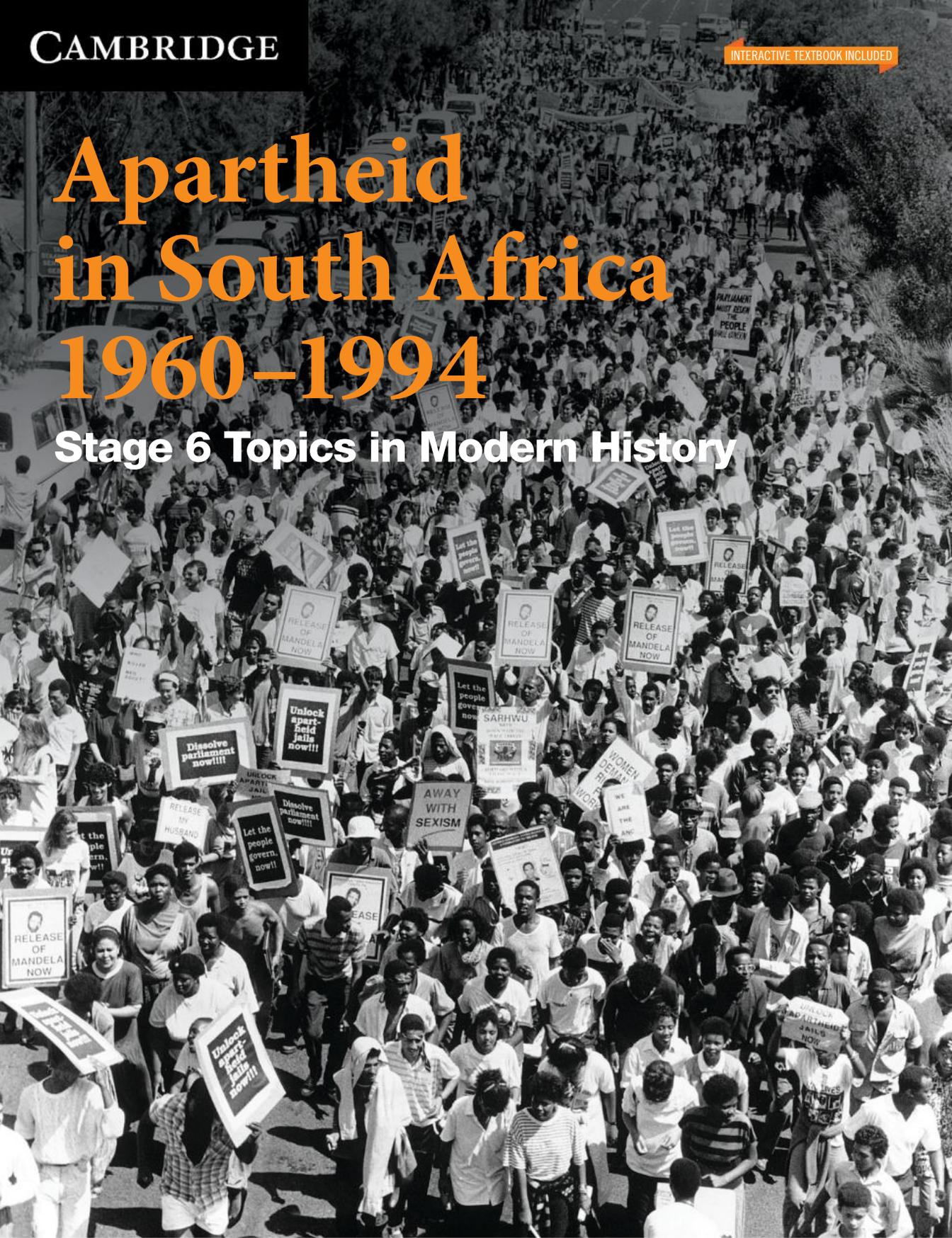


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# Apartheid in South Africa 1960–1994

