

GENERATIONS OF RESISTANCE

FOOTAGE

IMAGE

SOUND

001

SOUTH AFRICANS  
BEING ARRESTED

NARRATION:

South Africa is ruled like an occupied country.  
Africans have no voice in the government of  
their own land. To protest is to court  
arrest, torture, even murder.

017

MONTAGE OF  
STILLS OF  
PROMINENT SOUTH  
AFRICANS

For 300 years, white men have sought to  
subjugate Africans.

For 300 years, Africans have resisted.  
Right has always been theirs. Weapons  
have not.

041

SUPER - TITLE  
"SOUTH AFRICA  
MY HOME"  
PAN - SUNSET

SONG:

South Africa, my home  
South Africa, the home of mine I love  
I shall fight for my land  
Until it's free.

NARRATION

Patriots have been shot down, exiled,  
imprisoned, hanged. Known and unknown,  
they make up.....

TITLE - SUPER  
GENERATIONS OF  
RESISTANCE

"Generations of Resistance"

- 060 MONTAGE OF STILLS The black armies that resisted the white invaders in the 18th and 19th centuries fought bravely; but they fought with the weakness of many tribes, and not the strength of one nation.
- 068 NEWSREEL - COUNTRY SHOTS By disunity, and by the gun, the country was subjugated. But as well as the land, whites needed labour. In 1905, a hut tax was imposed on Africans. To pay the tax, they would be forced to seek work on white mines and farms. The tax would destroy the African economy for the sake of the white.
- 080 STILLS
- 089 STILL OF BAMBATA  
SUPER: THE  
GENERATION OF  
1906: THE  
BAMBATA REBELLION But this was a new generation. One Chief, Bambata, refused to pay the tax. He began a guerrilla war.
- 093 GATLING GUN
- 105 STILLS OF SUPPRESSED REBELLION The patriots could not match superior firepower. The revolt was savagely suppressed.

116 STILL - HEAD OF BAMBATA The head of the leader, Bambata, was cut off.

The photo became a postcard that British troops sent home to their sweethearts.

The whites were triumphant. Bambata's rebellion was the last for 50 years. But victory had not come cheap.

And when Africans once more took up arms to claim their country, it would be in the name of Bambata.

132 SUPER - 1910 NEWSREEL - STOCK SHOTS Political control was now exclusively in the hands of the whites. Blacks, although far

more numerous, were still weakened by tribal divisions, which the whites sustained.

144 STILL - PIXLEY KA SEME An African leader, Pixley ka Seme, saw the weakness of the African people:

VOICE OVER:

148 NEWSREEL "The animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other native, must be buried and forgotten .. We are one people."

NARRATION

Some called for the formation of a national congress.

MSIMANG:

155 MSIMANG  
ON CAMERA

"The primary object of this organization was to fight against tribalism amongst ourselves, which was the greatest enemy at the time. We found that Dr. Seme discovered that no effort would be successful on our part until.... we did away with tribalism, we began to regard ourselves as one nation, called ourselves the African people. And that was the real cause of this Congress. It was called primarily for that purpose."

NARRATION

180 MONTAGE OF  
STILLS

In 1912 Selby Msimang was one of the founders of this movement. Called the African National Congress it would grow into the foremost movement of resistance.

The problems were enormous. There were divisions of tribe, of language, of race and of religion, of education, of town and country. All these would have to be overcome if blacks were to have their own nation. Worst of all, there were the whites, who would not share power. The struggle was to prove longer and harder than anywhere else.

But. Dr. Dube said with confidence:

VO:

207 COUNTRYSIDE  
SCENE

"Where there was once a pool, water will collect again."

NARRATION

SUPER - 1913  
DISINHERITANCE

Within a year of the formation of the ANC came the most devastating blow to African rights.

213 ARCHIVE  
FOOTAGE

Until 1913, Africans lived side by side with whites. Many of them were prosperous, outproducing white farmers. But these same white farmers dominated Parliament. They passed the Native Land Act, depriving Africans of the right to own land in all but 7% of the country.

227 VERY OLD NEWS  
FOOTAGE

In the rest of the country - now for whites only - henceforth blacks would be tolerated only as servants and labourers.

