GLOBAL ACADEMIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE

COLOMBO, SRI LANKA

GARI International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research

ISSN 2659-2193

Volume: 04 | Issue: 05

On 20th November 2018

http://www.research.lk

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GARI Publisher | Human Rights | Volume: 04 | Issue: 05

Article ID: IN/GARI/ICPCM/2018/168 | Pages: 69-70 (11)

ISSN 2659-2193 | Edit: GARI Editorial Team

Received: 26.10.2018 | Publish: 20.11.2018

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Fikile's Global Services Consultancy Services, UK
GARI Publisher | Human Rights | Volume: 04 | Issue: 05
Article ID: IN/GARI/ICPCM/2018/168 | Pages: 69-70 (11)
ISSN 2424-6492 | ISBN 978-955-7153-00-1
Edit: GARI Editorial Team | Received: 20.01.2019 | Publish: 08.02.2019

SUBVERSION WAS NEVER IN UMKHONTO WESIZWE'S AGENDA: TO WHAT EXTENT DID UMKHONTO WESIZWE ADVOCATE HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN SECURITY AND PEACE?

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to analyse and evaluate how MK utilised the fundamental necessary tools like human rights and human security as the key evidence to force the apartheid regime to adopt a strategy of conflict resolution in South Africa. For effective communication, MK advocated peace in a language which was understood by the regime. The oppressed were long denied the four important humanity elements: human rights (HR), peace, freedom from want and freedom from fear. This study is an intricate move because many scholars and or literature had failed to identify that MK was not a terrorist group but only an independent human rights, human security and peace advocate with no interest to lead the country. Therefore, MK will be examined as an independent South African Liberation Movement (SALM) that was capable of speaking the government's language. Furthermore, the reference to peaceful historical struggle of the African National Congress (ANC) will not be dismissed. The Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and the banning of the two opposition political parties led to country's political shift. This study will also closely examine if MK was born as a trusted voice of the unheard; to remedy the situation. Both the quantitative and qualitative research methods will be utilised to reveal how MK advocated human rights, human security and peace. This research finishes by calling for the adoption of the African born Global Peace Theory as the only legitimate theory with a scale to identify the liberation movements. The adoption of MK Theory as a legitimate global scale can minimise conflicts, the killings of unarmed civilians and reduce the number of refugees.

Keywords: Apartheid, ANC, MK, Human Rights, Chris Hani, Nomzamo Mandela, Human Security

This study aims to demonstrate how Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) advocated human rights, human security and peace; post the fruitfulness of the historical non-violent protests employed by both the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC). Additionally, this study aims to investigate if MK's reasoning and activities demonstrate a need for the adoption of a new African born Global Peace Theory. The study will also reveal how MK utilised human rights and human security as the key rudiments towards conflict resolution (road map to peace). Then lastly, the study will call for the global adoption of MK Theory as the only legitimate essential theory with a

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scale to measure, weigh and identify the liberation movements.

