

[Sept., 1962].

Two years five months fifteen days exactly after  
 March the 21<sup>st</sup> of 1960 when Robert Mangobiso Sobhuza  
 was arrested and later sentenced to imprisonment  
 for three years, was repeat made by the arrest  
 and sentence of yet another leader, this time  
 Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

The former was ex-Wits University lecturer  
 in <sup>African</sup> languages and president of the Pan Africanist  
 Congress - a break-away group from the African  
 National Congress, the another body in the spearhead  
 for African liberation in South Africa.

As if to create history, the latter had  
 not with his group done anything noteworthy -  
 the leader of the African National Congress. The  
 history of the A.N.C. as the former was popularly  
 called, had seen too many splintering from within

is ranks that the departure of the Pan Africanists was not unmet.

The latter to inform that there was not just one of the common splinters, after two years of break away and opposition decided to embark on positive and often termed co-ercive measures to spearhead the struggle for freedom.

Of the first campaign ~~embarked~~ launched, little is known except that it was status seeking. This was to have been to embarrass shop assistants and owners, by the demand of courtesy and proper names of address, the failure of which was intention to spitate for the withholding of purchasing power.

Simultaneously as if to admit the seriousness of such possible embarrassment, an organization called ~~was~~ was formed by one man to educate the shop owners that the

African market was a market to contend with. Membership was offered and badge was publicly displayed that the policy of shop as displaying this badge of the map of Africa, was of open courtesy to African and other non-white clientele. Suffice therefore to say that whilst little of the origin and end of this "Courtesy Campaign", it is however known that public interest was aroused of the date March 21<sup>st</sup> 1960.

The African National Congress under its President Chief Albert Luthuli, was wholly adamant in its stand for policy of non-violence and for its allegiance to the pact of alliance with the other congresses viz: Coloured Congress, Indian Congress and the Congress of Democrats.

The theory issue in African precedences - the pass laws and its application and prosecution, had seen its highest effort in the African women's efforts which climaxed in 1958 when

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over 2,000 - pharisees being successfully organized  
against the extension of passes to women.

Whereas in 1939 the African National Congress  
did successfully call out its people to boycott  
pretaxed, as was alleged to be atrocities of  
the pretax farmers of Bethel and other  
adjacent areas to pass offenders and prisoners  
arrested through pass raids, there was, however,  
delaying tactics adopted after this first  
phase in implementing the second phase of the  
anti-pass campaign.

That the grievances and demands of  
women at their federation was not met  
in the demand for the second phase, and  
that the further non-committee chaired by  
Bishop Reeves - Anglican bishop in pharisees,  
to see how this second phase could be put  
into operation, many dissatisfactions were expressed

which sought outlet and expression.

The president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, was not only to understand and seek a way to satisfy the discontentment, he, however, despite his original condemnation for evasive tactics in the effort to aid the Africans of this long standing privilage, chose to launch a campaign of mass arrest for African men, who, he asked should from the 21st March, 1960, go about without passes and thus court arrest, as the laws stood to persecute those found without passes on their bodies at any one time of demand.

Full preparations had been made for this date and public appeal was made to the police to be cautious to those surrendering themselves for arrest. Also employees were informed

to guarantee the maximum sympathy with all those so persecuted under this campaign, and that the aspects of their dependants be adhered to with humanitarian understanding.

The Campaigners were to refuse to accept payments of bail, defence and any fines imposed. They were to prefer to undergo jail sentences rather than pay. Those 'acquitted' were to return once more to the respective police stations of their local areas or of adjoining ones, if their own refused to meet them. They were requested by their president, to see to it that voluntarily they courted arrests and that the Campaign was a success.

From the time of ~~this~~<sup>the</sup> announcement of the P.A.C. Campaign, the A.N.C. had its misgivings and all in its efforts were done to dissuade independent thinking within its ranks and file.

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At all ~~for~~ meetings of the A.N.C. and at all the public meetings prior to the 21<sup>st</sup>, people were to be told explicitly that the A.N.C. did not favour the campaign of the P.A.C. and that all adherents were to be discouraged openly and that the campaign be watered down.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1960, the Johannesburg City Council and many other municipalities in the Union, invited public meetings to applications both of A.N.C. and residents associations, in order to allow platform for adverse propaganda against the P.A.C. Campaign.

In the early morning of March 21<sup>st</sup>, already the full force of the P.A.C. organization, were at strategic points to discourage those seeking to go to work and to do so. Persuasion, brutal force and distortions were applied on this morning.

By 10. a.m. on this day,

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