



ILM NC India

THE IVY LEAGUE MODEL UNITED NATIONS INDIA 2016

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Dear Delegates and Faculty Advisors,

It is my distinct pleasure to welcome you to The Ivy League Model United Nations Conference India 2016 hosted by the International Affairs Association of the University of Pennsylvania, an Ivy League institution.

The Ivy League Model United Nations Conference is one of the most reputed high school conferences in the United States bringing together over 3000 delegates from across the globe in an unique academic, social and cultural experience. We are incredibly excited to bring this experience to India this year in what will be one of the largest and most academically, professionally and socially enriching Model United Nations symposiums.

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A large part of what makes ILMUNC India so incredible is the commitment of its amazing staff, as well as the immense preparation that goes into making this conference the phenomenal experience that it is. Our staffers are all leaders at the prestigious University of Pennsylvania, who come from a diverse range of majors, interests, classes, and schools – from Finance at the Wharton School of Business to Computer Science and Nanotechnology at the School of Engineering. At ILMUNC India, this academic excellence and personal passions that chairs bring truly bring a professional collegiate environment and distinct enriching experience to our high school delegates, both within and outside the committee room.

The Secretariat is working hard to ensure that the quality of the conference is unparalleled. This year will bring together close to 1000 delegates in 8 distinct committees. The topics we are discussing are pertinent issues in today's world and we are excited to witness the unique and diverse solutions that our delegates will bring to the table. The ILMUNC India team is continuously searching for ways to make the conference better and more engaging for our delegates. We are proud to announce technological advancement in the Model United Nations circuit including a groundbreaking mobile application that will soon be released.

Our delegates' experiences outside of committee are just as vital as their experiences within committee. At ILMUNC India we ensure that our delegates take away memories and experiences that will better them personally and professionally. Outside of the invaluable Model United Nations experience, we host numerous college and career fairs, personal mentoring sessions with current students and alumni, keynote speeches from prominent members of society and, of course, enthralling social events.

Our delegates are the most integral part of our story and I'd like to once again thank you for choosing to be a part of our next chapter of ILMUNC India 2016. We are certain that you will walk away from this conference with memories that you will cherish for a long time to come. Welcome to ILMUNC India 2016!

Sincerely,

Ana Rancic
Secretary-General
ILMUNC India 2016



Letter to the Committee

My name is now 46664. Before it was Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. But now I am here with you, in this prison, this island where we are secluded from a society we were changing too fast and too brightly. You are my brothers, brave men, who sought to fight the Apartheid regime of South Africa and have been punished for your actions. You have been sentenced to years of prison. You have been beaten. Your communication has been restricted. You have not eaten, and you are not allowed to exercise. You may fear for your life.

But fear not. For we together can rise above our base surroundings. We can craft a movement to change Africa for the better. On this forsaken island we will craft history and defy our oppressors. It will not be easy. The prison guards surrounding us will seek to restrict our communication with the outside world. They may even restrict our own internal communication should we outwardly display signs of protest. Thus, our art will be one of subterfuge and education. We will smuggle out messages with family, inside food and footballs, and through more innovative ideas we have yet to craft.

I am a revolutionary, trained in law, who saw the inevitability of violent action when our white oppressors failed to rectify an illegal, unlawful and unrighteous system of segregation. Some of you know me from my days in the African National Congress. Others were my brothers in arms in Umkhonto we Sizwe, and some were my teachers when learning the art of militia and sabotage in Ethiopia, Egypt and Tunis. And a very select few know me from my days in the South African Communist Party, though none dare speak of it.

But we are all together now. We must learn from each other and develop a new plan to either get out of prison, or at least fulfill our goals from inside. I am prepared to die here. But you may not be. Ask yourself whether a country where black and colored people are abused is worth living for. And instead, act to change it through every fiber of your beings.

Over the next few weeks, months, even years, we will develop a common strategy for what to do when we have left prison. We will seek to leverage our friends, the press and the international community to have the prison release us. And we WILL continue our march towards freedom, directing the many organizations you were all central to creating. Here, we will serve with pride. This will not be easy. This will not be expected. But this will be a moment history shall never forget.