Stage 6 Topics in Modern History



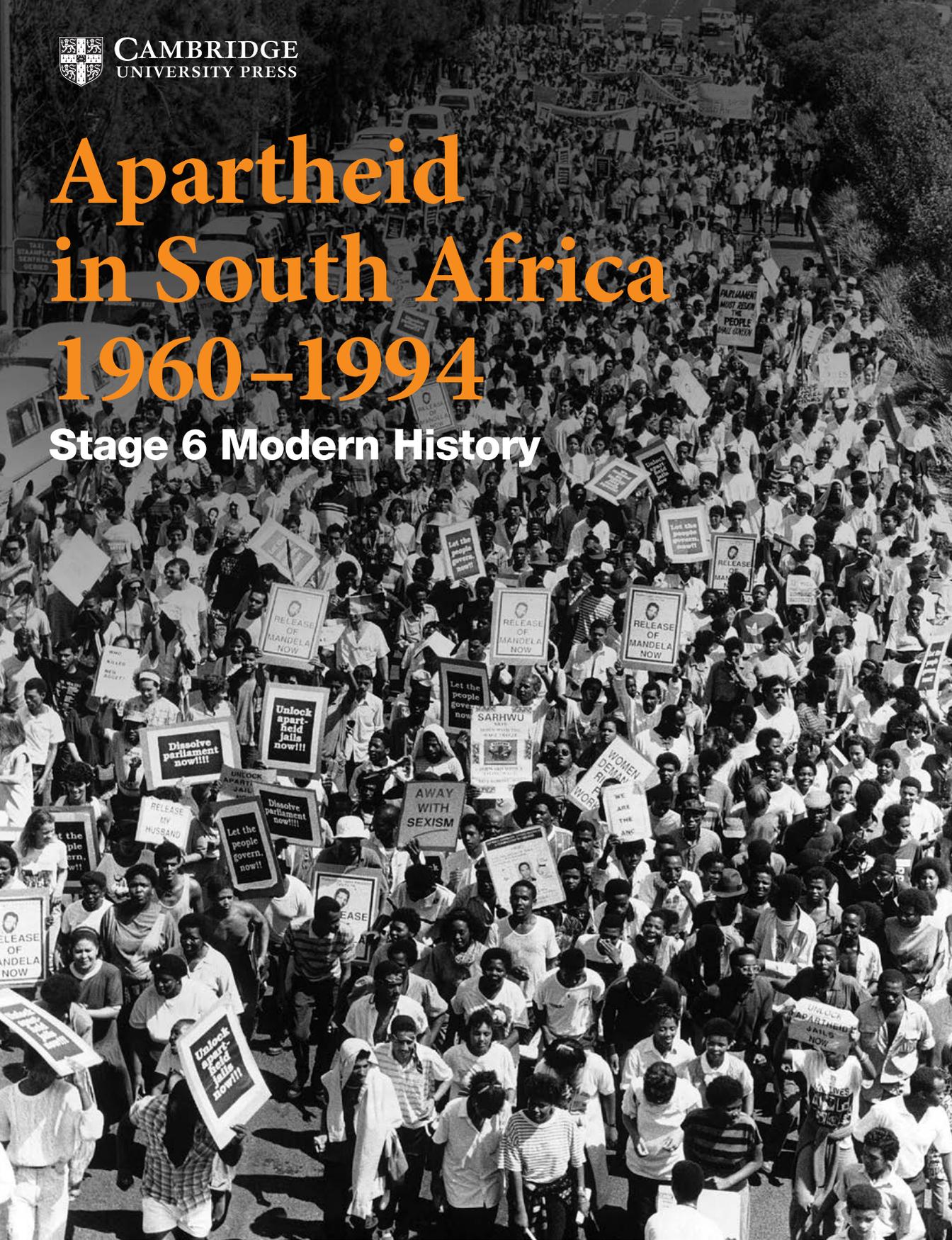
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# Apartheid in South Africa 1960–1994

Stage 6 Modern History



TROY NEALE

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## About the author

### TROY NEALE

Troy is a head teacher of History at Macquarie Fields High School. He is a successful author of junior and senior history textbooks and has received the Premier's Scholarship for Modern History. Troy has written teaching resources for NESA and is a HSC marker for Modern History. Troy is co-author of *Cambridge Checkpoints HSC Modern History* and *Power and Authority in the Modern World 1919–1946*.

## Author acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my wife Kylie and children Jonathan and Kate for their ongoing love and patience while I wrote this book. Also, to my colleagues in the History faculty at Macquarie Fields High School for their valuable advice and support.

The publisher would also like to acknowledge the significant contribution of the following educators, whose insights as reviewers of the manuscript helped to shape the direction of the finished product. Dr Kay Carroll, Mr Michael Kapitanow, and Ms Hennette Calitz, thank you all very much.

## Introduction

**Apartheid in South Africa 1960–1994** has been written to closely follow the NSW Stage 6 Modern History syllabus outcomes for Change in the Modern World Option F: Apartheid 1960–1994. It offers students a broad perspective on the concept of change in the modern world with an in-depth study of the *rise and fall of apartheid*. It provides students a historical lens through which to study the complex social and political legislation of apartheid which dominated South African society in the twentieth century. **Apartheid in South Africa 1960–1994** empowers students to explore in-depth the themes of differing visions of democracy, the nature and impact of apartheid and the role and impact of state terror and repression on South African society. The crucial role of the African National Congress in protesting and organising nationwide and international resistance to apartheid is comprehensively examined using speeches and primary source documents for students to engage with and practise their historical skills. A close study of South African society during the period explores political, economic and social change as a result of apartheid policy and ultimately the national and international reasons that brought about the collapse of apartheid. Important events in South African history such as the 1976 Soweto uprising, which transformed the international fight against the apartheid regime, are explored along with other significant historical events that took place in the ‘struggle’. **Apartheid in South Africa 1960–1994** also traces the rise to prominence of Nelson Mandela and other key figures that fought against apartheid. The text uses easy-to-follow chronologies and a glossary of terms for rapid student reference. Key individuals, historically important terms and concepts are briefly summarised and explained at the end of each chapter for students to revise. The text also enables students to practise historical skills using their knowledge to engage with primary and secondary sources and to explore the opinions of a number of historians on important events that shaped and influenced South Africa during the apartheid era.

During the period covered within this book, terms that can be viewed as derogatory (such as ‘blacks’, ‘whites’ and ‘coloureds’) were often used. These terms have been used only in their historical context.

## Dedication

For Joel Chapman – a natural teacher who inspired us all.

## About the cover



Thousands of protesters march for the release of anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela, in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1987. In 1964, Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment for crimes against the state, including treason, and over time became the international symbol of the fight against South Africa's apartheid system.

# Apartheid – timeline of key events

## Early history



- 1652** Jan van Riebeeck, representing the Dutch East India Company, founds the Cape Colony at Table Bay (pictured above: *Jan van Riebeeck arrives in Table Bay in April 1652*, Charles Davison Bell, date unknown).
- 1795** British forces seize Cape Colony from the Netherlands (Dutch). Territory is returned to the Dutch in 1803; ceded to the British in 1806.
- 1816–1826** Shaka Zulu founds and expands the Zulu empire, and creates a formidable fighting force.
- 1835–1840** Boers leave Cape Colony in the 'Great Trek' and settle in the regions north of the Orange River and the Vaal River.
- 1852** British grant limited self-government to the Transvaal.
- 1856** Natal separates from the Cape Colony.
- Late 1850s** Boers proclaim sovereign republics, the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Orange Free State.
- 1860–1891** Arrival of thousands of labourers and traders from India, forebears of the majority of South Africa's current Indian population.
- 1867** Diamonds discovered at Kimberley.
- 1877** British annex the Transvaal.
- 1879** British defeat the Zulus in Natal.
- 1880–1881** Boers rebel against the British, sparking the first Anglo-Boer War. Conflict ends with a negotiated peace. Transvaal is restored as a republic.
- Mid 1880s** Gold is discovered in the Transvaal, triggering the gold rush.
- 1899** British troops gather on the Transvaal border and ignore an ultimatum to disperse.  
The second Anglo-Boer War begins.

