, thus taking away a right that was formerly normal practice.

Traditional political and judicial structures were slowly replaced with Western models and structures excluding blacks from active participation in the national and regional structures, and causing further stress and cultural distortion. These factors, among others, which also include environmental realities and pressures such as droughts, raised the levels of discontent and in the end led to organised resistance against the ruling white government. Various small black Coloured and Indian resistance movements existed from as early as 1882. However, the fragmentation of these groups divided by region or language (ethnic division) limited their ability to have any impact or influence on the decisions or laws promulgated by government. In 1912, the SANNC as the first national resistance movement was established, with the aim of uniting black people and organisations across ethnic and linguistic lines and for this purpose introduced English as a common medium for communication. The movement later also included liberal and radical whites and people from other racial groups and changed its name to the ANC. Due to the violent and subversive nature of the movement, the ANC and other movements of mass resistance, such as the PAC and the SACP discussed in Chapter 4, were banned by the government from operating in South Africa at the end of 1960. The period following 1960 until the end of the 1970's was characterised by movements of black consciousness aimed at raising the discontent among local population groups and instilling guilt among the white population. The ANC resurfaced again in 1983 in the form of the UDF through which it continued its activities of unification, mass mobilisation, terror and intimidation.

The nature and evolution of the ANC and other mass resistance movements concur with the model of Wallace on revitalisation movements (see Chapter 2). The phases of the model were adapted (phases 1 and 2 were combined) as it made more sense since the two stages in a political movement seem to be inseparable. Black Consciousness movements and the PAC were instrumental in the struggle for liberation and especially the ANC/SACP-alliance acted as principle change agents responsible for revitalisation. They acted as catalysts for revitalisation in especially the judicial and political structures in the culture of the Bantu-speaking people in South Africa. In examining the ANC

as a revitalisation movement, definite stages could be distinguished in the development of the movement and the final impact it had on the political dispensation in South Africa and certain elements of black culture.

2.1 MAZEWAY REFORMULATION OR CODE FORMULATION AND ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

In religious revitalisation movements described by Wallace, the leader is often regarded as a Messiah or somebody who has a religious connotation and who receives his vision of the new society in a vision or hallucinatory trance. According to the new vision people under pressure either initiate and formulate or receive through dreams, hallucinations, spirit possessions and trances a new vision, idea or doctrine for a more suitable or utopian society, or a political, religious, social, economic and/or social environment. As opposed to religious movements, political liberation movements are usually the products of deliberate, intellectually formulated and goal-directed structuring by a core group of individuals. These individuals have a political agenda and aim, namely to seize the ultimate position of power and control.

The initial phase in the formation of a formal resistance movement in South Africa, was when on the initiative of a few black lawyers, people and organisations who experienced and were opposed to existing legal measures, political and socio-economic conditions pertaining to blacks, amalgamated to establish the SANNC in 1912. The initial aim of the SANNC was to unite blacks, regardless of their ethnic or linguistic affiliation, into a single organisation that would look after their needs. The SANNC became the official vehicle to formulate the concerns and dissatisfaction of blacks and communicate their desires to the government and to politicise and organise the politically unenlightened population.

Organisationally, the SANNC comprised of an Executive Committee (national leaders or strategists) with positions such as a president, deputy-president, secretary and so on, who together with the rest of the core group later formulated the code of principles and broad vision (the bigger picture) of the SANNC, namely political liberation. Apart from the Executive Committee, there were the local leaders (action group) who had the responsibility to mobilise the masses and execute decisions and lastly there were also the followers (mass support base). The radical and militant local leadership of the movement appealed to the youth of the country that were becoming increasingly frustrated and disillusioned with their circumstances. After establishing a set structure of command with prominent leaders and lines of communication, a definite vision could be formulated and mechanisms created to

propagate the vision of the movement

Several years after the broad vision was formulated, the SANNC adapted its organisational nature after internal disagreement and changed its name to the ANC in 1923. The ANC concretised its ideas of an ideal society (goal culture) with the formulation of the Freedom Charter on 26 June 1955. The Freedom Charter was the product of multi-racial discussions, including black, Indian, liberal and radical whites and Coloureds groups known as the Congress of People. The Freedom Charter served as a blueprint or utopian code and was the official formulation of a set of guidelines interpreting the vision for the future and propagating the merit of the liberation struggle and the principles of the new society. The role of the new code was to enable the visionary group to cope with and adapt to the constantly presented challenges of a changing and already changed socio-economic and political environment.

The Freedom Charter was a basic set of guidelines and principles catering for a society free of discrimination and biased behaviour and having privileges based on equal opportunities and rights. The Freedom Charter, for example, stated that all national groups should have equal rights and status. Greater responsibility was also placed on the state to look after the interests of the poor, in that the state would provide peasants with implements and seed. It would provide and control care for orphans, the elderly and the ill (see the Annexure to the Freedom Charter).

The initial vision for the SANNC/ANC was thus to provide non-violent opposition through constitutional channels of communication to government proposals, policies and laws. It initially wanted to affect government measures and laws along peaceful lines. When this failed the ANC became more organised and grew more aggressive in its actions and changed its initial aims of reasoning to revolutionary strategies of overthrowing the government.

Overtly the ANC professed and propagated a set of principles (code) that was peaceful and non-violent. But covertly it formulated a more radical and violent strategy to be implemented by the local leaders on the masses on the ground to ensure their co-operation and participation. The aims and mission of the ANC together with the SACP was to violently overthrow the government and then implement the non-violent principles of equality. Its new strategy enabled the ANC to survive by dictating the pace/tempo, direction and terms of political and social change.

2.2 *COMMUNICATION*

Communication is fundamental to a revitalisation and awareness program. Mass communication was used as a method to reach many people at a given time trying to convince them to join the movement by making them aware of the ultimate objective of the movement, namely freedom/liberation from white rule. The aim of communication was to propagate the new political society and code or principles, on which it would be based, making people aware of the alternatives to their current existence. The message of the new society, its values and ideology was communicated to the masses through radio broadcasts on Radio Freedom, television, newspapers, liberation songs and popular media such as theatre, poetry and literature. Other means of propagating the message was through public and secret meetings and gatherings as well as through the structures of the civic organisations and people's courts. These structures were used as informal forums to politically educate people regarding the aims and merits of the liberation struggle. These forums thus acted as centres of propaganda, politicisation, mobilisation and planning for mass action, such as marches, strikes and stayaways. Liberation songs were also used as tools to spread the message of resistance and liberation, mobilise the radical youth and communicate support to the leaders of the liberation. Young radical soldiers sang songs containing words such as "We are the future!", inspiring fellow comrades and youth into action and into believing that they would rule.

The messages conveyed the advantages of the new system namely self-governance, prosperity, access to health, wealth and economic resources, shelter (housing) and equality as was documented in the Freedom Charter. Through mass communication the faults, inadequacies and biased nature of the then political system was stressed, focussing on racial discrimination through discriminating laws such as the Natives Trust and Land Act, the Prevention of Mixed Marriages and Separate Amenities Act to name but a few. Another message that was communicated through the words of liberation songs, carrying with it the threat of intimidation, was that the goal culture had to be reached by any means, even through violent methods. Before a state of utopia could be reached, the liberation movements had to destabilise the country through acts of chaos, violence, revolution, crime, sabotage and terrorism. This inherently communicated to the masses that the government was unable to look after their interests or protect them because the welfare of blacks was not in the government's best interest.

2.3 ADAPTATION

According to Wallace's model the next step after the communication of the message is the formation of a formal organisation and organisational structure. With the liberation movements, organisational structure was one of the first elements that were in place, before a message was propagated to the population.

Like other revitalisation movements the ANC, as liberation movement, was directed towards reform and revitalisation of the political system. In order to broaden its support base and become representative of the broad population in the country, the ANC had to incorporate people of other races and adapt its former racial policy or code that excluded, for example, the white population. As a result, the ANC encountered internal resistance from individuals inside its own organisational structure who did not agree with the adapted code and vision of the organisation. Consequently, in 1959, a portion of the leadership core and action group opposed to the new changes broke away from the ANC to form the PAC. The PAC was more exclusive in terms of its membership and doctrine and was very rigid in character and not very adaptive.