Welcome, to Robben Island.

Nelson Mandela



SOUTH AFRICAN ANTI-APARTHEID SUMMIT

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE

In 1964, following the Rivonia Trial, FIFA suspended South Africa from international soccer competitions. 45 years later, the FIFA Executive committee met in Cape Town, in sight of Robben Island to finalize the draw for the 2010 World Cup, to be held in African National Congress run South Africa.¹ Much of this amazing transition from Apartheid to the new state was driven by the actions of the prisoners of Robben Island.

These prisoners' first act of defiance while in prison was to form a soccer league – a symbolic event that eventually ended in the unlikely unification of South Africa. After this simple request succeeded, change started rolling in and the fate of South Africa was irrevocably altered.

Delegates, be warned, Robben Island: Anti-Apartheid Warriors will not be your average run-of-the-mill crisis committee.

Several parts of this weekend will be unusual. The first is that the topic we are dealing with is a sensitive one to many people. Instead of choosing the simple path of a 'South African Truth and Reconciliation' committee set between 1990 to 1994, we opted to present the great hero, Nelson

Mandela, in a much more raw form. This is a man who trained with mercenaries in Ethiopia, was part of the South African Communist Party, and was one of the key founders of the Umkhonto we Sizwe. We are approaching and reenacting history from a perspective often ignored in Western thinking, and we will need to face some slightly unpleasant ramifications.

From a procedural side, this committee is also unique. All delegates (including the chair) are currently prisoners interred within Robben Island, a forbidding, desolate place just off of Cape Town. This has ramifications for how we will act as a room, the types of committee-wide actions we can take, and the types of crisis notes you will be allowed to send. These conditions will vary over the course of the weekend as we fight for additional rights and will be clearly explained at the beginning of committee.

Fundamentally, remember that we are prisoners. We do not have liberty of movement or communication - that will need to be fought for via negotiations, bribes or covert activities. Many of your characters had important networks of contacts, but working with them is much harder when a prison guard will be reading your correspondence and censoring it. Thus, much more of your time (at least initially) will be focused on trying to create a workable environment for this group of seditionists to plot the downfall of the Apartheid System, and perhaps, the South African State.



ANTI-APARTHEID SUMMIT

Good luck, brave warriors for social justice.
The prison awaits.

Background

The State of Apartheid refers to the system of racial segregation in South Africa during the period between 1948 and 1994.² The country, with a colonial past, had a stark racial divide and a history of racial tensions. Even before the introduction of the Apartheid state in 1948, South Africa had a checkered past in terms of granting equal rights and opportunities to non-white citizens. In 1905, the General Pass Regulations Act precluded black citizens from voting, and even restricted them to certain areas within the country.³ After the British crown granted South Africa official dominion status in 1910, these policies of racial segregation continued with the passage of the South Africa Act, which removed the right of black South Africans from sitting in parliament, and the Native Land Act, which limited the black South Africans' ability to own land.⁴

Further measures increased racial segregation within South Africa from 1910 to World War II, including the passage of legislation that introduced residential segregation and the increase of cheap black labor employed by white factory owners. This pattern of escalating racial divisions continued until World War II, at which point the United Party (the party that introduced the majority of this segregationist legislation) began to reduce the intensity with which they enforced the above

This background guide will begin to flush out the history of this epic struggle and serve as a guide for further research. It is expected that all delegates read this background guide and watch the movie Long Walk to Freedom (starring Idris Elba as Nelson Mandela). Furthermore, it is recommended that all delegates watch Invictus (starring Denzel Washington and Matt Damon) and More Than Just a Game (starring many of the actual characters in our committee). Additional research via Wikipedia, sahistory.org.za, books, interviews etc will help flush out both complex characters and interesting crisis tracks.

We will not be reliving history. We will be creating our own path, with our own unique decisions. Mandela spent 27 years in prison, and he came out a man focused on understanding and working with the White government. But remember he went in as a man driven towards (considered) violence and anger. Whether we follow his example or forge our own trail remains to be seen.