INTRODUCTION

The theme of this research addresses an essential missing period in South African history's road-map towards the 1994 democratic elections. Regardless of the massive literature about the South African history, the academics largely neglect MK history and its engagements as from 1980 1989. This paper delves and examines the role of MK on declaring and advocating human rights, human security, peace and justice construction. This careful analysis and investigation will be carried out through the search for new facts and knowledge that will contribute towards conflict resolution and global peace. Furthermore, the study will reveal how human rights, human security and peace were deliberately twisted, ignored and undermined by the regime in order to fulfil its racial supremacy ambition. Prior to the birth of MK on "16 December 1961"(Mandela, 1978), the ANC and the Pan African Congress (PAC) peacefully fought for liberation, the rights and the identity of all oppressed who were identified as undermined and reduced "to a level of a chattel" according to Helen Suzman's own words (Benson, 1985:248). Apartheid was proven to be a rigid institutionalised racist regime deep rooted and elevated by the theory of divide and rule. This theory was a vehicle that transported racial hatred and peace rejection. Therefore, the need to address the ongoing oppression then was compulsory. MK was not formed for aesthetic principles or for luxury, but stood to shield the unarmed civilians against the regime (Hani, 1990 & Mandela, 1978). MK was identified as an essential response to an ongoing slaughtering of unarmed civilians (Landau, 2012) and the banning of both main opposition parties (Unlawful Organisation Act, 1960). The [then] banned organisations were the African National Congress (ANC) & Pan African Congress (PAC). The apartheid centric-approach severely suffered deficiency in, human rights, human security and peace. The founding document of MK clearly stated that, "MK will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation, abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for the people of the country" (Ngculu, 2010: 240).In 1968, the blacks questioned the legitimacy of racial segregation (http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/apartheid/7208.shtml). The latter was evidenced by the racial exclusions and the arrest of the ANC leaders in 1963 (State v N. Mandela and others). The consistent arrests of non-whites and their political leaders was a gesture of rubber stamping the closure of oppositions' political window. Mandela (1978) asserts that, the effectiveness of MK was to abandon the ANC- Mahatma Gandhi's approach of peace drums; marches, negotiations and demonstrations as they were fruitless. Therefore, MK's violence was a remonstration against the regime's cruelty. The bombardment of unarmed Amampondo (holding a peaceful gathering) at Ingquza Hill in Flagstaff, on the 6th June 1960 was the continuity of an antagonistic government's attitude (Lamla, 2013). All the same, the government was popular about its allergy towards justice, human rights, liberty and social equality. Therefore, the regime's violation of human rights can be categorized as its strength and hobby. The regime's fundamental principle and criteria of being non-white qualified all other groups for racial isolation, economic disadvantages, social disadvantages, political exclusion (Unlawful Organisations Act 1960) and diluted educated based on dependency theory

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(Bantu Education Act 1953). Voluminous disadvantaging legislation led the oppressed to live in fear of being arrested, toured and or killed (Benson, 1963 & Walshe, 1971). MK aimed to engage in war against apartheid, not war against individuals (Mandela, 1978). The latter is echoed in the reading which argues that MK was not only based or formed to fight but was a "national liberation movement" (Beirnat, 2001:167). The previous reference opposes the idea that MK was a group of individuals who hated non violence. The study examined some literature, journals, books, legislation, cases, and other relevant resources; and thereafter, carried out a research in South Africa. South Africa was chosen because it's the only country where racial segregation was legalised. This study utilises both the quantitative and qualitative methods. The audience is based in four different areas; two areas in the Eastern Cape, one area in KwaZulu Natal and one area in Soweto Township in Johannesburg (South Africa). The researcher has chosen a mixed method in-order to verify and or obtain an accurate outcome.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Firstly, it is worth defining four words which will be mentioned and or commonly used in this writing. These words are: MK, Terrorism, African National Congress (ANC), Human Rights (HR) and Racism. MK is identified as a group of liberation fighters, "A people's army fighting a people's war of national liberation" (Cherry, 2012:9). The regime identified MK by its actions and concluded that MK was engaging on terrorism activities. Terrorism is identified as an employment of collective pressure, coercion and attack aiming to achieve a political goal (Wilkinson, 2000:12). Based on Wilkinson's definition, it can be suggested that the time to review his definition is desired. The regime's continuous killing of unarmed civilians fulfils a leg of genocide as there are similarities to Rwanda genocide (Schabas, 2000). Unlike in Rwanda, the regime never accounted for its actions (killing unarmed civilians) and omissions (disregarding human rights) although there was a provision of the International Convention of Crime of Apartheid 1976. ANC is identified as the first largest South African political organisation that was founded in January of 1912, (Lodge, 1983:1, Mandela, 1978:24 & Walshe, 1971:33-34). ANC is understood to have been born as the South African Native Congress (SANC) till 1923 when the name was changed to ANC, (Benson, 1985:23). HR are believed to be the unconditional universal rights, purely established from the framework laid in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948. The apartheid regime never adopted the human rights principles except the racism entrenched attitude. Racism will be defined in the next paragraph. Traditionally, the word racism is delineated as an act aimed to disadvantage people because of the colour of skin. Racism is acknowledged as "the predication of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintain control over that group" (Ture & Hamilton, 1992:3). The white supremacy was aiming on humiliating non whites, "the lack of human dignity experienced by the Africans is the direct result of the policy of white supremacy, white supremacy implies black inferiority" (Mandela, 1978:174). Many historians, literature and academics reveal that the regime invested in self-motivated racial division (Wolpe, 1972). The regime famously lived to "ensure the safety of white race" (Sugarman, (1991:2). This evidence discredits the regime's ability to maintain a legitimate state obligation to