Resistance naturally also came from the government that it opposed. The resistance was due to inter alia the ANC's radical and revolutionary strategy and aims towards political revitalisation. Opposition by the government to the radical and revolutionary threat posed by the movement to its power base manifested in the passing of several repressive and restrictive laws and measures. These included the proclaiming of several States of Emergencies and the implementation of extreme security force measures (detention without trial and mass arrests). In the end, the government in an attempt to suppress the rising resistance to its rule, banned the ANC and the PAC in 1960 under the Unlawful Organisations Act, after which the organisations operated from countries outside the boundaries of South Africa.

Resistance was also experienced from a portion of the local black population. A political movement opposing the anti-traditional stance of the ANC, namely the IFP, also existed at the time of the liberation struggle and wanted to preserve traditional leadership structures and customs. As a result the IFP and all those who did not actively support the ANC, were regarded as collaborators with the regime and thus traitors and sell-outs to the liberation struggle. These people became targets or victims of intimidation through physical and verbal attacks and death. The words of liberation songs and the vigorous and militant nature of the toyi-toyi dance also constituted methods of intimidation used on the local communities.

Wallace (Chapter 2) states that during this stage there is a general tendency for the code to harden and the movement to harshly condemn deviants from the code and to treat non-participating members as traitors. This was especially the case with the ANC. During their period of exile, the ANC/SACP alliance reformulated their strategies to meet their revolutionary vision to overthrow the government and replace it with a new model. Fundamental to this revised model was the establishment of a militant wing or private army by the ANC called MK on 16 December 1961. The aim of the military wing was to facilitate the revolutionary vision of the ANC through the use of revolutionary tactics of violence, subversion and terrorism (intimidating techniques) to overthrow the government.

Part of the strategy of liberation movements was to redesign and enforce a change in attitude and perceptions of being black, inferior and incapable towards one of black superiority. Here, in particular, Black Consciousness movements that featured in the 1970's contributed to creating such as mindset by continuing the struggle of the then banned ANC. A new solidarity among blacks, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, had to be established as well as a consciousness of unfair treatment, discriminating laws and social injustices. People had to be mobilised into taking action in order to establish a new society in which these injustices would no longer prevail. The continuation and long duration of the struggle for liberation was made possible by the numerous, generous, financial donations and aid in military training, weapons and ammunition to the ANC by foreign countries such as Russia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

The attitudes towards neutralists and perceived traitors hardened and less tolerance were experienced towards these people who were victimised and intimidated as a strategy to combat their possible influence on the rest of their communities. Many cases of strong-arm or intimidatory tactics against suspected collaborators were reported in the media and by the police. In this regard acts of violent and non-violent intimidation were especially directed at blacks employed by the government in sectors such as town councils, health and education departments and the security forces. Intimidation was applied by the comrades to recruit supporters (enlarge the support base and gain power). Once they were recruited, intimidation was applied to prevent them from leaving the movement (to maintain support and power) and also to ensure their secrecy and loyalty to the ANC and its goals. Acts of intimidation were also directed at the non-participants in the movement to prevent them from conveying information about the activities of the ANC to the security forces.

As part of the measures to ensure loyalty and participation, the ANC established various structures at grass roots level such as people's courts, civic structures and in some areas (excluding Bela Bela) also

Self Defence Units (SDU's). These structures functioned to a large degree on the principle of fear (intimidation) of punishment through these structures in cases of deviation from the movement's implicit code of secrecy and loyalty. The punishments for identified collaborators/traitors were very severe in order to ensure that it served as discouragement for would-be traitors. Methods of punishment and intimidation included necklacing, stoning, having their property damaged/vandalised or them and their families physically abused or lashed.

2.4 CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

In South Africa this phase occurred from 1970 to 1987 when the government was unable to successfully counter and quell the discontent, violence, sabotage and mass-actions by a large portion of the population. Eventually a negotiated settlement was reached and the political resistance movements were unbanned in 1990. The ANC and other formerly banned political movements such as the SACP and PAC established political branches nationally, provincially and locally in townships.

Fundamental to this stage is the functioning of the transfer culture (transformation process) and where possible also the goal culture. Crucial to the functioning of the transfer culture is that the movement bringing about transformation has support or control over a substantial number of the population and resources such as water, communication networks and military apparatus. Another important element according to Wallace is the ability to maintain social cohesion and conformity without having to apply destructive measures such as coercion. The ANC, as vehicle for the transfer culture, did not comply fully with these requirements.

The ANC had gained substantial support from the population, both willingly and through intimidating measures, and it started to extend its influence further by establishing alternative administrative structures such as civics in the local communities. Another alternative structure was the people's court (judicial) structure. These structures also represented a means for the ANC to gain and maintain control and influence over its local support base. Civic and people's court structures were intended to create the perception among the population that the ANC was a powerful organisation from which they were not able to escape since it took away and replaced their channels of complaint and recourse. Songs containing elements of praise, reminding people of traditional praise-songs praising the deeds of leaders or very brave individuals in society, were transformed to further the cause of the ANC. Songs with words such as "My praises of the kings are never complete. How can we forget the heroes of Africa? Heroes such as J.B. Mark and Moses Kotane" gave praise to leaders of the struggle, making

them national heroes. Dances, such as the toyi-toyi dance, also seem to be some form of a traditional war-dance characterised by feet and knees that are lifted high, leaps into the air, aggressive forward and backward movements accompanied by loud war cries, as was discussed in Chapter 6. These dances served to heighten the spirit of militancy among the black communities.

However, because the ANC made use of extensive acts of intimidation to recruit members, it had to continue applying intimidation to ensure continued support and participation in the movement and its activities. The inherent nature of these structures, determined by the character and radical nature of the youth who presided over them, resulted in these structures being revolutionary, volatile and intimidatory. As a result, social cohesion and conformity had to be continuously maintained through destructive and forceful (intimidatory) measures.

The period of transformation was not accompanied by a reduction in anomie or voluntary group participation. Even though the armed resistance was formally suspended by the liberation movements in 1990, physical violence, intimidation and mass action continued and became characteristic of the initial stages of political restructuring. Mass participation and representation in legal mass action activities were obtained by maximising forced group participation in mass actions such as marches. After 1990, intimidation became characteristic of the violent conflict between movements such as the ANC, IFP and PAC who represented black interests in order to obtain the support and co-operation of the masses, as well as to exert their power and control in all areas. During the restructuring phase, violence and intimidation were continuously used as methods to ensure control and support in the run-up to the first national elections of 1994 that determined the new balance of power and control over all resources and decision-making power in the country.

2.5 ROUTINISATION

Routinisation takes place once the new political system (goal culture) has become operational and its practices accepted as normal by society. Once the whole or the majority of the population accepts the new structures and values; stability, equilibrium and normal functioning are likely to occur. In 1994 political liberation, the ultimate objective of the ANC was finally achieved with the first national multi-racial elections in the country. As such, the movement in terms of its nature, focus and violent strategies had served its purpose and ceased to exist in its former format. The ANC took political control of the country and set forth a process of social, economic and political transformation. The ANC as the new political authority or government now has the responsibility as decision-maker to

maintain the systems, structures and functions of society. One can state that society has been 'rerouted' psychologically, politically and socially.

This stage might however take generations to be implemented fully or might not last long. Since no government in a democratic society has totalitarian control over all aspects of the new culture and society, it is possible that cultural distortion might again occur and lead to the formation of revitalisation movements. This possibility is enhanced by the existence in South Africa of diverse population groups, each conscious of its own identity and divided along cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic and ideological lines. This diversity enhances the possibility of future discontent, resistance and conflict with the government by these groups. These factors are going to pose a constant challenge to the government to manage conflict and diverse group interests. Such challenges further magnify the probability of future shifts in the balance of power, power relations and authority through the deliberate and organised conduct and resistance by one or more groups.

The emergence or remnants of fanatic extremist political or religious resistance groups and possible violent strategies and aims to oppose the ruling government remains a reality in South Africa. Internal forces and factors such as strong feelings of ethnic identity, political, economic or religious ideologies and realities might again cause a rift in society.