MSIMANG

232 MSIMANG ON  
CAMERA

"The immediate thing that happened was that most of the Africans who lived on European farms got notice and were evicted from the farms they had occupied, because the Act itself prohibited an African from owning land, leasing land, ploughing, using land on the half-share system, or even occupying white land."

NARRATION

254 MONTAGE OF  
STILLS

Dispossessed, Africans were thrown off land they had worked for centuries. The ANC leader, Pixley ka Seme, said "The African awoke to find himself a pariah in the land of his birth."

271 NATIVES WORKING

The Land Act did its job: it destroyed competition from African farmers, and guaranteed cheap labour for whites. In over half a century, there has been no move to restore the heritage of the African people.

MSIMANG:

283 MSIMANG ON  
CAMERA

"The white people who came to South Africa wanted to take - wanted to own South Africa completely, without us. That has been the real grievance amongst our people for a long time. Even now, we do not think South Africa situation will ever be - reach a stage where there will be peace in this country until the wrongs done to African people under the, by the Act of 1913 could be righted."

NARRATION:

313 WHITE FARMERS'  
ORCHARD

To enter his own country, an African must now show a pass to those who stole it.

330 ARCHIVES: BLACKS  
BEING ASKED TO  
SHOW PASSES

During the twenties and thirties a pattern of life was established by whites for blacks which endures to this day. Economic necessity forced blacks to become migrant workers, living for years away from home. The family unit was wantonly destroyed.

The colour bar kept blacks at the lowest level of the workforce. As a worker, an African did not have the right to quit or change his job, to strike or form trade unions.

Control was exerted through the Pass system. Without a pass, an African was not allowed to live or work in a white area. Since there was no work but in the white areas, an African might have to break the law in order to live. The Pass Book became the symbol of oppression.

South Africa's prisons were filled with convicts whose only crime had been to want to work.

367 MONTAGE OF  
STILLS

The ANC campaigned against Passes and other issues. But the ANC always worked within the system, believing that whites would eventually be persuaded to accept blacks as equals. There was little to justify such belief.

375 SUPER - 1939  
NEWSPAPER  
BACKGROUND

/...

ARCHIVE FOOTAGE  
DURING THE WAR

World War II began as a white man's war. The Allies needed black labour for the war effort, but Africans were more threatened by racism at home than in Nazi Germany. After some hesitation, the ANC threw its support behind the Allies, with the expectation that after the war the democratic ideal in whose name the war was fought would prevail in South Africa.

It was not to be. During the war, whites had seen Africans doing work whites had said they were incapable of. The white worker was terrified of black competition - and he had the power to destroy it.

400

SUPER - 1948  
MEETING OF WHITE  
POLITICIANS

In the first post-war election, the white electorate voted into power a group of men dedicated to the complete separation of the races in South Africa - Apartheid.

The laws of apartheid stripped the African of any hope of equality with whites.

410

STILLS - SERIES  
OF FREEZE FRAMES  
SUPER - POPULATION  
REGISTRATION ACT

Everyone to be classified by race, according to tests devised by the Government. The shape of a nose could separate a child from its parents for life.

SUPER - PROHIBITION  
OF MIXED MARRIAGES  
ACT

Marriage and sex between races - forbidden.

SUPER - GROUP AREAS  
ACT

The entire country zoned by race. From areas designated white, non-whites forcibly removed, their homes, families, livelihoods destroyed.

SUPER - SUPPRESSION  
OF COMMUNISM ACT

Anyone who threatened white supremacy was considered a communist.

440 EVICTION OF BLACKS  
FROM THEIR HOMES

By these laws, South Africa became a state committed to racism of a kind last seen in Nazi Germany. In one of the great crimes of this century, millions of people were uprooted from their homes.

455 SUPER - GENERATION  
OF 1949: "FREEDOM  
IN OUR LIFETIME"

459 MONTAGE OF STILLS

But there was now a new generation of black activists - names like Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Duma Nokwe, Peter Mda, Anton Lembede. Brilliant and rebellious, they formed the ANC Youth League. The Youth League sought confrontation.

MDA:

480 MDA:  
ON CAMERA

"We made it possible for the ANC to accept a very, very militant, very powerful nation-building programme - the programme of 1949. It is called the 1949 Programme of Action. The main demand, you see, in the Programme of Action was that, first of all, there must be recognition of the fact that the African people are the most important factor in the struggle for emancipation in South Africa, they being the majority. So that the struggle, therefore, the Youth League said, must be based on African nationalism, you see, yes. The assertion of the African people as a people capable of shaping their own destiny."