This may seem like a disorienting amount of information - fear not. Risha and Medha have staffed many conferences, competed at even more, and have put their heart and soul into preparing for this weekend. If you have any issues, reach out to them, or the ILMUNC India staff, or simply trust in their judgement.



legislation. This was due to large demographic shifts and pressures on South African industrial centers and eventually led to the landslide victory of the National Party in 1948.⁵

Origins of Apartheid - South African General Election, 1948

Race relations in South Africa in the late 1930s were in a peculiar place. The policies of the United Party had created a society that was deeply divided in terms of access to land, education, economic opportunities, and the like. However, this state of affairs was about to face drastic changes.

In 1939, as the Allied Powers declared war on Germany and the Axis, South Africa by default found itself dragged into war on the side of the British Empire. This war almost immediately created a stark shortage in the supply of white labor in large industrial centers around South Africa. The United Party, faced with the prospect of dwindling industrial growth in their prized industrial centers, responded by weakening the intensity with which they enforced the segregationist laws they had previously passed. Economic opportunities in South African industrial centers, coupled with greater legal ability for non-whites to make a living in these cities, brought about a large scale migration of black laborers to work in these factories (these jobs were previously held by white workers).⁶

As it would turn out, however, these demographic changes brought with them a host of factors that led to increasing tensions. Spiking crime rates, lack of residential facilities for these

new laborers, and continued lack of access to other opportunities led to increased disputes between black and white citizens in these cities.⁷

It was against this backdrop that the South African General Election of 1948 took place. The wave of violence and discontent that South African cities saw during this period allowed the National Party to rally large sections of the electorate against the United Party, citing this discontent as proof of the party's incompetence and influence by Western liberal political thought.

The National Party movement's remained attractive to a coalition of white voters as it offered up a clear political platform to ensure continued white supremacy. The party's proposed legislation sought to create a defined system to rule on matters of the relations, rights, and privileges of the races. Even more attractive was the proposed legislation to create a separate labor market for white citizens, essentially to protect their access to jobs. This resonated with the white voters especially after the steady influx of black workers during the Second World War.⁸

To make matters worse for the National Party, it saw much of its old political coalition of voters drop away following the ascent of the United Party. Some of these wounds were self-inflicted. Widely seen as a party affiliated with the powerful and influential, the National Party single-handedly had colored themselves as elitist, causing millions of blue-collar voters to become disillusioned with the party. The United Party swept eight constituencies in the mining and industrial centers of the Witwatersrand



and five more in Pretoria, as well as the majority of the rural farmer voter body. In fact, save for a few majority English-speaking constituencies in Natal, the National Party was able to win almost every rural district during the election.⁹ Ultimately, the election system of the time was such that rural districts disproportionately determined the outcome of the election; this rural lead in addition to the majority in the industrial centers was enough to propel the National Party from a tiny minority party into one at the forefront of South African national politics. Daniel Francois Malan became the first nationalist prime minister, elected with the goal of leveraging the National Party's eight-vote parliamentary lead to implement the apartheid laws.

Resistance to Apartheid

The resistance to apartheid took many forms over the years. In the 1940s, the movement was still non-violent and quite moderate. It had not yet reached the political mainstream, but it was a pervasive political philosophy among educated, liberal sections of society. The resistance became increasingly mainstream in the 1950s, though it was still non-violent.

Until the 1940s, black resistance groups were poorly organized. Although separate legislation related to race was present even before the election of the National Party in 1948, the resistance was limited to sporadic protests and small gatherings. Things began to change after the 1948 election, as organized resistance movements began to enter the political sphere. During the peaceful phase in the 1950s, groups such as the African National Congress

(ANC) and the South African Communist Party began staging large-scale protests and boycotting of public bus services.¹⁰

The South African Communist Party played an important role in inspiring this first series of mass organized protests and acted as a galvanizing force for the black resistance movement.¹¹ This section of the background guide will go over the major players and turning points in the political struggle.