Each revitalisation movement is unique owing to the unique facets and circumstances of each country. The ANC therefore does not totally conform to all the criteria of Wallace regarding revitalisation movements but it can be compared to similar political revitalisation movements elsewhere. The ANC thus possesses a number of characteristics associated with revitalisation movements. Wallace's model of revitalisation is thus important in that it provides broad guidelines and criteria or phases along which cultural revitalisation takes place, allowing for the description and manifestation of certain uniqueness associated with the establishment or existence of each movement. In noting the various phases and criteria, it might be possible to some extent in the future to track and predict the progress, phases, expected behaviour and tactics of developing extremist religious and political movements and consequently be able to note in more detail the processes and characteristic of each phase.

3. THE SKILLFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF INTIMIDATION DURING THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Africans are not the only group of people who have made use of violent means of intimidation to achieve political goals. The use of intimidation for political purposes or to further political aims is a universal phenomenon. Violent intimidation is not restricted to a specific period in time or to any specific racial or ethnic group, country or ideology (religious, political or communism) or type of civilisation. During the liberation struggle the government mobilised its bases of power (security forces) and authority (legal arena), institutionalising the use of force and coercion. Institutional intimidation (methods of intimidation employed by the state) was enforced through the legal dispensation with its implementation of exclusive and discriminating laws, as well as through security force actions, which are coming to light in revelations by security force members in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings. Due to the focus of the study, these types of intimidation fall outside the scope of this study.

Intimidation was exercised both inwards and outwards. Intimidation occurred in every sector of society, be it education (pupils and teachers), religion (through sermons or the coercion of preachers), labour, health and local communities (strikes, boycotts and stayaways). Acts of intimidation by members of the liberation movements were exercised on both the in-group (intra-group), and the out-group (external group, 'enemy' or inter-group intimidation) who were the oppressors and the white government. Mass mobilisation such as marches, toyi-toying, the singing of liberation songs and slogans such as "kill the Boer, kill the farmer", accompanied by actual attacks on farmers, were examples of the implementation of external or outward intimidation. Mass action (boycotts, strikes, stayaways and marches) was used as a tool of intimidation. One of the aims of intimidation through mass action was to intimidate or coerce the government to surrender political power and authority to the liberation movements. The acts of intimidation that transpired were skilfully orchestrated, deliberate and goal directed, strategically planned by the leaders and implemented by the young disciples (comrades).

There are basically two types of intimidation and both were exercised during the liberation struggle, namely hard or direct intimidation and soft, indirect or subtle intimidation. These two types of intimidation can also be referred to as *violent* (direct or hard) and *non-violent* (indirect or soft) intimidation which would probably be more suitable in a political context. The two types of intimidation are interrelated and difficult to separate, except in their extreme forms. Violent

intimidation constitutes acts of assault and terrorism such as bombings, violence (assassinations, and murder) and physical harm (lashings, assault and necklacing). Non-violent intimidation constitutes threats or the perceived possibility of violence, vandalism and physical harm.

The influence of communism stood central to the liberation of many countries in Africa. The ideological influence of, for example, Russia was reflected in the specific nature and tactics of the violence and intimidation employed by the various liberation movements. In this regard the principles of Marx and Lenin were taught to fellow inmates in prison after the activists were caught, thus serving to further politicise young radicals. In South Africa the existence of the SACP is a clear indication of the influence of communism and socialism on the liberation struggle and its movements. In Kenya, the popular resistance leader Jomo Kenyatta, also received training in Russia.

In the liberation struggle incidents of violence, for example, had both a direct impact on the individual and the group and simultaneously acted as an indirect (implicit warning) deterrent. After activists established a reputation of being brutal and employing violent strong-arm tactics, mere threats of violence, assault or damages to property were sufficient to ensure compliance to their wishes. The dynamics of the two forms of intimidation is best illustrated by means of an example. When a work stayaway was called, people were instructed and intimidated not to attend work. The people, who decided to defy the call and went to work were beaten and their houses sometimes set alight or they were targeted in the community for being collaborators of the regime. Through these acts of intimidation the victims were violently coerced and through fear of repeated acts of violence, they did not defy a call or any other expected actions again. Other residents who heard of or saw the incident were implicitly intimidated in fear of physical harm and consequently, the next time a stayaway was called, no resident was likely to defy the call. Intimidation could therefore also be referred to as insurance intimidation because it was proactive in nature. It tried to eliminate the chances of failure, the delivery of no dividends and to insure successful transition or the political overthrow of the white minority government even if it had to be achieved through force or the threat thereof directed at one's own people (in-group).

In another example people who were violently forced to stay away from work had to bear the brunt of the employers. Since employers worked on the principle of no-work-no-pay, people did not receive full salaries at the end of the month and were therefore unable to pay their rent and electricity. This raised the levels of anxiety and fear of eviction and imprisonment by the government for their actions. This did occur and formed part of the strategy of the activists who used it to exploit the resultant discontent and mobilise people on these economic issues.

An underlying key principle of intimidation is that it feeds on fear, customary beliefs and human insecurities. Intimidation is not only mere threats or actions, it is a psychologically manipulating process taking advantage of people's underlying beliefs and fears. Fears that were exploited and capitalised upon included fears of pain, mutilation, unnatural death and excommunication/ostracism, as well as the conditioned belief that it is morally better for everybody to turn the proverbial "other cheek" than being called a sell-out, ostracised, isolated or singled-out. Intimidation based on fear exploits the emotions of shock and horror by seeing and experiencing the terror of death by, for example, necklacing which serves to intimidate people regardless of their views on the actions and tactics employed by the activists. Witchcraft was one of the aspects exploited by youths to hold communities at ransom through threats of death if one should be suspected of being a witch. Elderly people in a community or those who were suspected of opposing the activists were normally at risk of being accused of witchcraft or collaboration and being burnt to death.

Alternative structures of justice such as people's courts were used as a means of proactive and reactive intimidation. These systems of people's justice were in many respects intimidatory in nature. They thrived upon the principles of 'fear of punishment' rather than on having a positive role of facilitating reconciliation among members of the community. People's justice is an abstract form of justice and decisions are justified, not necessarily on facts or a set of rules, but on subjective assumptions, interpretations and perceptions of what is right and what is wrong. People's courts employed the most extreme forms of intimidation. The main aim of these courts were to make examples of collaborators and sell-outs through violent deaths and punishments such as humiliation through public flogging (sometimes resulting in death or mutilation) and necklacing to deter people from providing information to the security forces. The fear of being found guilty by a people's court and being severely punished forced many people into superficial conformity and co-operation. Those who were accused of collaboration with the security forces were stoned or burned to death or severely assaulted. This in turn served to intimidate everybody who heard of the incident to provide support for the struggle.

Intimidation is inherently and principally negative. Intimidation primarily makes use of negative enforcement and reinforcement (coercion, fear, force and violence or threats thereof) to obtain a desired goal or objective, even if the goal is co-operation and unity. Any process, mechanism or strategy, relying principally on fear and coercion, is negative and destructive and carries within it the seed of destruction and even self-destruction and chaos. That might possibly be what contributed to

the unacceptable high levels of crime and violence, the worthlessness of human life and the so-called "culture of intimidation", referring to the continued and accepted employment of intimidation tactics.

The various forms of intimidation were justifiable means to an end in the eyes of the activists and leaders of the liberation movements. The use of intimidation, even if it included brutal forms of punishment, was a justifiable means of obtaining the ultimate goal of liberation. Since intimidation, as a tool, was regarded as the best and surest method and tool to obtain any desired end quickly with little chance of failure, it was considered justifiable in terms of the importance of the desired goal. It was a suitable means to serve an ultimate end.

Thus, after stating what intimidation is and why it was such a powerful and successful mechanism in the strategies of the reformers or revolutionists, one should also state what intimidation is not:

INTIMIDATION IS NOT:

- Unique to South Africa, it is an international phenomenon.
- Confined to the political arena, but it also manifests in the social, family, personal, sports, economic and work environments.
- Employed only by black Africans or exclusively by any particular social, cultural or political group.
- Only a mechanism or tool employed by a group or individual but also a strategy to achieve a goal or enhance the progress of a mission.
- Exclusively employed by one group and administered on another but also by one group unto itself.
- Less successful in an unstructured and extremely diverse environment.