1902	Treaty of Vereeniging ends the second Anglo-Boer War. The Transvaal and Orange Free State are made self-governing colonies of the British Empire.
1910	Former British colonies of Cape Colony and Natal and the Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State become a single self-governed country – the Union of South Africa.
1912	Native National Congress founded, and later renamed the African National Congress (ANC).
1913	Land Act introduced to prevent blacks, except those living in Cape Province (formerly Cape Colony), from buying land outside reserves.
1914	National Party founded.
1918	Secret Broederbond (brotherhood) is established to advance the Afrikaner (white) cause.
1919	South West Africa (today's Namibia) comes under South African administration.
1934	The Union of South Africa parliament enacts the Status of the Union Act, which declares the country to be 'a sovereign independent state'. The move follows on from Britain's passing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, which removes the last vestiges of British legal authority over South Africa.

## Apartheid period



1948	Apartheid (separateness) is adopted as the official government policy of South Africa when Dr Malan's National Party (NP) takes power. The apartheid system privileges the white minority over the majority black population and people of other ethnicities.
1949	Program of Action is adopted by the ANC – transforming the party from an organisation led by middle-class liberals aiming to persuade for change to a more militant liberation movement demanding freedom.

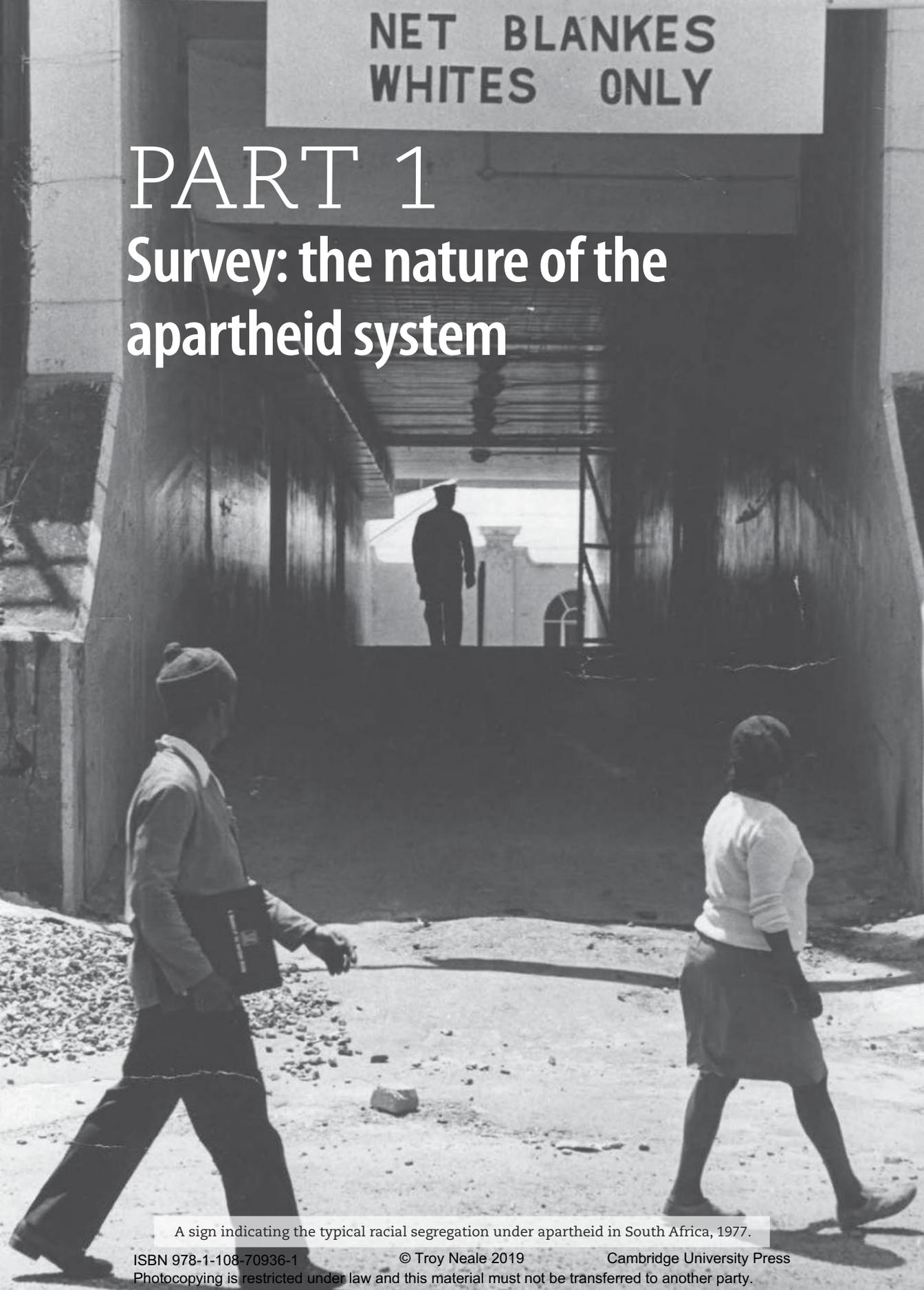
<b>1950</b>	Group Areas Act passed to segregate blacks and whites. The Communist Party is banned. ANC responds with campaign of civil disobedience, led by Nelson Mandela.
<b>1952</b>	Defiance Campaign
<b>1955</b>	Freedom Charter is adopted. Over 3000 delegates form the Congress of the People to write an idealistic document that outlines the basic rights and freedoms that are denied under apartheid.
<b>1959</b>	A splinter group within the ANC, led by Robert Sobukwe, break away from the ANC to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).
<b>1960</b>	Sixty-nine black demonstrators protesting against the pass system are killed and over 180 protesters are wounded by police at the town of Sharpeville. ANC and PAC are banned.
<b>1961</b>	South Africa is declared a republic, and leaves the Commonwealth. Mandela heads ANC's new military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (meaning Spear of the Nation and called MK for short), which launches sabotage campaign against the apartheid government.
<b>1960s</b>	International pressure against government begins, and South Africa is excluded from Olympic Games.
<b>1963–1964</b>	ANC leader Nelson Mandela on criminal trial at Rivonia; is sentenced to life imprisonment for treason.
<b>1966</b>	September – Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd is assassinated.
<b>1970s</b>	More than 3 million people forcibly resettled in black 'homelands'.
<b>1976</b>	Soweto uprising – more than 600 people killed in clashes between black protesters and security forces during riots which start in the town of Soweto. Nationwide student protests.
<b>1977</b>	Stephen Biko, a radical leader who begins the Black Consciousness Movement, dies suspiciously in police custody, increasing outrage against the government; UN enforces an arms embargo on South Africa.
<b>1983</b>	United Democratic Front forms.
<b>1984</b>	Archbishop Desmond Tutu wins Nobel Peace Prize for anti-apartheid political activism.
<b>1984</b>	Township revolts against apartheid begin across the country.
<b>1985</b>	P.W. Botha becomes President. International sanctions imposed on South Africa.
<b>1986</b>	State of emergency is declared, officially lasting until 1990.