Congress Alliance

The Congress Alliance was a multi-racial coalition of minority groups within South Africa that joined forces to make the anti-apartheid movement more effective. Led by the ANC, it was formed in the early 1950s and had alliances and associations with the major political organizations that aimed to put an end to the apartheid state. These political organizations included the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party, the South African Congress of Democrats, and the South African Indian Congress.¹²



Figure 1: An image of the Congress Alliance¹³



The Congress Alliance was instrumental in bringing together the various ethnic minority groups within the Anti-Apartheid struggle and bringing the movement to the political mainstream. Its longest standing legacy is the famous Freedom Charter. The charter articulated the core principles of the Congress Alliance and denounced the racial segregation and oppression that resulted from the apartheid laws. In the spirit of its opening line, “The People Shall Govern!”, the charter was approved in a mass rally of the Congress of the People in 1955.¹⁴

State of Anti-Apartheid advocates

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 established ten ethnic “homelands” throughout South Africa. It specifically allocated 13% of the land to specific areas that would be run by cooperative tribal leaders. Each homeland, or ‘Bantustan,’ was assigned to a specific ethnicity or tribe. Each had its own language, and for many people, marrying or even socializing outside of your own tribe was considered deeply unusual.¹⁵

However, as the anti-apartheid movement grew in significance, along with the rise of Pan-African political groups such as the ANC and South African Communist Party, more politically active members, such as those currently interned within Robben Island, began to see past ethnic lines. Nonetheless, most individuals would fundamentally trust and favor members of their own tribe over any other.

The ten homelands founded in 1951 and given partial autonomy in 1958 were:

- Lebowa (North Soto people, a.k.a. Pedi)

- QuaQua (South Southo people)
- Bophuthatswana (Tswana people)
- KwaZulu (Zulu people)
- KaNgwana (Swazi people)
- Transkei (Thembu Xhosa people)
- Nelson Mandela is part of the Thembu royalty
- Ciskei (Ngqika Xhosa people)
- Gazankulu (Tsonga people)
- Venda (Venda people)
- KwaNdebele (Ndebele people)¹⁶



Figure 2: The ten Bantustan territories or ethnic “homelands” in South Africa¹⁷

Communist Party of South Africa

The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) was created in 1921 under the leadership of William H. Andrews. It has been at the forefront of South African politics ever since. It gained immense popularity among the masses by taking part in the African Mine Worker’s Strike of 1946, alongside the African National Congress. The National Party became increasingly hostile towards the CPSA as the years went by, and in 1948 it became clear that the National Party intended to ban the CPSA after its rise to power. Sensing this, the CPSA voluntarily



and preemptively dissolved itself. Following this dissolution, the National Party nonetheless declared the CPSA illegal in 1950. In 1953, a collection of party leaders started the South African Communist Party (SACP) as an offshoot of the CPSA in an effort to continue their agenda. They made strong overtures to align with the Soviet Union, and remained influential in the South African political field.¹⁸

African National Congress

The African National Congress was founded in 1912 by a collection of political leaders, chiefs, people's representatives, and church organizations. The goal of the party was to form a united African front and to bring all African people together to defend their liberties. Since its inception, the ANC was an amalgamation of the various sections of South African society. It combined the old and the young, the modern and the conservative, and the tribal chiefs and the educated black professionals. The party's philosophy was heavily influenced by the Indian political movements of the time. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela even said that the ANC needed a leader who was "willing to violate the law and if necessary go to prison for its beliefs as Gandhi had." Following this shift, the ANC began to see marked increases in its membership, which increased its influence and importance in the South African political arena.¹⁹

African National Congress Youth League

The African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) is the youth wing of the African National Congress. It was formed in the year 1944 and

was meant to signal the rise in a new, younger generation of political leaders within the African National Congress. It quickly gained prominence within the African National Congress, and by the late 1940s, it had gained control of the party. It called for more aggressive means of resistance against the administration, such as large-scale civil disobedience protests and strikes. These protests, though meant to remain peaceful, were met with violence from the South African government. 18 young black members of this party were killed during a walkout in 1950, and many others (including Nelson Mandela) were beaten and arrested. Because of events such as this, the Youth League became increasingly emboldened to continue its resistance to the apartheid administration. The ANCYL faced a tumultuous last couple of years, breaking away from the rival Pan Africanist Congress in 1959 and becoming illegal in 1960. To this day, however, the spirit of the ANCYL lives on as it continues its actions underground.²⁰