4. GAINING UNITY AND CO-OPERATION THROUGH INTIMIDATION AND THE EXPLOITATION OF CULTURE

In many respects local blacks were moving into unknown social and political territory where the underlying and regulatory values and customs (habits) were to a great extent still undefined. Local communities were forced into superficial solidarity and unity through forced participation in mass action and civil disobedience campaigns which was contrary to their value system based on respect, obedience and order. In stayaways and other forms of mass action, the amount of unity and collective

strength was illustrated in the number of people that participated in these actions, illustrating the massive support for the cause and the declining support for the government.

The strength and the power of the ANC and ultimately also the success of the struggle were vested in unity and collective efforts of its support base. One of the main aims of intimidation in the liberation struggle was thus to create, establish, ensure and maintain loyalty, secrecy, co-operation and unity among the black population. Mass participation, unity and support for the struggle and the intended collective displays of unity, power and strength by the ANC did not occur spontaneously. Initially many people had to be intimidated into co-operation and participation in mass action, but later less and less intimidation, especially violent intimidation was required to obtain support for mass action. One could deduce from this that it was an implicit sign that intimidation was successful and no longer required widespread violent acts of intimidation. It possibly also indicated that more and more people were supporting the struggle voluntarily due to their belief in the merit and goals of the struggle.

The manipulation and exploitation of elements of culture such as the traditional belief in supernatural punishment when breaking an oath in the case of the Mau Mau[25] constituted an act of indirect intimidation. This fear served as a sufficient deterrent for especially the more traditionally orientated people to adhere to the promise of, for example, secrecy regarding the movement. Activists in South Africa successfully used the love of Africans for song and dance to optimise, manipulate and re-enforce the underlying principles of communality, obedience, respect and group cohesion and group interest.

Group cohesion was further enhanced through group performances that, in a social and traditional context, were displays of unity and common identity. The singing of liberation songs, for example, were based on the familiar structures of traditional songs namely repetition and call-and-response and the toyi-toyi dances resembled the movements of war dances with the high lifting of knees, forward leaping and aggressive stamping of feet. People were forced to be and *act together* in marches and strikes and were on many occasions caught in the psychosis that was brought about by rushing adrenaline, the rhythmic movements of the toyi-toyi dances and the repeated shouting of liberation song inciting the crowds to militant actions. During these marches groups of people mesmerised by the songs and dances sometimes vandalised and damaged shops, buildings and vehicles and assaulted people. These actions and the possibility of it occurring made these mass actions and toyi-toyi dances intimidatory to non-participants. People have on several occasions remarked that they did not know what they were doing and that normally they would not have behaved in such a destructive manner. These liberation songs, slogans

---

25 *See Chapter 3 for additional information on the Mau Mau oaths.*

and toyi-toyi dances were impressive shows of collective unity and strength. Those who observed the proceedings or were confronted by a group of singing-dancing marchers were not likely to resist their 'invitations' to participate in the march or show support in some form. Resistance or refusal by people to the group of marchers could, for example, result in their death, bodily harm or damage to their property.

Threats of bodily harm to traitors were also conveyed through songs. The implicit meaning and intimidating threats carried in songs were used to intimidate communities to ensure their support, loyalty and secrecy. These songs were also used to mobilise people into action or towards violence as were stated before. People were forced to learn and participate in these group activities against their will. They complied with the wishes of the comrades for fear of punishment or of being labelled a traitor. Movements such as the ANC thus successfully used songs and dances as implicit features of the culture of the Bantu-speaking people in South Africa to gain mass participation in strikes and marches.

Loyalty and participation were further enforced through people's court structures and the brutal punishments such as necklacing and lashings administered by these courts. Owing to the status of courts as structures of authority that had to be obeyed, the ANC used these structures as key instruments of intimidation in local communities. These court structures, however, were administered by youths who did not know how to apply justice and fairly assess cases, since they did not know or respect the principles and values of society on which a decision is made or punishment is based. The types of punishment that was administered were thus very severe and brutal and served to intimidate communities to fear these courts.

The activist and criminal elements preyed on the religious beliefs and fears of the population that accompanied punishment, especially punishment associated with being accused of witchcraft or crimes against the community, such as treachery. The violent deaths through necklacing that, for example, befell collaborators and accused witches induced a mass fear psychosis in local communities and among people nationally. Most of the victims are said to have been innocent of their accused crimes. As a result of the fear of being called a traitor, people were deterred from providing evidence to the security forces and in so doing showed solidarity with the cause of the struggle. The necklacing of selected individuals was part of a power game that was played by the ANC youth in the townships who otherwise had little influence and power and used these tactics as a means to obtain power and control, thus holding communities to ransom.

The fact that juveniles with political and personal agendas to obtain power and control administered people's courts and civic structures, doomed these structures, especially court structures as they

emerged. The youth, especially those living and being raised in townships and who did not have or endorse a uniform system of values and norms, did not automatically have the support and stature in the community to perform court actions. They therefore tried to gain the support and authority for their actions through forceful means and intimidatory actions such as falsely accusing innocent people of crimes and especially if they did not like them, eliminating them by administering brutal punishment.

5. THE NATURE OF INTIMIDATION IN BELA BELA

Both direct and indirect forms of intimidation were used on black communities such as Bela Bela. Acts of intimidation in Bela Bela were directed at two main target groups in the community, namely the residents at large and the "enemy" of the residents or people, namely informers, collaborators and those employed by government institutions such as town councillors, policemen and teachers.

An aim of intimidation against the members of the community was to create solidarity with the cause of the liberation struggle among the people. Once solidarity and unity was established, mass mobilisation could take place without much effort and encouragement. Since many residents in Bela Bela still believed in societal values of obedience and respect towards elders and authority and were also not politically educated and active, drastic intimidatory measures were implemented to mobilise and politicise the people. Residents were forced through threats of lashings and vandalism to their property to attend mass meetings. In order to ensure their participation, the leaders of the struggle employed radical youths to run to the houses of the people and literally drag them and their children into the streets to participate in progressing marches. Those who were too old or unable to participate were forced to stay awake during the night and burn candles for the comrades to see their support. People were also forced to leave their doors unlocked to enable comrades to escape through their houses when chased by the police after marches or mass demonstrations. Those who did not participate or provided their support in any other visible form were lashed or labelled collaborators. Numerous accounts of violent deaths and brutal lashings by people's courts and street committees of people who were considered collaborators were noted in the media. These publicised accounts of necklacing and an actual case of necklacing of an informer by a people's court in Mawhelereng (Potgietersrus) in the Northern Province served as a sufficient deterrent or indirect intimidation and made residents believe that the comrades would fulfil their threats of physical harm on suspected informers. People were thus sufficiently and effectively intimidated by these acts although they did not occur in Bela Bela to enforce participation in mass action.

In relation to the sentiments of the liberation leaders on informers, intimidation was also used to force loyalty and secrecy upon the people, especially regarding intended mass actions such as marches and mass meetings, as well as of the identities of the leaders of the movements. Especially at the height of the liberation struggle in the 1980's when there was fierce resistance from the side of the government towards the actions of these movements, secrecy was of paramount importance. Intimidation was thus used to prevent actions such as the leaking of information and on the other hand also to mobilise people into action. Apart from secrecy, acts of direct and indirect intimidation were also aimed at deterring people from becoming informers to and collaborators with the government and the security forces.

Numerous means and methods of intimidation were employed in Bela Bela through the civic structures, more specifically the street committees, as well as through the practices of the radical members of these structures. Residents were already intimidated by the radical and threatening nature of the young comrades who gained the reputation of being fierce and violent when they burnt the vehicle of the school principal. Means of violent intimidation employed by these comrades constituted the arsoning of government buildings and vehicles and stoning of the houses of black policemen and town councillors. The comrades that formed part of the street committees also formed the local people's court structures. Through the lashing of an elderly woman by a people's court, people were intimidated into co-operation and obedience for fear of being punished. The few incidents of violent intimidation were so effective in gaining co-operation, support and collective unity when required, that such acts were not practised regularly.