NARRATION:

494 SUPER - 1952  
MONTAGE OF STILLS

No longer willing to acquiesce with the system, this new generation launched the Defiance Campaign.

The chief organizer was Nelson Mandela.

500 RIOT OF BLACKS

Trained and disciplined volunteers were to disobey unjust laws. "Whites only" signs were ignored, curfew broken. As the campaign gained momentum, thousands went to jail, refusing to pay fines.

The campaign was peaceful; but later in the year, police fired on demonstrators killing thirty-three. Savage new laws were introduced against civil disobedience, including whipping.

518 MONTAGE OF STILLS The campaign was crushed.

But in the face of the Government policy of dividing racial groups, unity had been built across racial lines. The campaign emblem, the Freedom Wheel, had four spokes: these were the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured People's Congress, the White Congress of Democrats.

532 ARCHIVES:  
DEMONSTRATION OF  
BLACKS ANC membership increased from 25,000 to 100,000. It was the most militant and successful campaign ever run by the ANC.

539 SUPER - 1955  
THE FREEDOM  
CHARTER Momentum was maintained. The ANC now decided to by-pass the white political monopoly by appealing directly to the masses. A Congress of the People was convened, to find out what kind of society the people wanted in South Africa.

Three thousand representatives from all over South Africa attended. On the second day, as a provocation, armed police marched in, creating an explosive situation.

Instead, all the people stood up together and started to sing their National Anthem, Nkosi Sikeleli Africa - God Bless Africa.

And while the police were checking documents, article by article the Freedom Charter was adopted. It remains the basis of ANC policy.

**SUPER**

"The people shall govern!  
The people shall share in the country's wealth!  
The land shall be shared among those who work it!  
All shall enjoy equal human rights!"

NARRATION

587 ARCHIVES:  
ARRESTING OF BLACKS

This Freedom Charter was used by the Government in an attempt to crush the ANC. 156 leaders were rounded up and charged with treason under the Suppression of Communism Act. Doctors, lawyers, teachers, trade-unionists, ministers, journalists - all were accused of plotting to overthrow the South African Government by force.

598 STILLS OF THE  
TREASON TRIAL

The evidence was farcical, but the trial dragged on for over four years. While it achieved the Government's goal of persecution - the accused were severely handicapped in earning a living - it did bring together the leaders of the Resistance, who proceeded to plan strategy. /...

612 DEMONSTRATORS

At least, by the accused, the Government's case was not taken very seriously, even though it carried the death penalty. When three defendants got married on one day during the trial, it was remarked that "never in the history of South Africa have so many people accused of high treason gathered together to celebrate the wedding of so many people accused of high treason".

Morale was high, support both within and outside South Africa was enormous. The world focus on South Africa was bad publicity for the white Government.

637 MEETING OF POLITICIANS

Rejecting the Government's accusation of a communist conspiracy, the white judges found that the defendants had been waging a non-violent campaign for change in South Africa, and were therefore not guilty.

640 SHOTS OF PEOPLE IN STREET

At the end of the trial, a jubilant Duma Nokwe said "Man, this is a night we won't forget in a hurry!" He was right.. With vindictiveness beyond the call of duty, the Political Police raided the celebration party looking for whites serving liquor to blacks - forbidden by law.

The Government had not finished with the ANC.

The use of the Suppression of Communism Act

to strangle dissent had been clumsy; in

future, the laws would be more stringent,

enforcement increasingly brutal.

660 WOMEN IN STREETS  
CHECKING THEIR  
PASSES.  
SUPER - THE WOMEN'S  
CAMPAIGNS.

In 1956, the Bantu Administration, which controls the lives of Africans, introduced passes for women as well as men.

For women, passes meant further restrictions on their ability to find work and live with their husbands, greater destruction of family life.

With passes, women would be subjected to the same controls and humiliations as their menfolk.

MAFEKENG:

678 MAFEKENG  
ON CAMERA

"You will stand in the queue at the Administrator's offices the whole blessed day. I'm not telling you lies. Some of our women, even, giving birth to their babies right in the street. That was our grievances about these Pass Laws. So it's when these passes came in. So I refused to take one.