- 1989** F.W. de Klerk replaces Botha as president, and meets Mandela. Public facilities desegregated. Many ANC activists freed.
- 1990** The ban on the ANC is lifted; Mandela is released after 27 years in prison. Namibia becomes independent.
- 1991** Start of multiparty talks. De Klerk repeals remaining apartheid laws, international sanctions lifted. Major fighting between ANC and Inkatha Freedom Movement.
- 1993** Agreement on interim constitution.  
Mandela and De Klerk jointly win the Nobel Peace Prize for their work to end apartheid.

## Post-apartheid period



- 1994** April – ANC wins first non-racial elections. Mandela becomes President, Government of National Unity formed, Commonwealth membership restored and remaining sanctions lifted. South Africa takes seat in UN General Assembly after 20-year absence.
- 1995** Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is set up to investigate crimes committed during the apartheid period.
- 1996** First hearings of the TRC commence.
- 1998** The hearings of the TRC end and the findings are handed down.
- 1999** Mandela leaves office and Thabo Mbeki becomes President of South Africa.
- 2013** Nelson Mandela dies.



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# PART 1

## Survey: the nature of the apartheid system

A sign indicating the typical racial segregation under apartheid in South Africa, 1977.

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# 1

## What was apartheid?

At the end of this topic you should attempt to answer the following question:  
**How did the policy of apartheid develop in South Africa?**

### Key syllabus features

The key features are:

- differing visions of democracy
- nature and impact of apartheid.

The key features provide the basis for HSC examination questions.

### 1.1 Apartheid: historical context

#### FOCUSQUESTION

What was apartheid in South Africa?

#### Background – racial segregation in South Africa

The history of South Africa during the twentieth century can only be fully understood through the lens of **apartheid**, which is an *Afrikaans* word translating to *apartness*. The South African preoccupation with race was the most pervasive force in its history, and to some extent remains so today. Race and **segregation** not only dominated politics in South Africa, but also had a major influence on the economic and social lives of every citizen. Apartheid policies and the subsequent social engineering created a deeply divided society.



**Figure 1.1** Segregation and racism against black people had long been institutionalised in South Africa. In this illustration from a 1906 French book, the *Journal des Voyages*, black people create a scene by walking on a Johannesburg footpath reserved for white people. At the time, they were supposed to walk in the road, as footpaths were for privileged white people.

Segregation, and what would become apartheid, was certainly not a South African phenomenon. The history of Europe and the United States of America show clearly that various forms of segregation were employed in British colonial territories and many parts of the United States, particularly in the Deep South of America, where the infamous Jim Crow laws prevailed until the late 1960s. In Australia, different government policies towards Indigenous Australians denied citizenship, access to land, and rights and freedoms.

What was unique about the situation in South Africa was that apartheid policy was a device for a very small racial minority to dominate and economically exploit a very large racial majority through the combination of an extensive legal system and police violence. The minority white population feared the danger from the majority African population, which they called the *swart gevaar* or ‘black danger’, and they wanted to preserve their white culture and heritage as separate from all other races.



**Figure 1.2** ‘Natives – men, women and children – should only be allowed in urban areas when their presence is demanded by the wants of the white population.’ – a statement by Government official Charles Stallard in 1922

Between 1910 and 1948, the South African Government pursued measures to deprive black people and **coloureds** (people of mixed racial origins) of the right to vote or own land. Government legislation allowed ‘surplus’ African people to be removed from cities, creating many ‘whites-only’ areas.

Apartheid, developed in the 1930s and 1940s, was similar to the policy of segregation, which it replaced. The term was used commonly in discussions about race and politics by Afrikaner Nationalists who wanted white domination in South Africa. During the 1930s and 1940s, South Africa became a modern industrialised and urbanised nation and apartheid was a reaction by Afrikaners to this rapid change.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, there were a number of different political parties among the white population in South Africa. In 1934, Prime Minister **J.B.M. Hertzog** wanted unification with the party of **Jan Smuts** and subsequently formed the **United Party**. Unhappy with this alliance, many Afrikaners saw this as a betrayal and left the party. **Dr D.F. Malan**, a minister in the Hertzog government, formed a new party of Afrikaners, the **Purified National Party**.