Non-violent forms of intimidation were also practised with great success in Bela Bela. The effectiveness of the practised intimidation was vested in the symbolic representation of the medium used for intimidation purposes. Here, for example, the seemingly innocent shaking of a box of matches by a comrade at a taxi pick-up point or leaning against a nearby shop represented possible arson or necklacing. The shaking of the box served as a deterrent or warning to those who might have wanted to act against the wishes of the comrades by, for example, buying at a prohibited shop or who wanted to ignore a work stayaway. Another form of non-violent intimidation that occurred was ostracism, a fate worse than death. People were often threatened that they would be forced to leave the township. On one occasion one person was forced to leave the township when his house nearly burnt down and to date he has not been allowed to return and live in the township. On several occasions several policemen and town councillors were also forced to leave during the night due to threats of bodily harm and arson and were effectively isolated from the township for a few years.

People feared isolation and excommunication because their livelihood and existence more often that not depend on their social networks of friends and family.

Other effective mechanisms of non-violent intimidation that were used included liberation songs and toyi-toyi dances performed during the protest marches and mass gatherings. These performances had a profound effect on the psychological frame of mind of the people of Bela Bela, intimidating them into performing acts of resistance and raising feelings of confrontation contrary to their normal obedient existence. Although the performances had little lasting impact on the residents years after the struggle had reached its goal, during the struggle it raised the levels of political awareness and inspired people to acts of bravery and even vandalism. The words of the songs also contained elements of rebellion and intimidation inspiring people to act violently against those who were perceived or suspected to be collaborators. People were forced to learn and collectively perform the songs and toyi-toyi dances during rallies, marches and gatherings by the comrades. Those who refused would have been labelled traitors and the fear of the implications of such an accusation made people comply and participate.

6. FINAL REMARKS

The final conclusions derived at in this study, are the following:

- That conflict and resistance are typical to culture contact.
- That resistance and conflict frequently lead to revitalisation and cultural adjustment movements.
- That cultural revitalisation is an ongoing process and carries with it the possibility of destabilisation, chaos and rebellion.
- That cultural revitalisation or adjustment can manifest itself in religious, political and other movements.
- That political intimidation is an integral part of political conflict and the processes of political revitalisation.
- That political intimidation plays an important role in mobilising people from different cultural backgrounds.
- That the existing model explaining the phases of resistance and revitalisation, underestimates the value, role and use of intimidation as a means to reach ultimate organisational objectives.
- That culture/elements of culture is/are exploited to effect intimidation.

After evaluating the processes of political change and revitalisation in South Africa and comparing it with the liberation struggle in Kenya, numerous similarities were found that were discussed in Chapter 4. From the information it became clear that the model of revitalisation was applicable in broad terms to the situations in both Kenya and South Africa. In the liberation struggles of both countries, intimidation played a crucial role in determining the amount of support and loyalty of local communities. In both countries selected elements of culture were used and modified by the members of the liberation movements as sources of intimidation. In Kenya the administration of the oath with its binding supernatural powers served as the most effective intimidatory tool. In South Africa liberation songs and toyi-toyi dances modelled on the patterns and structures of traditional songs and dances were exploited and used to intimidate people into group participation. People's courts, stemming from a long line of courts that evolved in South Africa from traditional courts to administer justice in modern townships, served as effective intimidation to deter people through brutal forms of punishment from divulging information to the security forces about the movement.

The question could be asked as to what the future holds in terms of the continued use of intimidation? If intimidation was such a successful strategy and mechanism or tool to obtain a goal or to "get-what-I-want", what are the chances that it will remain a strategy or be re-employed in future by pressure groups? Given the universal and timeless application of the use of intimidation in all spheres of life, one can expect the continued implementation and application of such methods in future, be that in politics, sports or in places of employment when competing for a position, higher wages and so forth.

In the labour, education and business sectors, intimidation through strikes, go-slows, boycotts and stayaways is still being employed. Here the aim of intimidation is still to pressurise authorities and structures to concede to demands for higher wages. The aim of the go-slow by court clerks for overtime pay and the strikes by teachers in early 1998 in protest against retrenchments and budget cuts, is to inter alia force government to reconsider its actions, but also indicate that existing channels are not effective. This is proof of the continued implementation of intimidation as a successful method or tool in negotiations and a strategy of organisations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ackermann, M.F. 1984. *Die reg insake openbare orde en staatsveiligheid.* Durban: Butterworth Uitgewers

Adam, H. 1988. 'Exile and Resistance: The African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress' in Berger, P.L. & Godsell, B. (eds.) *A Future South Africa. Visions, Strategies and Realities.* Cape Town: Human & Rousseau

Allison, J. 1990. 'In search of Revolutionary Justice in South Africa' in *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 18 (4):409-428

Anon. nd(a) 'The National Vanguard Directory' *Main page: Internet*

Anon. nd(b) 'Warmbad: Ontstaan en geskiedenis van die dorp met verskeie name' (*Ongepubliseerde en ongedateerde artikel*). Warmbaths Main Library

Anon. nd(c) 'Warm Baths: Warmbad' (*Ongepubliseerde en ongedateerde manuskrip).* Warmbaths Main Library

Anon. 1986. *Talking with the ANC.* Johannesburg: Perskor

Anon. June 1986(a). 'The peoples' court: The scene for the comrades decree: Death by necklace' in *Victims Against Terrorism (VAT) Update*

Anon. June 1986(b). 'Viewing the future with optimism at their Pretoria host's home: Willy Brand and Winnie Mandela' in *Victims Against Terrorism (VAT) Update*

Anon. November 1987(a). 'ANC has necklaced 400 people' in *Victims Against Terrorism (VAT) Update*

Anon. November 1987(b). 'Jaffna necklacings' in *Victims Against Terrorism (VAT) Update*

Anon. November 1987(c). 'Soviet Union and Terrorism' in *Victims Against Terrorism (VAT) Update*

Anon. 1987. 'Advance to power - 75 years of struggle' *Internet: gopher.anc.org.za/00/anc/history/75years.87*

Anon. 1988. *Now everyone is afraid. The changing face of policing in South Africa.* A Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) Publication. Cape Town: Allie's Printing Services

Anon. 1992. *Africa south of the Sahara: 1992.* London: Europe Publications

Anon. 1993. *Psigo-kulturele aspekte van kiersersgedrag.* (Ongepubliseerde manuskrip)

Anon. 1996. *Multi-Language Dictionary and Phrase Book.* Cape Town: Reader's Digest Association South Africa

Archer, J. 1969. *African Firebrand, Kenyatta of Kenya.* New York: Julian Messner

Arnold, M. 1979. *Steve Biko: Black Consciousness in South Africa.* New York: Vintage Books

Barfield, T. (ed.) 1997. *The Dictionary of Anthropology.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Bee, R.L. 1974. *Patterns and Process.* London: Collier, Macmillan Publishers

Benbo. 1976. *Swart Ontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika.* (Publikasie van die Buro vir Ekonomiese Navorsing insake Bantoe-ontwikkeling). Johannesburg: Perskor-Drukkery

Berry, J.W. 1980. 'Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation' Padilla, A.M. (ed.) *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings.* AAAS Selected Symposium **39**. USA: Westview Press

Bhushan, K (ed.) 1979. 'Kenya 79' *Uhuru 15. Yearbook.* Nairobi: Newspread International

Blacking, J. 1964. *The Cultural foundations of the music of the Venda, with special refrence to their children's songs.* Unpublished doctorate Thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand

Blacking, J. 1967. *Venda Children's songs.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Blacking, J. 1969. 'Initiation and the balance of power – The Tshikanda girls' initiation school of the Venda of the Northern Transvaal' Ethnological and linguistic studies in honour of N.J. van

Warmelo. Department of Bantu Administration and Development. *Ethnological Publication No. 52.* Pretoria: Government Printer

Blacking, J. 1973. *How Musical is man?* Seattle (USA): University of Washington Press

Blacking, J. 1987. *A Commensense view of all music.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bowra, C.M. 1962. *Primitive song.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson

Bruwer, J.P. 1957. *Die Bantoe van Suid-Afrika.* Johannesburg: Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel

Buchler, M. 1995. *Community-based environmentalism in transitional South Africa: Social movements and the development of local democracy.* MA dissertation. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand

Buijtenhuijs, R. nd *Essays on Mau Mau.* (Unpublished and undated manuscript)