1956 Treason Trials

The 1956 Treason Trials were a pivotal event where 156 influential anti-apartheid leaders were arrested for treason against the state. These leaders comprised almost the entire executive committee of the African National Congress, but also drew from the South African Communist Party, the South African Indian Congress, and the South African Congress of Democrats. The vast majority of those arrested were black South Africans, though the total count also included 21 Indians, 23 whites and 7 colored leaders. The trial continued until 1961, at which point the vast majority of those accused were



found not guilty.²¹

Umkhonto we Sizwe

Umkhonto we Sizwe is the military arm of the African National Congress. Colloquially known as MK, the phrase Umkhonto we Sizwe literally translates to “Spear of the Nation.” Between 1948 and 1960, more and more leaders within the African National Congress became disillusioned with the effectiveness of peaceful protests against the oppressive state. The tipping point came about in 1961 following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, during which a handful of these leaders decided to take up arms against the regime.²² Averse to harming civilians, MK’s early attacks targeted government installations with the objective to disrupt government functioning and send a message to the administration. Over the years, however, MK’s guerilla-style attacks became increasingly deadly. They were responsible for the infamous Church Street bombing and Magoo’s Bar bombing.

Rivonia Treason Trial

The Rivonia Treason Trial was conducted between 1963 and 1964.²³ It holds prominence as one of the most significant events in the anti-apartheid struggle because it was at this trial that Nelson Mandela was convicted to life sentence. The name comes from Rivonia, the suburb of Johannesburg in which many African National Congress leaders would hide away from the government. Mandela himself hid there, masquerading as a gardener and cook under the name David Motsamayi. It was at this trial that Mandela gave his famous three-hour speech, reciting the following often quoted lines:

“During my lifetime I have dedicated my life to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons will live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live for and to see realised. But, my Lord, if it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”²⁴



Figure 3: The front page of South Africa's Sunday Express newspaper during the Rivonia trial



Character

Nelson Mandela (Chair)

Walter Sisulu

Walter Sisulu was born to a white father and Thembu mother. Unlike many of his fellow inmates, Sisulu only had a primary education before performing manual labor for many years. By the time he was 27, however, Sisulu founded Sitha Investments, which was the only black-owned real estate agency in South Africa.



Figure 4: Nelson Mandela (left) and Walter Sisulu (right) during imprisonment at Robben Island²⁵

A year later, Sisulu joined the ANC along with his friends Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, where he immediately became the treasurer of the ANC Youth League. Eventually, Sisulu became the Secretary-General of the ANC, serving from 1949 to 1954. During this time, he travelled to Europe, the USSR, Israel, and China as an ANC representative.

Between 1954 and 1963, Sisulu was jailed seven times and eventually went underground in 1963. The search for Sisulu led the government to raid the Rivonia Farm and capture him and 16

associates, including Mandela. A born political operative, Sisulu had a prominent role in planning Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), though he personally avoided military decisions.²⁶

Ahmed Kathrada

Ahmed Mohammed Kathrada, also known as Kathy, was born to a South African, Indian-Muslim family from Gujarat. As an Indian, he was not allowed into any European or African schools. Thus, he studied in schools with the strongest counter-culture links. Based on an early friendship with Yusef Dadoo, he joined the Young Communist League of South Africa at the age of 12 and continued to ascend the ranks of the organization. While studying at the University of Witwatersrand, he was chosen to attend the Students World Youth Festival in Berlin, where he was elected the head of the multi-racial South African delegation.



Figure 5: Ahmed Mohammed Kathrada

At the age of 17, Kathy left university to work full-time opposing the 'Ghetto Act,' which restricted people of Indian origins from having political representation and where they could own land or live. When arrested for civil disobedience, Kathy overstated his age, so that he would attend an adult prison, instead of being treated as a juvenile. Later,



Kathy was elected as the Secretary-General of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress.