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safeguard all its citizens. Racial segregation contrasts UDHR 1948. The statements made by Verwood in 1963 made it clear that non-whites had no right in South Africa as he pledged, "To keep South Africa White, keeping it white can only mean one thing, namely, white domination, not leadership, not guidance but control supremacy" (House of Assembly Debates, 1963). Verwood's words might have been bitter enough to the oppressed and MK might have been the only hope to restore human dignity. The mischievous speech made by Verwood suggests that the oppressed were the silent subject matters of racial hatred, who deserved no human rights, no human security and no right to life. MK members' deployment was always subsequent to the implementation of readiness mechanism [leadership]; taking into consideration the "psychological impact" of the full scale of conventional warfare and civilians' protection (Zulaika & Douglas, 1996). MK's consciousness on the subject that few whites were non regime supporters did not fade. Professor Andries Treurnicht (a white man) was identified as someone who "became more a politician than an academic as he urged that apartheid be abandoned" (Wolpe, 1972: 8). Professor Treurnicht is legitimately perceived as calling for human rights implementation. HR implementation was the MK language. Moyn (2010:219) declares that human rights are "forced to move not simply from morality to politics but also from charisma to bureaucracy." SALM/MK had a reasoning leadership which might have inherited utat'uLangalibalele Dube's attitude. There is neither historic nor academic evidence to prove that the oppressed employed violence prior the birth of MK, the latter reflects a peaceful and tolerant nation that believed in talks. MK's activities were directed and monitored by its commanders like Tembisile Chris Hani and leaders like O.R. Tambo. Unlike the regime, MK demeanours were monitored for human rights. The leadership was giving strict orders according to 1977 Geneva Protocol, "to minimise the death of unarmed innocent civilians" (Murray, 1984). Barnard (2011) observes that, MK members were targeted by undercover agents & agents to sabotage MK; then its leadership had to, "stamp out the marijuana smoking that was taking place in the camps" (Barnard, 2011:144). The use of drugs might have impacted the fabric of the organisation and also led to sensitive and confidential unintentionally leaked to the enemy/regime. MK had another duty, to mobilise the communities to understand the purpose of the struggle (Hani, 1990). The mass mobilization is not a new concept; Martin Luther King.Jr (MKL. Jr) won the masses' in Alabama (United States of America), he surfaced the political ground tabling the importance of civil rights, (with an outcome of Civil Rights Act 1964). (MKL) Jr empowered the Blacks to comprehend black consciousness, the ideology Steve Biko lived for (erasing slavery mentality and replacing it with human identity) (Ture & Hamilton, 2010 & King Jr, 2010). The same mobilisation strategy was witnessed in Northern Ireland during the period of civil rights refutation. MK's Manifesto & Cherry (2012) emphasise that MK was a liberation movement aiming to defend the interests of the oppressed. To facilitate a better understanding, the South African population of 1960 is reflected in the table below. The 1960 country's inhabitants are important as it was the year of political shift prior to the birth of MK.

RACE	PERCANTAGE
Africans	68. 3 %
Coloureds	9.4 %
Asians	3.0 %
Whites	19.3 %

Fig. 2 **Total population 16, 002, 797 (**Beinart, 2001, p.353)

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The above figure highlights that the oppressed were the majority of the population. This is the group that never participated or ever tasted the voting process. Mass mobilisation was imperative; the success of the oppressed in the polls depended on proper voter education, prepared masses to back the political ideology with clear understanding of the cause of action (Hani, 1990). Amongst MK's hopes was, a liberal state which could only be achieved through proper political ground levelling hence the implementation of Apartheid Convention 1973 was behindhand. The importance of mobilising the ground was more valued because it was a fundamental modus operandi for winning new faces to join MK. MK had to intensify its activities; these activities will be examined from the period of 1980 -1989. The figure below reflects MK engagements as from 1980 to 1989. In 1980 there were few activities followed by changes, but in 1985 and 1988, there was a massive increase. This paper will examine the driving force behind the shift in engagements, 1985 - 1989.