Buijtenhuijs, R. 1973. *Mau Mau: Twenty years after.* The Netherlands: Mouton & Company

Burman, S. & Schärf, W. 1990. 'Creating people's justice: Street committees and people's courts in a South African city' in *Law & Society Review*, 24**(3)**:693-744

Carie, M. 1989. *Kenya World Travel Guide.* Great Britain: Bartholomew

Carrim, Y. Spring 1989. 'The Defiance Campaign. Protest Politics on the March' in *Indicator SA*, 6**(4)**:49-52

Casalis, E. 1861. *The Basothos.* London: James Nisbet & Company

Chifunyise, S. 1994. 'Trends in Zimbabwean Theatre Since 1980' in Gunner, L. (ed.) *Politics and Performance: Theatre, Poetry and Song in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Clarkson, K.V. 1997. *The United Democratic Front as exponent of mass-based resistance and protest, 1983-1990.* D.Phil. Thesis, Rand Afrikaans University

Cloete, S. 1956. *Storm over Africa.* Cape Town: Culemborg Publishers

Clough, M.S. 1990. *Fighting Two Sides.* USA: University Press of Colorado

Coertze, P.J. 1968. 'Akkulturasie' Cronjé, G. (ed.) *Kultuurbeïnvloeding tussen Blank en Bantoe in Suid-Afrika.* Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik

Coertze, P.J. 1980. *Filosofiese en Metodologiese grondslae van die Volkekunde.* Johannesburg: Lex Patria

Coertze, P.J. 1982. 'Assimilasie, Integrasie en Amalgamasie' in *Tydskrif vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede*, 33:43-52

Coertze, R.D. 1982. 'Teorie en praktyk van gemeenskapsontwikkeling in die RSA' in Prinsloo, K.P. (ed.) *Enkele aspekte van gemeenskapsontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika.* Pretoria: Academica

Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation. 1981. *The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation.* Pretoria: State Publishers

Corfield, F.D. 1960. *The origins and growth of Mau Mau.* Nairobi: Government House

Cox, R. 1965. *Kenyatta's Country.* London: Hutchinson & Company

Crehan, S. 1994. 'Patronage, the State and Ideology in Zimbabwean Theatre' in Gunner, L. (ed.) *Politics and Performance: Theatre, Poetry and Song in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Crowther, G. 1987. *East Africa. A travel and survival kit.* Australia: Lonely Planet Publications

Da Costa, E. O. 1966. *The Negro in Northern Brazil.* London: University of Washington Press

Darby, J. 1986. *Intimidation and the control of conflict in Northern Ireland.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan

De Beer, F.C. 1986. *Die Familie-, opvolgings- en erfreg (waarby ingesluit is die bestuur- en hofstelsel) van die Noord-Ndebele.* (Ongepubliseerde navorsingsverslag - UNISA)

De Coning, C. & Fick, J. 1986. 'Menslike verbrandings: 'n Sosio-politieke ondersoek na die aard en impak van kataklismiese geweld in Suid Afrika' in *Politikon*, 13**(1)**:22-53

De Jager, T. November 1986. *Die Swartbewussynsfilosofie van Steve Biko.* MA-Verhandeling, Universiteit van Pretoria

De Villiers, C.M. 1965. *Die "African National Congress" en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand (1912-1956).* MA-Verhandeling, Universiteit van Pretoria

De Villiers, H.H.W. 1964. *Rivonia. Operation Mayibuye.* Johannesburg: Afrikaanse Pers-Boekhandel

Duncan, P. 1960. *Sotho laws and customs.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press

Edgerton, R.B, 1989. *Mau Mau.* New York: The Free Press

Elliott, A. 1970. *The Magic World of the Xhosa.* London: Collins

Els, H. 1990. 'Kulturele vernuwing: Inkhata Yenkululeko Yesizwe: 'n Kort perspektief' in *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Etnologie,* 13**(3)**:77-88

Els, H. & Coertze, R.D. 1990. 'Akkulturatiewe verset: Nativistiese en kulturele vernuwingsbewegings' in *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Etnologie*, 13**(2)**:65-73

Funkhouser, G.R. 1990. *The Power of Persuation.* USA: Times Books

Furedi, F. 1989. *The Mau Mau War in Perspective.* London: James Currey

Gastrow, S. 1985. *Who's Who in South African Politics.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press

Gerhard, G.M. 1979. *Black power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology.* USA: University of California Press

Grant, B. & Schwikkard, P. 1991. 'People's Courts?' in *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 7**(3)**:304-316

Gready, P. 1994. 'Political Autobiography in Search of Liberation: Working Class Theatre, Collaboration and the Construction of Identity' in Gunner, L. (ed.) *Politics and Performance: Theatre, Poetry and Song in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Greyling, R.J. 1985. *Terrorisme: Die feite.* Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik

Groenewald, H.C. & Makopo, S. 1991. 'The Political Song: Tradition and Innovation for Liberation' in Sienaert, E., Bell, N. & Lewis, M. (eds.) *Oral Tradition & Innovation. New wine in old bottles?* Durban: University of Natal Oral Documentation Research Centre

Gunner, L. & Gwala, M. (eds.) 1991. *Musho! Zulu Popular praises.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press

Harries, C.L. 1929. *The Laws and Customs of the Bapedi and Cognate Tribes.* Johannesburg: Hortors

Herskovits, M.J. 1938. *Acculturation: The study of culture contact.* New York: J.J. Augustine Publishers

Hilliard, V.G. 1993. 'Culture of violence ... causes and curbs' *Boardroom*, 2:9-14

Hill, C.R. 1983. *Change in South Africa. Blind Alleys or New Directions?* New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books

Hoile, D. 1994. *Mozambique resistence and freedom.* London: Mozambique Institute

Holtzman, Z. & Nina, D. December 1993. 'The people versus ... the people' in *Work in Progress (WIP),* 94 :32-34

Houser, G.M. 1987. 'Assessing Africa's Liberation Struggle' in *Africa Today,* **34(4)**:17-32

Hugo, P. & Kotzé, H. 1983. *Suid-Afrika: Oorlewing in politieke perspektief.* Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Uitgewers

James, D. 1994. '*Basadi ba baeng*/visiting Women: Female Migrant Performance from the Northern Transvaal' in Gunner, L. (ed.) *Politics and Performance: Theatre, Poetry and Song in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Junod, H.A. 1962(a). *The Life of a South African tribe. Vol. I.* New York: University Books

Junod, H.A. 1962(b). *The Life of a South African tribe. Vol. II.* New York: University Books

Kaarsholm, P. 1994. 'Mental Colonisation or Catharsis? Theatre, Democracy and Cultural Struggle from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe' in Gunner, L. (ed.) *Politics and Performance: Theatre, Poetry and Song in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Kanogo, T. 1989. 'Kenya and the depression, 1929-1939' in Ochieng, W.R. (ed.) *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980.* London: Evans Brothers

Kariuki, J.M. 1963. *'Mau Mau' Detainee.* London: Oxford University Press

Kebede, A. 1982. *Roots of Black Music.* New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

Keetan, C. 1976. 'Border boycotts business - and wins a peace conference' in *Work in Progress.* (WIP), 76:11-12

Kennedy, G. 1989. *Pocket Negotiator.* New York: Basil Blackwell

Klaaste, A. 1991 (11 March). 'Toyi-Toyi is not for fun' *Sowetan* :9

Kotecha, K.C. & Adams, R.W. 1981. *The Corruption of Power African Politics.* USA: University Press of America

Kotzé, D.J. 1977. 'Swartbewustheid, Swart Teologie en Swart Mag' *Referaat gelewer tydens die Universiteit van Stellenbosch se Herfsskool.* Cape Town: Universiteit van Stellenbosch

Kriel, T.J. 1983. *Pukuntšu woordeboek.* Kaap: Nasionale Boekdrukkery

Krige, E. 1988. *The social system of the Zulus.* Pietermaritzburg: The Natal Witness

Krige, J.D. & Krige, E.J. 1947. *The Realm of a Rain-Queen: A study of the pattern of Lovedu Society.* London: Oxford University Press