NARRATION:

699 RIOTING

Elizabeth Mafekeng of the ANC was one of the leaders of the anti-pass campaigns that swept South Africa. For a while, women bore the brunt of the struggle. Thousands were arrested.

MAFEKENG:

710 MAFEKENG ON  
CAMERA

"You may be in bed with your husband late in the evening, at about 2 o'clock, one o'clock. The police will just come and knock at your door asking for a pass. Taking the women, taking your daughter to different cells. What's going to happen? The police itself is going to rape you with your child there. So that is what we could not stand."

NARRATION

726 STREET ARRESTS

The women would not be silenced. The authorities cracked down. Mrs. Mafekeng was to be exiled to a desert, where she would have no means of support for her family.

MAFEKENG VO:

733

"A woman with 11 children! How can you send her really to the desert? Will she ever be able to live there with these 11 children? Because I didn't want to leave my children behind."

NARRATION

Mrs. Mafekeng fled the country, taking her family with her. She had never received a trial.

MAFEKENG:

744 MAFEKENG ON  
CAMERA

"I wouldn't have run away. I couldn't have run away from my birth country, if there was a law. I could have served my sentence. But there was no chance for me."

NARRATION

757

WOMEN DEMONSTRATING  
IN COUNTRYSIDE

In the countryside, women demonstrated against repressive laws. Getting no response they set fire to cane-fields. Over 1,000 women were arrested, and there were some deaths.

782

MEN IN CAMP

In Cato Manor, a ghetto outside Durban, women complained of their husbands' inadequate wages and the lack of electricity. Their grievances came to focus on the white-run beer halls, where the men spent their money, instead of on the home brew. Home brew was made by the women, was more nutritious, and was a traditional source of income.

789

WOMEN RIOTING

The women led a boycott against the beer hall chasing the men away. The beer hall boycott was broken in a police charge that killed two people. The police made several swoops on Cato Manor in search of home brew. Many people were arrested. The people would take it no longer. On one of their raids, the police were surrounded by the people, demanding release of the prisoners.

/...

When the police refused, the people set the prisoners free, killing nine policemen who tried to stop them.

That was in January 1960. During that year, the police felt a special need to fear and seek vengeance on Africans.

836 GROUP OF DEMONSTRATORS SUPER - GENERATION OF 1960: "INDEPENDENCE IN 1963"

The great civil disobedience campaigns of the fifties were on a scale never before seen in South Africa. But white power was able to outmanoeuvre every black protest simply by outlawing it or crushing it with Saracen armoured cars. The constant frustration led to the birth of a new organization: the Pan Africanist Congress.

NTLOEDIBE:

849 NTLOEDIBE ON CAMERA

"And we therefore felt that our programme of action should not depend on the government of the day, it should emanate from the African people themselves. It was with this background that the Pan Africanist Congress had to be formed in 1959."

NARRATION

862 MONTAGE OF STILLLS

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was the founder of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Sobukwe's PAC stressed African nationalism and taught black consciousness long before that term had been coined.

872 POLICE CHECKING  
PASSES

Sobukwe promised action. As a target the PAC chose the Pass Book, which dictates where an African may live and work. For not holding proper passes, Africans have been arrested in their millions.

The PAC plan was for all Africans to deliberately seek arrest for not carrying a pass.

882 STILLS

On March 21st, 1960, Sobukwe was among the first to march to the local police station. The slogan of non-co-operation was "No bail, no defence, no fine."

890 SHARPEVILLE  
NEWS FOOTAGE

At Sharpeville, a small town outside Johannesburg, a huge crowd gathered at the police station. At point-blank range, the police opened fire. Of the 69 children, women, men killed that day at Sharpeville, the majority were hit in the back - the police had continued to fire even when the crowd was fleeing in panic. That same day, after word of the massacre was out, police shot and killed demonstrators at two other locations.

Provoked by police violence, black anger now erupted throughout the country. /...

924 WHITES DOING  
BLACKS' WORK

By the end of the week factories were at a standstill, maids did not report for work, and whites had to do jobs they were not accustomed to. Among whites, the inconvenience induced a sense of siege.

935 SARACEN TANKS

A state of emergency was declared. In a massive show of force, Saracen armoured cars and the army were called in, the ANC and PAC banned outright. Leaders - including Sobukwe arrested, exiled, driven underground.

The police had free rein to destroy all opposition. People were whipped out of their homes and forced back to work under the guns of the army.