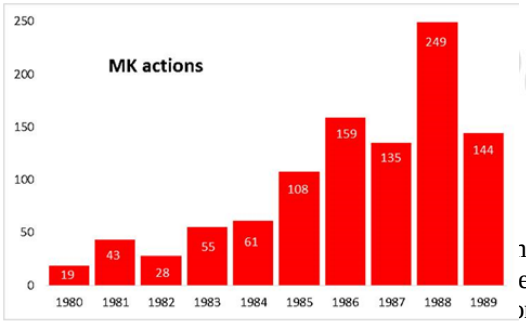

Fig. 1 Kasrils, R. @ dailymaverickнewspaper.co.za

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proudly rejected the "carrots and sticks" (Becsi, Z. & Sajal Lahiri, S. 2007). The deal comprised of a very small carrot, "release" as opposed to four massive sticks: 1.Conditional release, 2. Post release movements restriction (stay within his homeland, former Transkei), 3. "Renounce both violence and" 4. "Violent protests" (https://www.sahistory.org.za). Mandela, MK co-founder stood consistently (like voting consistently against) rejecting being oppressed. These conditions are perceived as an insult and humiliation; challenging the political faith whilst enforcing apartheid driven ideology. The UN's demand of "immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners" (Benson 1985:249), was disregarded and perhaps undermined by the regime. The conditional release was a disguise to the enforcement of oppressive laws like, Native Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act 1970 (stay in Transkei), Terrorism Act 1962 (no violence) and Unlawful Organisation Act 1960 (no protests). In 1986, MK increased its activities from 61 (1985) the previous year to 108. This language of protest (Mandela, 1978) was a clear signal of unhappiness because of the erosion of state legitimacy/ international language of human rights. The state legitimacy had no citizens' consent; non whites occupied the class of nonentities in the sphere of their own country. Additionally, an "arrest of 30 000 people" (Sugarman, 1991) in 1986 cannot be distanced from triggering more increase on MK activities. The adoption of Comprehensive Anti Apartheid Act 1986 by the United States of America might have been an assassination to the regime hence the two countries were long term collaborators. International engagement had to support freedom & "victory" (Mandela, 1995). In 1987, the engagements were reduced of which it might have been a gesture to accommodate giving a room of

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negotiations to kick in. Then in 1988, there were 249 attacks which were signalling the seriousness of MK on advocating human rights, human security and peace; in this year another prisoners were released with conditions attached, but Mandela remained as he was not in a position to accept the conditional release, (https://www.sahistory.org.za). MK never shifted from its original demands as stipulated on its founding document which was in line with Geneva Convention 1949 as echoed in Protocol 1 of 1977 (https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/manifesto-umkhonto-we-sizwe). Then in 1989, MK reduced its attacks to 144. The very same year, the negotiations were sustained with end results of both Harare Declaration and UN Declaration being signed and also the release of prisoners like Walter Sisulu and others. MK's continuity and consistency on defending the needs of the civilians has been proven to be in line with advocating peace, human security and human rights. MK can be identified as a South African Liberation Movement which had all its principles embedded in MK manifesto which was aligned with global peace prescription: 1948 Declaration of Human Rights, UN Declaration, Human Security, Security Council "threat to peace", "breach of peace", "acts of aggression" (Article 39 UN Charter). The latter is evidenced by the world applauding, welcoming and acknowledging the cofounder of MK, Mr Mandela as the best global freedom fighter.

METHODOLOGY

On creating a concrete wealthy account of whether MK advocated human rights, human security and peace, this study will use both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

Qualitative research

The grounded theory was best approach for this study. The researcher had an opportunity to move back and onward. This method has enabled the researcher to collect the statistics and conduct the investigations. Theoretical sampling was carried out in two vicinities in the Eastern Cape (power house of politics). The decision to sample the population from the named geographical areas was influenced by historical consciousness and African lens. Word of mouth, local churches, taxi ranks, schools and local shops were used to call for any willing participants.

Demographics

- All participants were 20 years old and above.
- There was no other specific qualification except interest to participate.
- Both genders were 55% were females and 45% males.
- Interviews
- The interview questions were open ended in order to persuade the participants to engage in communication.