Kruger, P.R. 1991. *Die Wet op Intimidasie, 1982 (Wet No. 72 van 1982): Behandeling van die leemtes van die wet asook 'n vooruitskouing met betrekking tot sekere van die bepalings van die voorgestelde wetsontwerp op die verbod en voorkoming van intimidasie, 1991.* (Ongepubliseerde dokument van die regsafdeling van die SAPD, Pretoria)

Kunene, D.P. 1992. 'Language, Literature & the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa' in Jones, E.D., Palmer, E. and Jones, M. (eds.) *The Question of Language in African Literature Today*, **17**:37-49

Kuper, H. 1947. *An African Aristocracy. Rank among the Swazi.* London: Oxford University Press

LaPrairie, C. 1996. 'Introduction' in *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 36:1-8

Leakey, L.S.B. 1953. *MAU MAU and the Kikuyu.* London: Methuen & Company

Leigh, I. 1954. *In the shadow of the Mau Mau.* London: W.H. Allen

Liebenberg, B.J. 1987. 'Botha and Smuts aan bewind' in Muller, C.F.J. (red.) *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis.* Pretoria: Academica

Liebenberg, I. 1990. *Ideologie in konflik.* Pretoria: Sigma Pers

Linton, R. 1943. 'Nativistic movements' in *American Anthropologist*, 35:230-240

Lodge, T. 1985. *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press

Lodge, T. 1990. 'People's War or Negotiation? African National Congress Strategies in the 1980's' in Moss, G. & Obery, I. (eds.) *South Africa Contemporary Analysis. South African Review 5.* Braamfontein: Ravan Press

Lomax, A. 1968. *Folk song, style and culture.* Washington: McCall Printing Company

Lonsdale, J. 1989. 'The conquest state, 1895-1904' in Ochieng, W.R. (ed.) *A Modern Hisotry of Kenya 1985-1980.* London: Evans Brothers

Lye, K. 1985. *Let's go to Kenya.* London: Franklin Watts

Malan, T. & Hattingh, P.S. 1975. *Swart Tuislande in Suid-Afrika.* Pretoria: Afrika Instituut van Suid-Afrika

Maloba, W.O.P.W. (Ph.D) 1988. *The Mau Mau struggle in Kenya: An historical analysis of the evolution and impact of a peasant revolt.* Standord University. USA: UMI

Maphai, V. 1991. 'Coercion in the struggle - Counting the costs and the benefits' in *Die Suid-Afrikaan,* :53, 55

Maphalala, S.J. 1985. 'Die rol van Inkatha as nasionale en kulturele bevrydingsbeweging in Suid-Afrika' in *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis,* 10**(3)**:58-72

Marx, A.W. 1993. `Contested Images & Implications of South African Nationhood' in Warren, K.B. (ed.) *The violence within: Cultural and political opposition in Divided Nations.* USA: Westview Press

Mathiane, N. 1990. *Beyond the headlines.* Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers

Maxon, R. 1989. 'The years of revolutionary advance, 1920-1929' in Ochieng, W.R. (ed.) *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980.* London: Evans Brothers

Mazrui, A.A. & Tidy, M. 1987. *Nationalism and New States in Africa.* London: Richard Clay

Mbigi, L. & Maree, J. 1995. *Ubuntu: The spirit of African transformation management.* Johannesburg: Knowledge Resources

Mbiti, J.S. 1969. *African religions and philosophy.* New York: Praeger

McRae, S.I. 1970. 'Some preliminary considerations of Mau Mau in Kenya as a cultural revitalization movement' in Du Toit, M. (ed.) *Culture change in contemporary Africa,* 1**(1)**:60-73. Communication from the Center for African Studies. USA: University of Florida.

Miller, N.N. 1984. *Kenya: The Quest for Prosperity.* USA: Westview Press

Mönnig, H.O. 1983. *The Pedi.* Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik

Moses, J.J. 1990. *People's courts and people's justice.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town

Murdock, G.P. 1959. *Africa: Its Peoples and Their Culture History.* USA: McGraw-Hill Book Company

Mutwa, C.V. 1986. *Let not my country die.* SA: United Publishers International

Myburgh, A.C. 1981. 'Anthropology as a discipline' in Myburgh, A.C. (ed.) *Anthropology for Southern Africa.* Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik

Mzala. 1988. Gatsha Buthelezi. *Chief with a double agenda.* London: Zed Books

Nash, D. 1968. 'The role of the Composer' in Fried, M.H (ed.) *Readings in Anthropology: Volume II.* New York: Thomas Crowell Company

Nettl, B. 1956. *Music in primitive culture.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Nina, D. 1992. 'Popular Justice in a "New South Africa": From People's Courts to Community Courts in Alexandra' in *Occasional Paper 15.* Johannesburg: Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand

Nina, D. & Schwikkard, P.J. 1996. 'The 'soft vengeance' of the people' in *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law,* 36:69-87

Odendaal, J.N. 1987. *The Witness of the Church in Ciskei.* University of Pretoria: Institute for Missiological Research (ISWEN)

Odendaal, R. nd *Warmbad se beknopte voorgeskiedenis,* Warmbaths Library (undated article)

Odinga, O. 1984. *Not yet Uhuru.* London: Heinemann Educational Books

Okpewho, I. 1992. *African Oral Literature: Backgrounds, Character and Continuity.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Olivier, J.L. 1989. *Collective violence in South Africa: A study of ethnic collective action in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand Vaaltriangle area, 1970-1984.* Ph.D Thesis, Cornell University

Omer-Cooper, J.D. 1992. 'South Africa. History' in *Africa: South of the Sahara.* Twenty-First Edition. London: Europa Publications

Pauw, B.A. 1981. 'Basic concepts: culture and people' in Myburgh, A.C. (ed.) *Anthropology for Southern Africa.* Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik

Pavlich, G. 1992. 'People's Courts, Postmodern Difference, and Socialist Justice in South Africa' in *Social Justice*, 19**(3)**:29-45

Pelser, J.J. 1968. 'Kultuurbeïnvloeding van die Bantoe op politieke terrein' in Cronjé, G. (ed.) *Kultuurbeïnvloeding tussen Blankes en Batoe in Suid-Afrika.* Pretoria: J.L van Schaik

Pereira, P. 1992. 'Coercion, boycotts and stayaways' in *Spotlight*, SAIRR, **3**:4-24

Peterson, B. 1994. 'Apartheid and the Political Imagination in Black South African Theatre' in Gunner, L. (ed.) *Politics and Performance: Theatre, Poetry and Song in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Plasket, C. & Spoor, R. 1991. 'The new offence of intimidation' in *Industrial Law Journal*, 12**(4)**:747-752

Plug, C., Meyer, W.F., Louw, D.A. & Gouws, L.A. 1986. *Psigologie woordeboek.* Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill

Pollard, T.S. 1980. *'n Stilistiese analise van die Tswana prysgedig.* MA-Verhandeling, Potchestroom Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys

Rammala, T. 1987. 'Practical problems facing black local authorities' in *Munisipale & Openbare Dienste*, 6**(12)**:20-22

Rhoodie, N.J. 1969. *Apartheid and racial partnership in Southern Africa.* Pretoria: Academica

Roberts, M. 1990. *A History of South Africa.* London: Longman

Rycroft, D.K. 1991. 'Black South African Urban Music since the 1980's: Some reminiscences of Alfred Assegai Kumalo (1879-1966)' in *Journal of the International Library of African Music*, 7**(1)**:5-31

Sanders, A.J.G.M. 1987. 'Towards a people's philosophy of law' in *Journal of African Law*, 31**(1 & 2)**:37-43

Schapera, I. 1940. *The Married life of an African Tribe.* London: Faber and Faber

Schapera, I. 1970. *Tribal innovators.* London: Athlone Press

Schechner, R. 1994. 'Ritual and performance' in Ingold, T. (ed.) *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology.* London: Rontledge

Schneider, H.K. 1981. *The Africans: An ethnological account.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall

Scholtz, P.L. 1987. 'Die Kaapkolonie 1853-1902' in Muller, C.F.J. (red.) *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis.* Pretoria: Academica

Seeger, A. 1994. 'Music and dance' in Ingold, T. (ed.) *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology.* London: Rontledge