Open air politics ceased. Government intolerance of dissent created the underground underground resistance.

GANYILE:

984 GANYILE ON CAMERA  
SUPER: PONDOLAND,  
1960: THE PEASANTS'  
REVOLT

"1950s - I was organizing a national strike in Pondoland. The grievances of the Pondo people - the Government was depriving them their rights."

NARRATION

999 SHOTS OF VILLAGE

In the late 1950s, in tribal areas the Government imposed a system of puppet chiefs known as Bantu Authorities. Owing allegiance not to the tribe but to the white Government, they were resisted vigorously throughout the country and especially in Pondoland.

The Pondos were a peasant society far from the cities that had felt the shockwaves after Sharpeville. Their pleas to the white Commissioner were met with contempt - they were told to deal with the very chiefs who were the source of the problem.

GANYILE:

1020 GANYILE ON CAMERA

"We had so many questions to ask from the Government - to please come and see us and tell us what is going on. He said, he has got no time for the stupid Pondos. We decided to organize a strike."

NARRATION

1028 MONTAGE OF STILLS

The non-elected chiefs were corrupt and threatened tribal democracy. The Pondos set up "mountains" - peoples' meetings held on mountain ridges. It was an attempt at direct democracy.

GANYILE:

1040 GANYILE ON  
CAMERA

"The mountains were organized, about 100 mountains were organized, because now we've got no chiefs, no one. The first resolution we make it out, that all the chiefs who are not in the organization must be killed in all those districts and stooges must be killed. Everybody was agreed."

NARRATION

1054 STILLS

The Pondos were in revolt. Collaborators were killed.

1058 TANK

The police, with their armoured cars, appeared in force.

GANYILE:

1064 GANYILE ON  
CAMERA

"Several people were killed. The more they killed the people, the more the Pondos became angry."

NARRATION

1069 STILLS

Although the Pondos were country people, they were also migrant workers. Many of them had joined the ANC or PAC when working in the cities, and now put their political training to good use, with boycotts against the white shopkeepers.

At last, the Bantu Commissioners were forced to by-pass the puppet chiefs and deal directly with the mountain committees.

For white officials, listening to the people was a novel experience. The 'mountains' demands were not merely local - besides an end to Bantu Authorities, they wanted abolition of passes and of segregated education and they wanted representation in Parliament. For the white Government, this was unthinkable. The Pondos would have to be crushed.

A meeting of the 'mountains' was convened at Nquza Hill. This meeting was unusual - it had the permission of the authorities.

GANYILE:

1102 GANYILE  
ON CAMERA

"When I was on the way, about to reach Nquza Hill, we saw people coming running. When we asked the reason, stop all the buses, they said, people have died in Nquza. From half-past nine, people have been killed by the police, armed police. We saw Saracens going ahead, police chasing people."

NARRATION

1117 TANKS

Dropping tear-gas from helicopters, the police had ambushed the meeting, firing sten-guns at point-blank range into the crowd.

1124 STILLS

In this planned massacre, the Government later admitted to 11 deaths at Nquza Hill; there were probably many more.

The rebels were hunted down. Among them was Lanford Ganyile, who throughout the revolt had kept close contact with the ANC in Johannesburg. When his family was threatened, he gave himself up.

GANYILE:

"After I surrendered myself, they started to question me about the whole situation in Pondoland and telling me that they've heard the rumour that I had been in Russia, so I must give them a clear explanation about that. So I said, I know nothing about Russia, I never go to Russia. That was when they cut my ear, and my tooth."

NARRATION

Ganyile and 5,000 other Pondos were thrown in jail, 30 sentenced to death. The puppet chiefs were empowered to banish people and seize property. Access to Pondoland was strictly controlled, virtually imprisoning the entire population.

The state of emergency in Pondoland still exists. It was now that the ANC and the PAC remembered Bambata's guerrilla war of 50 years earlier.

1139 GANYILE ON  
CAMERA

1157 TRAVELLING SHOT  
OF COUNTRYSIDE

1173 SUPER - BAMBATA  
SCHOOL

1176 RIOTS

STUDENT VO:

"People were going underground, organizing and talking about this sort of thing. This was sort of the immediate reaction to Sharpeville. One of extreme anger, I think, of desperation, in a way - that we didn't have a choice in the matter, you know - we had to take to arms - it was the only way, you see, you could bring about change. Or you could make people to listen.