The questions were influenced by people's beliefs, attitudes and understanding about the role of MK during apartheid. Language barrier was eliminated; Xhosa was used in the Eastern Cape. The use of closed questions was eliminated in order to avoid the assumptions. There were six open questions in total; each interview session lasted not longer than 30 minutes. Ethical research was maintained throughout the study. The interests of the participants were respected.

Six interview questions were

- Kha undixelele, wazintoni ngoMkhonto weSizwe (uMkhonto)?

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- Ucinga okokuba yintoni eyenza kusekwe uMkhonto?
- Ucinga okokuba uRhulumente wengcinezelo wawuzakwenza ntoni xa uMkhonto ungasekwanga?
- Yintoni ngoRhulumente wabantu?
- Kha undixelele, ucinga okokuba yintoni eyenza abantu bajoyine uMkhonto?
- Ucinga okokuba yiyiphi indima eyadlalwa nguMkhonto phambi kolunyulo lozwe wonke ngo-1994?

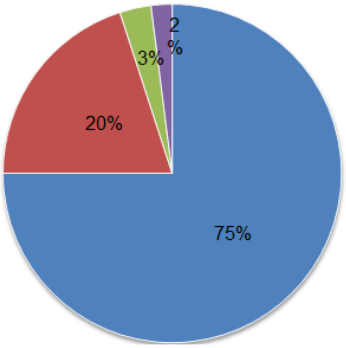

Fig. 2 **Qualitative Study Findings**

The leading findings of 75% reveal that MK was and is still accepted as people's human rights advocate. Similarities were noted both in the Eastern Cape and Soweto. The key findings were that, MK defended the interests of unarmed vulnerable oppressed citizens. At no particular order, the researcher had chosen few responses to question

1."If we (togetherness) failed to act the time the regime was busy slaughtering our parents, our brothers and sisters; our land was facing race cleansing. That racist De Klerk once made noise about the ANC being a terrorist group, what a disastrous thought. Amabhulu (White South Africans) were very cruel. Our people struggled others fell along the way but you too; you aware Rome was never built in one day. Human Rights were important in MK agenda." P.1

Many participant shared similar thoughts as P.1

"It was unfair to jail people, it was unfair to kill people, but we learnt a lesson. My disability was worrying those days because I felt the police would just come and kill me because I could not run, I cannot run I relied and still rely from people's help; as you can see. MK & ANC had done a good job." P. 17

Another participant did not differ in views, "MK was a solution, I remember when we were gathering in our own village in the 60s, the helicopter flew over us and we lifted a white cloth. They shot some of us, we had no weapons, we through our sticks. What could you do? Life was difficult; we hoped that one day things would be better." P. 35

Similarities and Differences

The 2% population that had similarities and differences cannot be disregarded

One participant said, "I am happy to live without carrying a passbook, that apartheid was cruel. My problem is that, I was born long time ago, never been to school and I live on doing people's gardens. MK was a police for the public. But now where are the jobs? I struggle because I do not qualify for pensioner's grant. Get me a job or tell people to help me." P.32

Another participant said, "I overjoyed when Mandela was release, I always wanted to see this man and his soldiers. The world respects Mandela, why was he in jail? His time was wasted; our time was wasted; now we are free at last. MK was good to get Mandela out of jail"

(Qualitative) Findings: This response reveals how MK was appreciated and its engagement theorised on advocating

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human rights, human security and peace. The outcome favours the title of this paper.

Quantitative research:

Questionnaires

The study was carried out in two areas: Port Shepstone, KwaZulu Natal and in Soweto, Johannesburg. Questionnaires were given to two target groups, those who were born in the 60's and the other group of individuals born after 1994. Total of 200 participants in two groups were randomly selected around the shopping malls and taxi ranks. There were 4 volunteers helping the researcher. During the study, both genders were represented at 50/50. Each area was represented by 100 participants (100 in Soweto and 100 in Port Shepstone).

There were six questions in English, those who could not understand English were helped by a fluent Zulu speaking interpreter.

Questions

- There were six simplest questions
- Was MK needed during apartheid?
- Was MK part of the ANC?
- Without Tambo; MK could collapse?
- MK was people liberation movement?
- Apartheid led to formation of MK?
- Was MK based and or set to advocate human rights?