**Afrikaners** (also called **Boers**) were white South Africans whose ancestors were Dutch, French and German colonists. Afrikaners felt disempowered by black Africans in the workforce and by the power and economic success of English-speaking South Africans (especially as South Africa was part of the British Commonwealth, and Afrikaners had a longstanding rivalry with whites of British heritage). Afrikaners believed that Prime Minister Jan Smuts, who had originally supported racial segregation and opposed the right to vote for black Africans, had begun to oppose segregation. Afrikaner voters felt that Smuts had not been able to adequately apply the policies of segregation to advance the living conditions of Afrikaners and deal with the problem of the ‘poor white’ status of many Afrikaner people.

### The policy of segregation

### What does the word apartheid mean?

### Rise of the National Party and creation of the apartheid state

### The Afrikaners

## Did you know?

This is an image of the old flag of South Africa from 1928, which remained the national flag until the end of apartheid in 1994. The flag shows its European ties: the three flags in the centre represent the former British colonies of Cape Colony and Natal with the Union Jack on the left, followed by the flags of the former Boer republics of Orange Free State and the South African Republic on the right.



**Figure 1.3** The Voortrekker Monument is located in Pretoria in South Africa. The granite structure was built to honour the Voortrekkers who left the Cape Colony between 1835 and 1854.

The new (Purified) National Party (NP) believed it represented the ‘true’ South Africans – the Afrikaners whose ancestors were **trekboers** who farmed and settled in South Africa since the 1600s. The National Party heavily promoted **Afrikaner Nationalism**, creating the Voortrekker Monument dedicated to the trekboers at Pretoria. The surge in Afrikaner nationalism also resulted in a 1938 propaganda film called *Bou van ‘n Nasie*, translated as ‘They built a nation’. This popular film, released to celebrate the centenary of the Great

Trek, was based on the myth of Afrikaners’ racial superiority and their struggle to survive against hostile forces in Africa.

Afrikaner nationalism grew stronger. It stressed the uniqueness of Afrikaners as God’s chosen people. The largest white church, the Dutch Reformed Church, gave support to this view, and used the Tower of Babel Bible story to justify separation of the races. Afrikaners also used their selected retelling of the history of the **Great Trek** and the **Battle of Blood River** (an 1838 conflict where 470 Voortrekkers faced off against some 15 000 Zulu warriors) to justify their ideas of racial superiority. These ideas would eventually be formalised in the doctrine of apartheid.

### Afrikaner affirmative action

During World War II, many black South Africans entered the cities and urban areas to work. In 1942, Jan Smuts commented on this situation, arguing that the government could try to regulate it but couldn’t stop it happening: ‘one might as well try to sweep the ocean back with a broom’. After the war, white South Africans, particularly Afrikaners, believed they would be swamped by black Africans and the whites would be forced to surrender economic and political power. The Afrikaners in the National Party vowed to protect the white population from losing out economically to black South Africans and they also vowed to protect the ‘poor whites’.

The National Party, under the leadership of Dr D.F. Malan, also believed that Afrikaners would be undermined by historically wealthier English South Africans, Jews and Indians. Apartheid effectively became a platform of both Afrikaner affirmative action to protect the interest of the Afrikaners and a doctrine of racial segregation described as separateness.

Afrikaners face a new trek – to the city. There black and white compete in the same labour market. The task is to make South Africa a white man's land.

Dr D.F. Malan

The result in the 1948 election was a victory for the new National Party, campaigning on the apartheid platform under Dr Malan. The National Party won more than 79 seats in parliament. The National Party would stay in power for another 46 years as the ruling party of white South Africa. For political historian James Hamill:

An almost Nazi like emphasis on preserving the 'purity of the white race' was central to the NP campaign message in 1948. This was coupled with the view that that their opponents, the United Party led by Prime Minister Jan Smuts, had no 'big idea' to place before the white electorate to rival the apartheid slogan.

James Hamill, 'Remembering South Africa's catastrophe: the 1948 poll that heralded apartheid', *The Conversation*, 24 May 2018



**Figure 1.4** The National Party Government of South Africa elected in 1948, with Prime Minister D.F. Malan seated in the centre

After the election in 1948, in which only white South Africans were entitled to vote, the government set about implementing a raft of apartheid legislation that was calculated and systematic, and essentially 'legalised' racism in South Africa, all for the purpose of advancing the rights and freedoms of the minority white South Africans. Apartheid policies would remain in place in South Africa until the early 1990s.



**Figure 1.5** A white South African father watches his two young children playing on a swing set near an apartheid sign reading, 'Slegs Blankes; Whites Only' in a public park in Stilfontein, 1990

## Activities

### Source analysis 1.1

#### Analysing historical photographs

Analyse the following series of images.

**Source 1.A** In December 1949, a crowd of 175 000 people attended a huge celebration in honour of their country's Boer pioneers at the site of the Voortrekker Monument.



(Below left) Voortrekker Monument Dedication Ceremony: A group of women in white, full-length dresses and bonnets at the dedication ceremony of the Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria, 16 December 1949

Source 1.B

(Below right) Bas-relief (a type of art in which shapes are cut from the surrounding stone) of Zulu natives killing the Boer pioneer hero Piet Retief, located in the Voortrekker Monument, designed by architect Gerard Moerdyk



### Questions

1. What is the Voortrekker Monument?
2. When was it built?
3. Using the evidence provided by the photographs, what types of people attended the 1949 opening dedication ceremony to the Voortrekker Monument?
4. Outline how the bas-relief fit into Afrikaners' beliefs concerning their position in late 1940s South Africa.
5. Explain how the monument reflects changes to politics in South Africa following World War II.