NARRATION

The decision to answer force by force was made by the young men of both the PAC and ANC. The older generation, which had never used violence, understood. When ANC leader Chief Luthuli received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961, he said that armed struggle was legitimate when provoked by the adamancy of white rule.

1197 STILLS

MACMAHARAJ:

1205 MACMAHARAJ ON CAMERA

"And the essence of the situation, as far as I am concerned, in any concept of a peaceful struggle is that the ruling power of the state would allow even if it's extra-parliamentary forms of actions, secondly that it be amenable to persuasion and moral force. Now, the record of the South African regime is that it has steadily closed extra-parliamentary forms of struggle, which are non-violent; it has closed these avenues. And secondly, it has shown that it is not prepared to respond to moral force."

NARRATION

1233 NEWSREEL

To combat the violence of the Government, the African National Congress formed its own armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe - Spear of the Nation.

1239 STILL OF NEWSPAPER

1241 SHOTS OF SABOTAGE SUPER - EARLY SIXTIES

MAC MAHARAJ: VO

"So Umkhonto we Sizwe started off with a limited campaign of sabotage, with a meticulous regard towards life, and merely hitting at the symbols of apartheid, such as Paas Offices, to persuade the enemy that this was the last chance for a peaceful solution"

1256 MACMAHARAJ ON CAMERA

"In the meantime, Nelson and the High Command of Umkhonto already took measures in preparation for this phase, they began to send out recruits out of the country to train in guerrilla warfare."

NARRATION

1265 STILLS

Nelson Mandela had travelled abroad after Sharpeville to seek support for armed resistance. This support was forthcoming only from socialist countries, and some African states.

Wanted by the police, Mandela was now organizing the underground inside South Africa.

1278 POLICE SHOTS The ANC had never before initiated violence. The underground army thrown together in haste was amateur, easy prey to informers. The arrest of the leadership led to the most famous of South Africa's political trials - the Rivonia Trial.

1286 DEMONSTRATION It attracted worldwide attention. For black South Africans, it demonstrated that their leaders were willing to die for the cause of freedom - the charges against them were punishable by hanging.

Denied a voice any other way, Mandela used the trial as a forum.

1292 STILL OF MANDELA MANDELA: VO

"Basically, we fight against poverty and lack of human dignity..

1297 DEMONSTRATORS AND POLICE We want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans.

This makes the white man fear democracy..."

NARRATION

Found guilty, the leadership of the Spear of the Nation were driven away to life imprisonment.

WINNIE MANDELA:

1310 WINNIE MANDELA  
ON CAMERA

"My husband has been fighting for the liberation of the African people, for the working harmoniously of all the racial groups in this country. I shall never lose hope, and my people shall never lose hope. In fact, we expect that the work will go on."

NARRATION

1335 ROBIN ISLAND

A special place was set aside to hold the patriots trapped by the police dragnet.

This was Robin Island.

1342 STILLS

Here were confined South Africa's ablest men - Sisulu, Mandela and hundreds more.

Men who had aspired to their own country were

reduced to small isolation cells on a bare

rock.

Sobukwe, leader of the PAC, was jailed there

too. When he was due for release, Minister

of Justice Vorster vowed "Not this one.

I'll keep him this side of eternity."

He was held indefinitely without trial and

only released to die.

Conditions on Robin Island are designed to break the spirit. Prisoners are completely at the mercy of the guards.

MACMAHARAJ:

1368 MACMAHARAJ ON  
CAMERA

"You had such incidents which the world finds very difficult to believe, when chaps were buried up to their neck in the ground and left there the whole day and wanted water, the warder would urinate on their face. And others were hung up by their handcuffs and left there for the whole day at work dangling from there and just barely touching the ground. One chap was dragged by, handcuffed and then strapped and dragged by a warder, riding a horse right from the workplace to the prison."

NARRATION:

1391 STILLS

The only form of protest possible was the hunger strike.

GQABI: VO

"Men who had succumbed, you know, had become weak and collapsed at the quarry were brought

1397 GQABI ON CAMERA

into the courtyard of the single cells section of the prison in wheelbarrows, and now you'll find - I used to witness this - a man is brought in like a bag of potatoes and simply dropped, dumped off the wheelbarrow onto the ground, and the chap goes back and brings them in one by one..."