Rating

Questionnaires were handed and collected from the 200 participants. The questions were rated as follows:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree and
- Strongly disagree
- Outcome

Combined 200 Questionnaires handed out:

10 were messed up, had two ticks in at least up to three questions: out of these 4 were from Soweto and 6 from Port Shepstone

164 participants strongly agreed in 5 questions: 90 from Soweto and 74 from Shepstone

18 rated all questions to agree: 2 from Soweto and 16 from Port Shepstone

Whereas, 8 were neither agree nor disagree 4 for Port Shepstone and 4 for Soweto

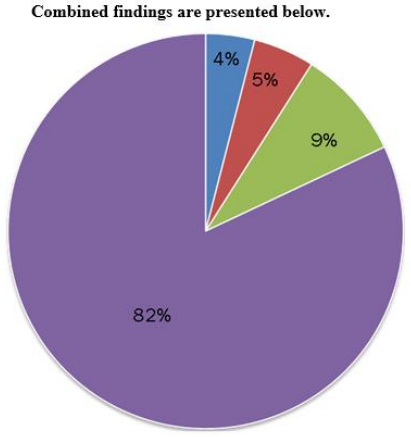

Fig. 3 **Quantitative Findings**

Results, the audience has been proven to agree that MK was an advocate for HR, human security and peace. The most popular answer "strongly agree" was for question (d). The outcome of this study solidified the outcome from the qualitative research.

Overall findings from both studies

This study has proven that MK was the human rights, human security and peace

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advocate. This unique study with its essential significance embedded in literature gap is driven by the findings to call upon the adoption of this newly proposed unique African Born Global Peace Theory (MK Theory). This theory will prescribe a legitimate global scale to ease the identification of liberation movements. The future theory needs global endorsement hence MK contributed to silhouette human rights, human security, peace under the construction of justice and democracy. It is proven that MK never had a biased interest as it [MK] never contested for the democratic election; but was only interested to witness freedom from the oppressor. MK members (from different political parties) united rallying behind the democratic elections of 1994.

Therefore, the findings have proven the problem hypothesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who fought and or contributed to the freedom of the oppressed. The late selfless South African political giants, Mr O.R. Tambo, Mr Tembisile Hani, Mrs Nomzamo Winnie Mandela and many more who are still alive and those who fell along the way, Solomon Mahlangu, Steve Biko and all others remain valued. I express thanks to the four late Ingquza Massacre survivors whom I had an opportunity to meet with, joke with, learn from them, inherit knowledge and wisdom from them for many years especially during the democratic infancy epoch in 1994. The late amaMpondo political giants: Tat'uMkhupheni, tat'uNyawose, tat'uGxabu notata uSilangwe. I acknowledge the continental leadership that held Africa together, to name the few, Mr Kenneth Kaunda (the first Zambian President); the late African leaders, Mr Julius Nyerere, (of Tanzania), Mr Ben Bella (Algeria), Mr Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) and all others not named will always be valued, remembered and loved. A special thanks to the Former Army General Bantu Holomisa, a former leader of Transkei who was the first to call home all banned political parties. Without prejudice, the former General opened his gates and doors to the exiled. I cannot fail to give a special word of thanks to my late loving mother, mama "Maradebe Radi" and my late father utata "Bonakele" (Hayi le Mbila; Mnt'omnyama). My loving parents paved the way, removed obstacles and utilised their limited resources to send myself and my sister "Nomzamo" to school. They were not only parents to me but, they were my role models, my pillars and strength who nourished us with unconditional love. My late parents made me understand human value. I give special thanks and love to my children.

Last but not least, I cannot fail expressing a special gratitude to my best friend (in South Africa) who heavily supported my political knowledge and my academic development

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Author: - Ntombizifikile Mkoyana
Fikile's Global Services Consultancy Services, UK
GARI Publisher | Human Rights | Volume: 04 | Issue: 05
Article ID: IN/GARI/ICPCM/2018/168 | Pages: 69-70 (11)
ISSN 2424-6492 | ISBN 978-955-7153-00-1
Edit: GARI Editorial Team | Received: 20.01.2019 | Publish: 08.02.2019

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