His work on increasing the cooperation between the African and Indian congresses brought Kathy in contact with African National Congress (ANC) leaders like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. After being acquitted in the Treason Trial of 1956-1961, Kathy went underground and eventually was arrested at the headquarters of Umkhonto we Sizwe on July 11, 1963. Although not a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Kathy was working with the leaders to coordinate future military action.²⁷

Dennis Goldberg



Figure 6: Dennis Goldberg²⁸

Dennis Goldberg was born to a prosperous white family in Cape Town and studied Civil Engineering at the University of Cape Town. After

leaving university, a failed love affair caused him to join the South African Communist Party. After several years as a keen member, Goldberg formed the white South African Congress of Democrats. The Congress of Democrats allied itself with the ANC and other non-racial congresses in the Congress Alliance.

Goldberg became the technical and training officer of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961 and was arrested for the 1963 Rivonia trial at the headquarters of the group. While MK had a small white minority, Goldberg was the only white leader.

Goldberg often commented that “Being black and involved in the struggle meant you had the support of many people, and it meant you got to be part of a community. Being white and involved meant being isolated.” Despite this, Goldberg was seen as a figurehead of the multi-racial aspects of the early anti-apartheid movement.²⁹

Raymond Mhlaba



Figure 7: Raymond Mhlaba³⁰



Raymond Mhlaba was born in a Xhosa village in the Eastern Cape district. He attended the prestigious Healdtown secondary school, which is where Mandela would later attend. While Mhlaba was an excellent student, like many Xhosa at the time, he was limited to working in a laundry in Port Elizabeth. There, he was introduced to trade unionism and eventually joined the South African Communist Party through his wife Joyce Meke.

After joining the ANC in 1944, Mhlaba led a group of volunteers to march through the 'Europeans Only' entrance of the Port Elizabeth Police Station in 1952. He became the local chairman of the ANC and eventually joined its Executive Committee.

Following the ANC ban in 1960, Mhlaba took several of his trusted aides to China for military training. When he returned in 1962, Mhlaba took control of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) until his arrest at the Rivonia Farm in 1963. Despite his militaristic training, Mhlaba was well-noted for his kindly disposition, and many of his friends used his nickname 'Oom Ray.'³¹

Govan Mbeki



Figure 8: Govan Mbeki³²

Govan Mbeki was born to a Thembu family in Transkei, where he returned often until his imprisonment in 1963. After receiving two degrees at Fort Hare University, Mbeki became a teacher near his hometown. Despite keeping his involvement in the communist party secret, he eventually lost his job due to his outspoken political views. At this point, Mbeki began his lifelong friendship with Raymond Mhlaba, often being referred too as 'Oom Gov.'

After a few years as a journalist, Mbeki became a government-appointed member of the Transkeian General Council, a sign of his ability to integrate with more conservative people. In 1954, Mbeki left government to join the editorial board of *New Age*, a prominent left-leaning newspaper. By 1962, *New Age* had become the most prominent voice of the conditions and ideals of the rural black peoples of South Africa.

Following the rise of armed struggle in South Africa in late 1961, *New Age* was banned. Mbeki tried to create a new organization, Spark. Spark was declared, correctly, to be a tool of the ANC and SACP. As the editor, Mbeki was included in the



Rivonia trial and imprisoned on Robben Island.³³

Anthony Suze - Soccer Star

Suze was born in a small town close to Pretoria in 1942. During his youth, he demonstrated a great passion towards sports, an area in which he excelled, and, by his own admittance, neglected formal education (an area in which he did not excel). During the Apartheid-era, he was recruited into the Pan African Congress due to his notable political awareness and his recruiting abilities.



Figure 9: Anthony Suze³⁴

In 1963, he was arrested along with 14 other young men and convicted for his indoctrination of young students, they were collectively given 185 years in prison. He was sent to Robben Island, but is already looking towards using sports as a medium for political dissent.³⁵



Figure 10: Politician Thabo Mbeki (left) and Jacob Zuma (right)³⁶

Jacob Zuma was raised by a single mother in KwaZulu Natal, as his father (a policeman) died when he was two. The family moved around the outskirts of Durban until Zuma eventually left to join a travelling group of ANC advocates and recruiters at the age of 17.