NARRATION

1409 STILLS OF PRISON

Both ANC and PAC maintained their discipline on the island. They turned the prison into a university, teaching each other, keeping their minds and spirits alive.

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MACMAHARAJ: VO

1416 STILL OF  
JIMMY KRUGER

"The Minister of Prisons visited Robin Island once, that's the only time it took place, in 1974, it's Jimmy Kruger.

1420 MACMAHARAJ ON  
CAMERA

"He began aggressively saying that you chaps are just people who are interested in murdering people. You have taken to violence and you are unworthy of being treated as human beings. At which point particularly,

VO:

1428 STILL OF  
NELSON MANDELA

Nelson was very eloquent, and he began to patiently explain to Jimmy Kruger the efforts that we had made to find a peaceful solution and how we had even written to Prime Minister Malan, Verwoerd, and the lot before we ended up by launching organized violence.

STILL OF KRUGER

And Jimmy Kruger in my opinion became pathetic. He ended up by saying that he was unaware of this background of our struggle."

NARRATION

1447 STILL OF MANDELA

An entire generation of resistance in the early sixties had been destroyed. This left white South Africa free to carry out its master plan for the permanent domination of blacks.

1454 DEMONSTRATIONS  
SUPER - DIVIDE AND  
RULE: THE  
BANTUSTANS

MINISTER OF BANTU  
ADMINISTRATION  
ON CAMERA

"It gives me great pleasure to inform you that the State President has been pleased to appoint you as Chief of the Sotho Tribe in the district of Nongoma, and of the Gazini section of the Zulu tribe in the district of Babanongu, and as Paramcunt Chief of the tribes comprising the Zulu Nation."

NARRATION

1486 DEMONSTRATION

The white Government has split South Africa into a number of 'Bantustans'. South Africa alone calls them 'independent countries'; in fact, they are satellite states with puppet leaders. Behind each Bantustan ruler are white advisers who are really in control.

The fiction that each Bantustan is a self-governing entity is meant to confine black discontent within the reserves, away from white South Africa. The Bantustans divide African from African, when nationalism strives to unite.

1512 BLACKS BEGGING  
FOR JOBS

The Bantustans are desperately poor. With no work at home, the people of the Bantustans are cheap labour for "white" South Africa.

1520 BABY IN HOSPITAL

The price paid for this internal colonialism is seen in the swollen bellies of children.

/...

1528

DEMONSTRATING  
STUDENTS. SUPER -  
THE STUDENTS'  
REVOLT

NGUBENI: VO

"You see, the system tries to portray their own history in South Africa as heroic whilst they portray that of the African people as being that of barbarians, as being that of an uncivilized and uncultured people. That their mission was to civilize us and they found us killing each other and that had they not come we would still be killing each other even to this day. Now all this is aimed at humiliating the African people to make them seem as if they are a people without a history, if I may put it."

NARRATION

Six years after the destruction of the leadership of the Rivonia era, Steve Biko said:

BIKO: VO

"Blacks are tired of standing at the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves, all by themselves."

NARRATION

This was the doctrine of black consciousness which began to take root among the new generation in the all-black universities.

1570

UNIVERSITY

1575 EXTERIORS OF  
UNIVERSITY

HARRY NENGWEKHULU: VO

"The main aim actually in developing black consciousness as an ideology was to try to make people be proud of themselves, proud of their colour.

1584 SUPER - HARRY  
NENGWEKHULU ON  
CAMERA

For quite a number of years the main aim of blacks was to try to become whites, you know. Which is physically impossible and psychologically frustrating.

People used to use skin-burning cream, straighten their hairs, essentially because, you know, whiteness had tended to be equated with value. And also that people realize that if you are white, you know, you enjoy all the privileges and therefore you'll find the so-called coloureds applying to be reclassified as whites, and the Indians also wanting to be recalssified as coloureds, and the light-skinned Africans doing the same, so the whole process was trying to realize whiteness. We felt such a process had to be stopped. Because you know, if a slave wants to be free, he must begin by appreciating himself, otherwise you know, he has got no hope of defeating the master, if he still feels that you know he is inferior."

NARRATION

1620 STUDENTS LOOKING  
AT BULLETIN BOARD  
AT UNIVERSITY

Very quickly, black consciousness achieved a high level of political organization.