## 1.2 Political, economic, social and demographic issues in South Africa in 1960

What was South African society like in 1960?

### FOCUSQUESTION

#### Political issues in South Africa in 1960

At the end World War II, Africa was a rapidly changing continent. **Decolonisation** became the driving force of change. Colonial power was replaced by indigenous control that had either been granted or obtained by force. The

Decolonisation and  
'The Winds of Change'

majority of African nations achieved their independence in the 1950s and 1960s. As decolonisation gained pace, hundreds of years of colonial rule by Britain, France, Portugal, Spain and Belgium came to an end.

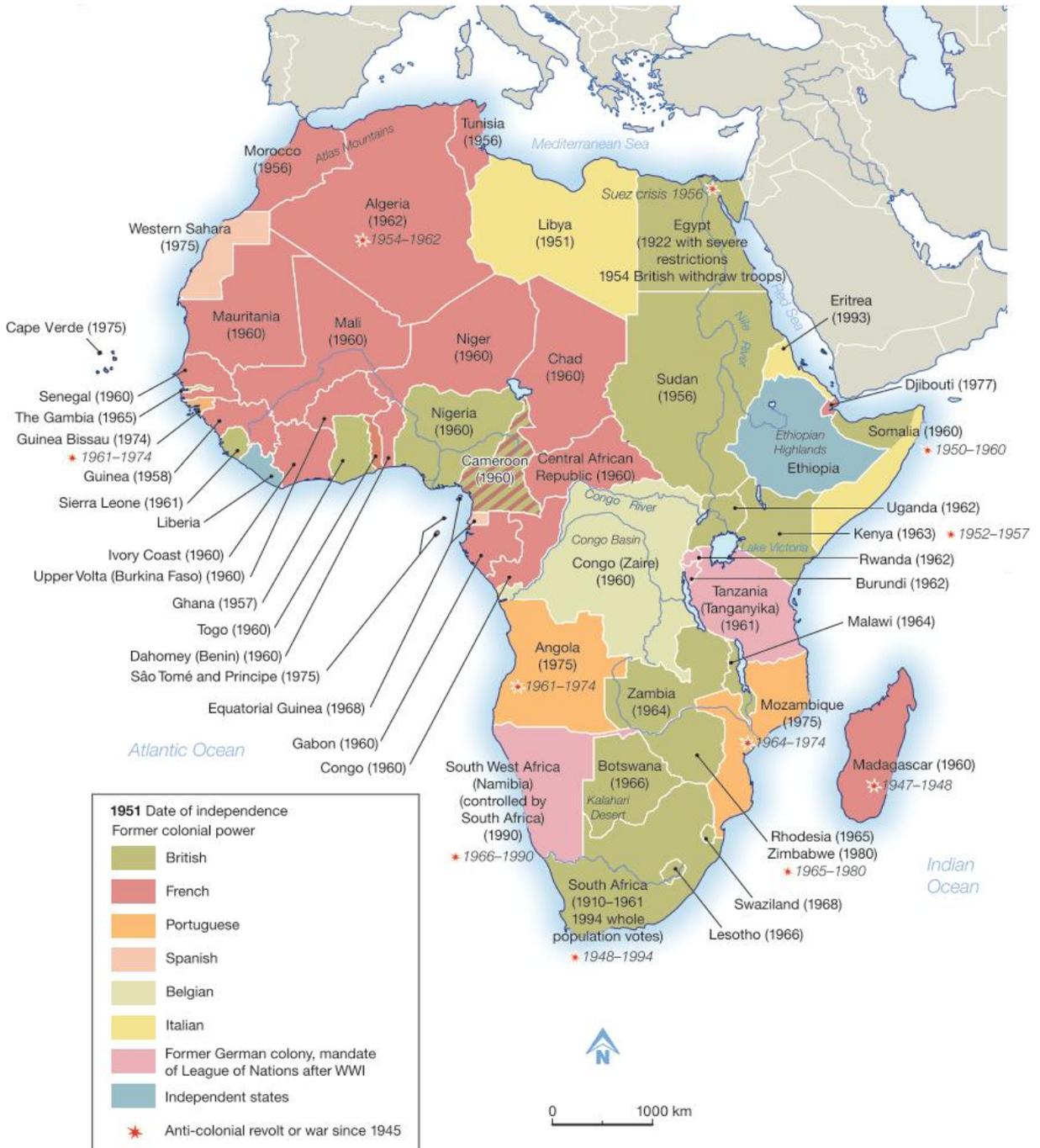


Figure 1.6 Map showing the decolonisation of Africa post-World War II

The European withdrawal from African colonies was a direct challenge to the white minority government of South Africa. In April 1960, Eric Louw, the South African Foreign Minister, accurately predicted that white rule would soon be confined to the Portuguese territories (Angola and Mozambique), Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. As part of the British Commonwealth, South Africa deemed decolonisation to be a betrayal of South Africa and the 'white man', and as a result left white South Africa open to attack by 'immature' black communist nations to the north. As this was during the time of the Cold War, concern about the spread of communism was a real factor.

The rapid advance of decolonisation left South Africa increasingly isolated on the continent. The newly free African states would not tolerate the racism and oppression of black Africans by white governments any longer. Internationally, both the United Nations (UN) and the **Organisation of African Unity (OAU)** demanded South Africa enter the modern world and end its racial policies.

In 1960, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan toured Africa. He observed the growing strength of African nationalism. The concluding address of his visit was made to the South African Parliament at Cape Town. In this speech, known as the famous '**Winds of Change**' speech, he made clear his belief that segregation and racism was ending, and should end in South Africa and other places where it existed.