Three years later, Zuma joined the rapidly growing Umkhonto We Sizwe. Though he wanted a front line position, Zuma was left in the training camps, where he was eventually captured at Zeerust with 45 other trainees. Zuma was sentenced to 10 years in prison, arriving at Robben Island a few months before the Rivonia trial prisoners.³⁷



John Nankudhu - Namibian freedom fighter



Figure 11: John Nankudhu³⁸

John Nankudhu (or Nankugu) was born in northern Namibia in 1933. It is important to note that all of Namibia was controlled by South Africa, and the freedom movement did not emerge until the 1950s, with the formation of the Ovamboland People's Congress. Following a mostly rural childhood herding cattle, Nankudhu was brought into the Ovamboland People's Organization by his friend Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, at that point its chairman. Nankudhu showed exemplary leadership and rose to be head of the Oranjemund branch.

However, Nankudhu's talents were wasted in solely organizing a small resistance and independence movement, and he began military training in Egypt and the USSR. In 1964, Nankudhu was recalled to be a commander of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, where he led a military training camp in Tanzania. While meeting with Toivo ya Toivo and other Namibian leaders, eight helicopters of the

South African Defence Force attacked and captured Nankudhu, killing many of his men. He was initially sentenced to death, but international pressure caused the sentence to be changed to life imprisonment in Robben Island.³⁹

Andimba Toivo ya Toivo - Namibian freedom fighter



Figure 12: Andimba Toivo ya Toivo (right) with past President of Namibia Sam Nujoma (left)⁴⁰

Andimba Toivo ya Toivo was born in Ovamboland, in the northern part of modern day Namibia. His early life was spent in vocational training and farmwork, before fighting for the Allied Forces in World War II. Afterwards, he converted from his family's native Lutheran to Anglican Christian, in order to attend the St. Mary's Mission School, eventually graduating as a licensed teacher. His first teaching job was in Cape Town, where he rapidly became disenchanted politically and began working with the ANC in 1957.

Inspired by the work of the ANC, ya Toivo co-founded the Ovamboland People's Organization, pushing for an independent state in Namibia. Once



his petition gained traction at the United Nations, ya Toivo was deported from Cape Town, and placed under house arrest in his home village in Ovamboland. In 1960, the OPO rebranded itself as the communist leaning 'South West African People's Organization', with ya Toivo as the Secretary General. Ya Toivo was captured at the first military conflict of the Namibian independence movement, when South African armed forces stormed a SWAPO training camp.⁴¹



Figure 13: Robert Sobukwe⁴²

Robert Sobukwe

Subokwe was born in 1924 to a humble family in Graaff-Reinet, Cape Province. Throughout his youth, he showed a great affinity for literature and academia, eventually gaining a scholarship to enroll in Fort Hare University in 1947. His time at Fort Hare propelled him into the political realm as he and other African youths were exposed to revolutionary viewpoints from university lecturers. He launched a daily publication, *Beware*, which critiqued the Native Representative Councils and Native Advisory Boards, before joining the ANCYL and eventually becoming National Secretary in 1949.

In 1954, "the Prof", moved to Johannesburg in order to teach at the University of the Witwatersrand. A strong Africanist who believed that South Africa should rest in the hands of black South-Africans, he became disenfranchised with the multi-racial ideas of the ANC and started the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1958.

In 1960, as part of PAC's anti-pass campaign, he began his march to give himself up for arrest in order to inspire his fellow black South Africans. He was joined by a crowd of 5000, which was arrested for sedition, many of them shot in what came to be known as the Sharpeville Massacre. His conviction led to the the Subokwe Act, which allowed the Minister of Justice to prolong the detention of any political prisoner indefinitely.⁴³

Andrew Mlangeni

Sotho-born in Free State as the ninth child in a Sotho family of fourteen, Mlangeni was forced to begin working at the age of 12 to support his family. He eventually was able to receive his 'junior certificate' (equivalent to passing eighth grade in the U.S.) at the age of 21. While working in a variety of factories, Mlangeni was exposed to the growing union movement in South Africa, eventually joining the African National Congress Youth League.