Broadsheets attacking Government policy began to appear openly on campus notice-boards.

STUDENT'S VOICE READS:

"Wake up and do something now, not tomorrow."

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NARRATION

In setting up the segregated educational system the Government had a goal not lost to black students.

NGUBENI: VO

1632 STUDENTS IN FRONT  
OF BULLETIN  
BOARD

"The quality of the education is itself poor, designed in such a way that it is to produce people who will only serve the white

1637 ON CAMERA

people and not the community as a whole or the society. And it does not portray the type of life that we are leading, it does not conform to the socio-economic conditions that black people live in."

NARRATION

1648 UNIVERSITY  
EXTERIOR SHOTS

Through control of their education, whites had sought to instill black subservience. After a decade of brainwashing, they were now faced not with servility, but with a new pride.

NGUBENI: VO

1657 SUPER - DON  
NGUBENI ON  
CAMERA

"I found myself a job during vacations. I was hired as a laboratory assistant. So what happened is that one day these people asked me to clean their toilets, that is, to clean white toilets. And to me this was an insult. I couldn't take it because of the racial setting inside the country. One is not even allowed to use white toilets, and I couldn't imagine myself cleaning toilets that I wouldn't use. And besides that, I was hired as a laboratory assistant. So when I went back home - incidentally, this is the place where my father worked, and he felt that I was destroying relations between himself and his employers, and that they might not take kindly to this."

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1690

STRIKES:  
DEMONSTRATIONS

NARRATION

After a decade of industrial peace, enforced by law, in the early seventies South Africa was hit by a wave of strikes.

Strikes by black workers are forbidden, and work is hard to find. But still the workers struck. Their motto was: "Man is dead, but his spirit lives."

Government and management blamed "Communist agitators"; but the strikes were spontaneous and unplanned.

The strikers would not send leaders to negotiate; they knew that any spokesmen could be arrested. They insisted on acting as a body without a recognizable head.

STRIKER ONE

"They won't let me.."

STRIKER TWO

"No you mustn't. Nothing, nothing."

STRIKER THREE

"We're not supposed to tell you anything. No, we're not supposed to tell you anything."

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NENGWEKHULU: VO

"There is this whole sense of self-reliance. sense of initiative. The struggle had reached a stage whereby people begin to say openly, despite the fear, despite the possibility of victimization that, to hell with the regime, and we will go on and do our own thing."

1732 ON CAMERA

NARRATION

The spread of defiance outward from the black universities throughout black society was a grave threat to the authorities. They moved against this new generation.

1741 SHOTS OF UNIVERSITY

Leaders, Biko among them were banned.

Harry Nengwekhulu went into exile across the border to organize from there. He was later to be joined by his close friend Tiro.

1746 MONTAGE OF STILLS

LESLIE:

"He fled the country with lots of other guys, they fled into Botswana where I think Tiro lived for at the very, very most less than a year. When no-one else but the fascist, racist Vorster regime sent him a parcel bomb which ripped him to pieces."

1756 LESLIE ON CAMERA

NARRATION

The South African authorities refused permission for Tiro to be buried with his family in South Africa. He was buried by the exile community in Botswana, with the vow that he would find a final resting place in a free South Africa.

1774 STILLS OF FUNERALS

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NENGWEKHULU: VO

"The death of Tiro has been a great loss to us. Tiro himself had said, that you know, 'There is no struggle without casualties.' So that, you know, the funeral to us was not so much, you know, the place to come as we always do, to come and cry over the dead body of Tiro. No, the funeral to us was meant to be a reminder that rather than to mourn for his death we should at least to try to implement the ideals and ideas that he stood for. We are living in a society

1802 ON CAMERA

in which violence is the major objective of the regime. The regime is determined to wipe out every resistance or any resistance that exists within South Africa today."

1809 SHOTS OF FIGHTING  
SUPER - GENERATION  
OF 1976: "FREEDOM  
NOW!!"

NARRATION

1835 FUNERAL OF  
STEVE BIKO

Of the generation of '76, hundreds were shot down in the streets. Like many others, Steve Biko was beaten to death in prison.

1842 FUNERAL - SUPER  
FUNERAL FOR A WHITE  
POLICEMAN (SOWETO  
UPRISING)

The funeral of a white policeman reflects a society increasingly militaristic.

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