**Figure 1.7** British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan (pictured raising his hat), with South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, Johannesburg, South Africa, February 1960



**Figure 1.8** British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan greets the crowds during his visit to Maseru, Basutoland (now Lesotho), February 1960

## Activities

### Source analysis 1.2

#### Analysing political cartoons.

Analyse the two political cartoons.

Source 1.C ‘Gulliver Africanus’, a British political cartoon from 1953 by Leslie Illingworth, which appeared in *Punch Magazine*



**‘Union of South Africa’, a British political cartoon from 1954 by Norman Mansbridge, which appeared in *Punch* Magazine**

Source 1.D



**Questions**

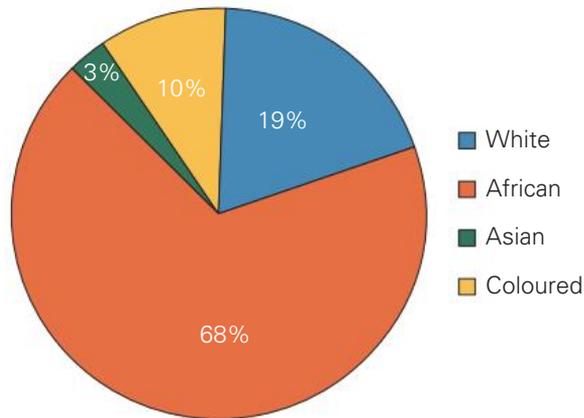
1. Who or what does the giant in Source 1.C represent?
2. What is the significance of the title of Source 1.C?
3. Even though it was published seven years earlier, how does the cartoon relate to Harold Macmillan's tour of Africa?
4. How does the cartoon depict South Africa at this time?
5. Try to identify the figures in Source 1.D. (Hint: one is famous, the other represents a group of people).
6. Explain what the figures are doing to each other in Source 1.D.
7. Explain why the title of Source 1.D is ironic (meaning the artist has used words that are the opposite of what they really mean). Does the title have multiple layers of meaning? (Hint: it may help to refer back to the photograph on page 5.)
8. Explain how both sources 1.C and 1.D are evidence of international criticism of the South African government's racial policies at the time.

## Demographic and social issues in South Africa in 1960

By 1960, under apartheid, the population of South Africa was officially classified into four groups: Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Blacks (the indigenous population). Though white South Africans lived a privileged lifestyle, they hardly made up the majority of the population. Below is a breakdown of the 16 million people living in South Africa at the time.

Census Year	Population of S.A.	White	African	Asian	Coloured
1904	5 175 463	21.6%	67.5%	2.4%	8.6%
1960	16 003 139	19.3%	68.3%	3.0%	9.4%
2011	51 770 560	8.9%	79.2%	2.5%	8.9%

Percentage of South African population in 1960



**Figure 1.9** A breakdown of the population of South Africa into ethnic groups in 1960

Source: (1904 data) *Smuts I: The Sanguine Years 1870–1919*, W.K. Hancock, Cambridge University Press, 1962, p. 219; (1960 data) *The Statesman's Year-Book, 1967–1968* (104th annual edition), edited by S.H. Steinberg, Macmillan, London; St. Martin's Press, New York, 1967, pp. 1405–1424 and (2011 data) *South African National Census of 2011*.

## Activities

### Source analysis 1.3

#### Questions

1. Analyse the data in the table and explain what has changed and what has remained the same in terms of population over time in South Africa.
2. Research how this data from South Africa compares to census data from Australia for the same period of time.

### Source analysis 1.4

Read the following source and then answer the questions that follow.

My mother was furious. The operators of the gas station in rural, racist South Africa had taken her money to fill the car, but would not give her the key to the toilets. They were for whites only.

It was the early 1960s, and apartheid was the law of the land.

So my indomitable mum did the only thing she could do: She ordered me and my two sisters to urinate right there, very publicly, in front of the fuel pumps.

We did not disobey, but I started crying – and my sisters bawled, too. We lowered our shorts, but I was so traumatized that I simply could not go.

My widowed mother, Ethel Pillay, had driven us from our home in Zimbabwe, which was then called Rhodesia, to visit family in her native South Africa.

There was racism in Rhodesia, too, but it was nothing like the institutionalized code in South Africa that made blacks subhuman – the system that Nelson Mandela later fought to bring down.

We had been on the road for more than 15 hours that day. We were taking the car because the train ride was difficult for a woman with three children and lots of baggage.

The train also was an uncomfortable ride for blacks: Halfway through the trip, in the middle of the night, they would have to get out of the Rhodesian Railways compartments and transfer to decrepit blacks-only South African carriages.

The car trip presented its own challenges. Hotels catered only to whites, so the drive needed to be nonstop. We also had to carry piles of food and drinks because my mother refused to go to the back door of shops; only whites were allowed inside the stores.

In those days, of course, we didn't say 'blacks' and 'whites'. Black people were called 'Africans', we were 'colored' to designate our mixed race, and whites were called 'Europeans'.

Sometimes those lines got blurred. South Africa had a crazy system of deciding your race, including whether the moons of your fingernails were a bit more mauve than white, indicating a hint of black blood. There also was the test of whether a pencil would stay in your hair, indicating it must be of kinky black stock. If the pencil slid through, you could be considered white.

Under such rules of apartheid, Chinese were classified colored despite their straight hair; Japanese were white.

Blacks who wanted to be reclassified as colored also could undergo the pencil test: if it fell out when you shook your head, you could become colored.



The railway platform at De Aar station, a rural town where train lines from different parts of the country meet. Although this photo was taken approximately two decades after the Faul family's experiences, conditions would have been as difficult for 'non-White' travellers under apartheid.