Seekings, J. 1988. *Why was Soweto different? Urban development, township politics, and the political economy of Soweto, 1978-1984.* African Studies Seminar Paper, No. 231. African Studies Institute. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand

Seekings, J. 1990(a). 'People's Courts and Popular Politics' in Moss, G. & Obery, I. (eds.) *South Africa Contemporary Analysis. South African Review 5.* Braamfontein: Ravan Press

Seekings, J. 1990(b). *Quiescence and the transition to confrontation: South African Townships, 1978-1984.* Unpublished theses. Oxford: University of Oxford

Seekings, J. 1992. *South Africa's townships 1980-1991. An annotated bibliography.* Research Unit for Sociology of Development. Occasional Paper No. 16. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch

Sekhukhune, P. D. 1990. 'Social meaning in North Sotho ritual symbolism' *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Etnologie*, 13**(1)**:30-32

Sepamala, S. 1988. 'The role of culture in the struggle' *12 Years to the 21st Century.* A Collection of reports and speeches delivered at the official launch of Umtapo Centre at the Ghandi Hall in Durban. Pietermaritzburg: The Natal Witness

Seymour, S. M. 1970. *Bantu Law in South Africa.* Cape Town: Juta & Company

Seymour-Smith, C. 1986. *Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology.* London: The Macmillan Press

Singh, V. 1994. *South African Indigenous courts: Challenge for the future.* MA Dissertation, University of South Africa

Sitas, A. 1994. 'Traditions of Poetry in Natal' in Gunner, L. (ed.) *Politics and Performance: Theatre, Poetry and Song in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Smit, P. & Booysen, J.J. 1981. *Swart verstedeliking. Proses, patroon en strategie.* Kaapstad: Tafelberg-Uitgewers

Smuts, D. & Westcott, S. 1991. *The Purple shall Govern: A South African A to Z of Nonviolent Action.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press

Soga, J.H. 1932. *The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs.* South Africa: Lovedale Press

Soko, B. 1990. 'Labour migration in Vimbuza songs' in Groenewald, H.C. (ed.) *Oral Studies in South Africa.* Pretoria: Human Science Research Council Publishers

Sokolovskiy, V.D. 1986. *Soviet Military Strategy.* New York: Crane, Russak & Company

Sono, T. 1994. *Dilemmas of African Intellectuals in South Africa.* Pretoria: University of South Africa

Spies, S.B. 1987. 'Heropbou en Unifikasie' in Muller, C.F.J. (red.) *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis.* Pretoria: Academica

Spindler, L.S. 1977. *Culture Change and Modernization: Mini models and case studies.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stayt, H.A. 1968. *The Bavenda.* General Studies No.58. Frank Cass & Company

Stoneham, C.T. 1953. *Mau Mau.* London: Museum Press

The Citizen. 1 July 1992

The New American. 1994 (24 January). 'Ignoble peace prize'

The Star. 1994 (9 May):8

The Weekly Review. 1994 (18 March). 'A Great deal of scepticism' :27-31

Thompson, L. 1990. *A history of South Africa.* USA: Yale University Press

Trillo, R. 1991. *Kenya, The rough guide.* London: Harrap Columbus Publishers

Turner, V. 1967. *The forest of symbols.* New York: Cornell University Press

Van Aswegen, H.J. 1980. *Geskiedenis van Afrika.* Pretoria: Academica

Van Niekerk, G.J. 1994. 'People's Courts and people's justice in South Africa - New developments in community dispute resolution' in *De Jure,* 27**(1)**:19-30

Van Niekerk, G.J. 1995. *The Interaction of Indigenous law and Western law in South Africa: A historical and comparative perspective.* PhD. Thesis, University of South Africa

Van Rensburg, A.P.J. 1983. *Moderne Afrika.* Pretoria: De Jager-HAUM Uitgewers

Vorster, L.P. & De Beer, F.C. 1996. *General introduction to Ethnology.* Pretoria: Hand

Walker, R. 1992. 'Kenya: Recent History' in *AFRICA: South of the Sahara.* Twenty First Edition. London: Europa Publications

Wallace, A.F.C. 1956. 'Acculturation: Revitalization movements' in *American Anthropologist,* 58:264-281

Wallace, A.F.C. 1964. *Culture and Personality.* New York: Random House

Walshe, P. 1982. *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa. The African National Congress: 1912-1952.* London: C. Hurst & Company

Wa Wanjau, G. 1988. *Mau Mau Author in Detention.* Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya

Webster, D. & Friedman, M. 1990. 'Repression and the State of Emergency' in Moss, G. & Obery, I. (eds.) *South Africa Contemporary Analysis. South African Review 5.* Braamfontein: Ravan Press

Williams, D. 1978. 'Deep structures of the Dance' in Schwimmer, E. (ed.) *The Yearbook of Symbolic Anthropology.* London: C. Hurst & Company

Xaba, T. 1995. 'Repressive and restitutionary sanctions in the townships: The social origins of the different forms of punishment in the People's Courts' in *Transformation 28,*:51-74

Zeleza, T. 1989. 'Kenya and the Second World War, 1939-1950' in Ochieng, W.R. (ed.) *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980.* London: Evans Brothers

Zulu, P. 1988. 'The politics of internal resistance groupings' in Berger, P.L. & Godsell, B. (eds.) *A Future South Africa. Visions, Strategies and Realities.* Cape Town: Human & Rousseau

ANNEXURE A

Amendment of Intimidation Act, 1982

Amendment of section 1 of Act 72 of 1982, as amended by section 32 of Act 138 of 1991

6. Section 1 of the Intimidation Act, 1982, is hereby amended by the deletion in subsection (1) of subparagraph (ii) of paragraph *(b)*.

Insertion of section 1A in Act 72 of 1982

7. The following section is hereby inserted in the Intimidation Act, 1982, after section 1:

"Intimidation of general public, particular section of population or inhabitants of particular area

1A. (1) Any person who with intent to put in fear or to demoralize or to induce the general public, a particular section of the population or the inhabitants of a particular area in the Republic to do or to abstain from doing any act, in the Republic or elsewhere—

(a) commits an act of violence or threatens or attempts to do so;

(b) performs any act which is aimed at causing, bringing about, promoting or contributing towards such act or threat of violence, or attempts, consents or takes any steps to perform such act;

(c) conspires with any other person to commit, bring about or perform any act or threat referred to in paragraph *(a)* or act referred to in paragraph *(b)*, or to aid in the commission, bringing about or performance thereof; or

(d) incites, instigates, commands, aids, advises, encourages or procures any other person to commit, bring about or perform such act or threat,

shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine which the court may in its discretion deem fit or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 25 years or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

(2) If in any prosecution for an offence in terms of subsection (1) it is proved that the accused has committed any act alleged in the charge, and if such act resulted or was likely to have resulted in the achievement of any of the objects specified in subsection (1), it shall be presumed, unless the contrary is proved, that the accused has committed that act with intent to achieve such object.

(3) If in any prosecution for an offence in terms of subsection (1) the act with which the accused is charged, consists thereof, and it is proved, that he unlawfully had in his possession any automatic or semi-automatic rifle, machine gun, sub-machine gun, machine pistol, rocket launcher, recoilless gun or mortar, or any ammunition for or component part of such weaponry, or any grenade, mine, bomb or explosive, it shall be presumed, unless the contrary is proved, that the accused had the said weaponry, ammunition, component part, grenade, mine, bomb or explosive in his possession with intent to commit therewith or in connection therewith in the Republic, in order to achieve any of the objects specified in subsection (1), any of the acts contemplated in paragraphs *(a)* to *(d)* inclusive.

(4) For the purposes of this section 'violence' includes the inflicting of bodily harm upon or killing of, or the endangering of the safety of, any person, or the damaging, destruction or endangering of property.".

ANNEXURE B

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

as adopted at the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955

THE PREAMBLE

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex, or belief;

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this **FREEDOM CHARTER**. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes, here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of all the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities, shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;
The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans shall be restored to the people;
The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;
All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;
The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;
Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work the land;
All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;
People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial;
No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;
The courts shall be representative of all the people;
Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-educaton, not vengeance;
The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;
All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from country to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officials and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and woman of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventative health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettoes shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."