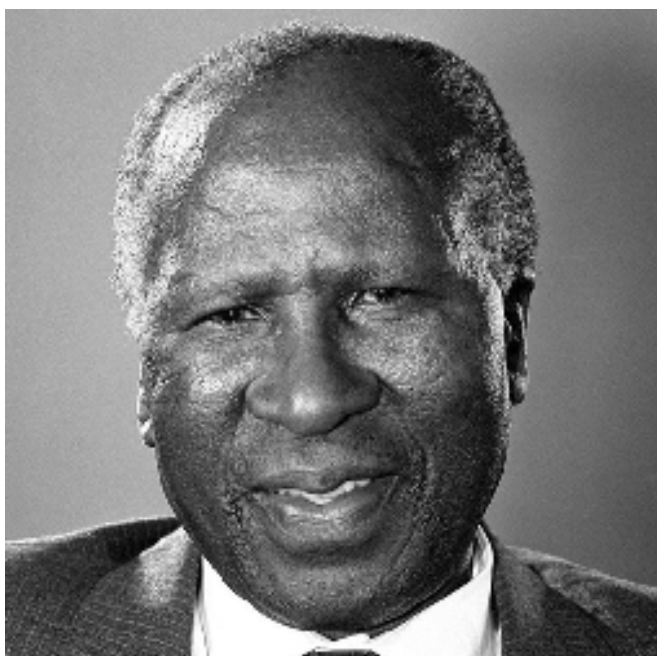


Figure 14: Andrew Mlangeni⁴⁴

Following several years of dedicated work both with the ANC and in various jobs as a bus driver, foreman and machinery technician, Mlangeni was the leader of the first group of ANC members sent for military training outside of South Africa. He resided in Algeria from 1961 to 1963, coordinating ANC-training programs in the area. He returned to South Africa in 1963 and was arrested at the Rivonia farm two weeks later.⁴⁵

Eddie Daniels

Eddie Daniels was born in Cape Town to an English father and a coloured mother, meaning he was officially deemed a ‘colored person’ despite his fair skin. Daniels had limited education and initially worked in both a whaling fleet and a diamond mine, where he operated large earth-moving equipment.



Figure 15: Nelson Mandela (left) with Eddie Daniels (right)⁴⁶

Daniels eventually took up photography, and his excursions into the slums of Cape Town brought him into contact with the inequalities of the Apartheid regime. Daniels eventually joined the Liberal Party of South Africa, a group he found dedicated to non-racialism and justice. As the Liberal Party militarized, Daniels became involved in its sabotage campaign -- this was not connected to the plans of Umkhonto we Sizwe, but occurred in parallel. Eventually, the South African police caught Daniels and sentenced him to life imprisonment at Robben Island at the same time as the Rivonia prisoners.⁴⁷

Billy Nair

Billy Nair was born in Sydenham, Durban to Indian immigrant parents. Nair completed his technical degree (university) at the age of 15 and received a second degree in accounting at 18, becoming a timber merchant and bookkeeper.

Nair first became politicized as a participant in the student union with regard to the Ghetto



Act, which curtailed the rights of those of Indian descent. Nair joined the Natal Indian Congress, becoming part of the executive branch in 1950, and also served as the secretary of the Indian Youth Congress. Later, Nair joined the reformed South African Communists Party. He immediately joined the executive committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, a conglomeration of the White, Colored, and Indian unions.



Figure 16: Billy Nair⁴⁸

Nair was arrested as a part of the 150 activists in the 1956-1961 Treason Trial, and following his two acquittals, he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), where he became part of the leadership of the Natal division.⁴⁹

Elias Motsoeledi

Elias Motsoeledi was born in the northern part of Limpopo to a Pedi family. Despite having limited education, Motsoeledi was an active member in the various unions around Johannesburg. Notably, Motsoeledi played a critical role in the reconciliation of the ANC Youth League and the Communist Party of South Africa as many ANC leaders, including Mandela, were anti-White, anti-Indian and anti-Communist. Motsoeledi used his

impressive moderation skills to branch the divisions between the various groups.



Figure 16: Elias Motsoeledi⁵⁰

Motsoeledi later became a part of the SACP and ANC and played a central role in the 1952 Defiance campaign. He later went underground, joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, and was captured and imprisoned as part of the Rivonia Trial.⁵¹



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