Tens of thousands of people changed their race in this manner. Sometimes it was not voluntary and led to families being forcibly separated – even children from their parents – if one member was deemed not to belong to the same race. It was not unusual, in the colored community, to find siblings ranging in shades from deepest black to fair with blond hair.

I remember the sorrow brought on our family because one of my mother's sisters 'played white'. When she was in her 90s, my grandmother recounted how her own daughter walked past her in the street, pretending not to know her. But with the pain still stark in her eyes, she told me, 'That's what she had to do to make a better life for herself and her children.'

Being white meant you got decent health care, your kids could go to school, and you could live where you wanted.

Blacks were corralled into townships, if they could get jobs in the city. If not, their urban shacks often were bulldozed and they were forcibly moved to unproductive 'homelands'. This was at the heart of the policy of apartheid, or 'separateness'.

My experience was more the absurd pettiness of apartheid, rather than the brutal, state-sponsored violence used to maintain it.

If you were white, you had access to jobs denied to blacks. The only black professionals were teachers, like my mother; nurses and doctors who could only treat blacks; and lawyers, the profession chosen by Mandela, who once believed he could end apartheid by reasoning and legal argument.

We moved to England from Rhodesia when I was a child because my mother fell in love with a white man, Michael Faul, who had come to Rhodesia when he was 2. His mother strenuously objected to the marriage, and for years, she was estranged from her only son until my mother forced him to reconcile.

I remember our ship docking in Southampton. On the train ride to London, seeing whites doing menial work, I exclaimed to my mother: ‘But those are Europeans – picking up dustbins!’ It was so alien.

On subsequent visits to South Africa as a teenager, I had a British passport. That put me in the peculiar position of being an ‘honorary white’ – meaning I could stay in white hotels and, upon showing my passport, go to restaurants, movie theaters and other places reserved for whites. The exception was South Africa’s racially segregated beaches.



Under apartheid, South Africa’s beaches were especially prohibited to any non-white people

To my surprise, I realized that Johannesburg was not made up of dusty, treeless suburbs with poor homes crowded onto small plots overlooked by dumps. White people lived in green neighborhoods with paved roads and sidewalks, in lush homes with gardens, swimming pools and tennis courts.

Black people who worked in those suburbs had to have permission to live in the ‘boy’s quarters’ at the bottom of the garden – such approval was stamped into much-hated ‘passbooks’. Or they had to be out of the white suburbs before nightfall.

My mother, now writing her memoirs, recalls racism as something that ‘children were not taught. ... It seemed to be imbibed unconsciously, and automatically became a part of you’.

In Cradock, a South African town in the eastern Cape where she was living when apartheid was legalized in 1948, my English-speaking mother struggled with her studies after new laws sought to entrench white

superiority through the Afrikaans language. Once, she was ‘locked into my classroom to do my topic in history, in a foreign language I could neither read nor write.’ [...]

‘What Life Was Like In South Africa During Apartheid’, *Business Insider*,  
Michelle Faul, 9 December 2013

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### Questions

1. Identify and describe who the author is.
2. Is this a primary or a secondary source?
3. Describe some of the social privileges for whites in South Africa at that time mentioned in the source.
4. Describe some of the restrictions or disadvantages for black Africans in South Africa at that time mentioned in the source.
5. Characterise what life was like socially for different groups under apartheid.

## 1.3 Apartheid: ideology, policy and practice

### FOCUSQUESTION

How did the apartheid system operate?

#### The ideology of apartheid

An ideology is a set of beliefs or principles, especially one on which a political system, party or organisation is based. The ideological foundation of apartheid was that the different races in South Africa needed to be separated for their own mutual benefit. The main ideas of apartheid theory were based firmly on the philosophy of **scientific racism** (a pseudo-science where racists which believed that empirical evidence could justify racial discrimination). Afrikaners held that it was impossible, impracticable and ungodly for the different races and cultures to live as one. Subsequently, a policy of **separate development** would be pursued by the white government. This insistence on racial *apartness* became the political and legal doctrine of apartheid.

#### Apartheid policy and practice: the Bantustans or homelands

In 1953, the South African government introduced **homelands** or **Bantustans**, which were ethnic tribal homelands for black people. Two regions ‘Transkei and Ciskei’ were set aside for Xhosa people. These regions were proclaimed independent countries by the apartheid government. Therefore, many Xhosa were denied South African citizenship, and thousands were forcibly relocated to remote areas in Transkei and Ciskei.

The Afrikaner national government under the leadership of Prime Minister D.F. Malan ordered Professor Frederick R. Tomlinson to conduct research into the implementation of the official policy of apartheid. Professor Tomlinson advised the government that separation of the races could work if the government was prepared to finance apartheid policy. It was recommended by the Tomlinson Report that homelands (reserves) be set up in seven areas and become **Bantu** (native) homelands or Bantustans. These homelands, such

as Transkei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, would remain separated from the white community and eventually become independent. Furthermore, factories should be constructed on the borders and, over time, all black people in South Africa would live only on a prescribed Bantustan. They would enter a white area only for the purpose of work and with correct documentation in the form of a **pass book**.



**Figure 1.10** A resident of Betani village looks out over the landscape surrounding her home, Transkei, South Africa, 1988. During the apartheid era, Transkei was one of several government-designated ‘homelands’.

The **Homeland System**, introduced in the 1960s, aimed to complete the implementation of apartheid by creating independent homelands where black Africans were forced to live. These areas were impoverished rural areas with no real capacity to function as separate states. The relocation of black Africans to the homelands meant that they were no longer South African citizens and they were forced to work in the country as foreign migrants without citizens’ rights. Thirteen per cent of the country was divided into 10 homelands. Eighty per cent of the population lived in these homelands.

## Did you know?



**Figure 1.11** Hendrik Verwoerd, the ‘architect of apartheid’, speaking at a National Party campaign rally, 1 April 1958

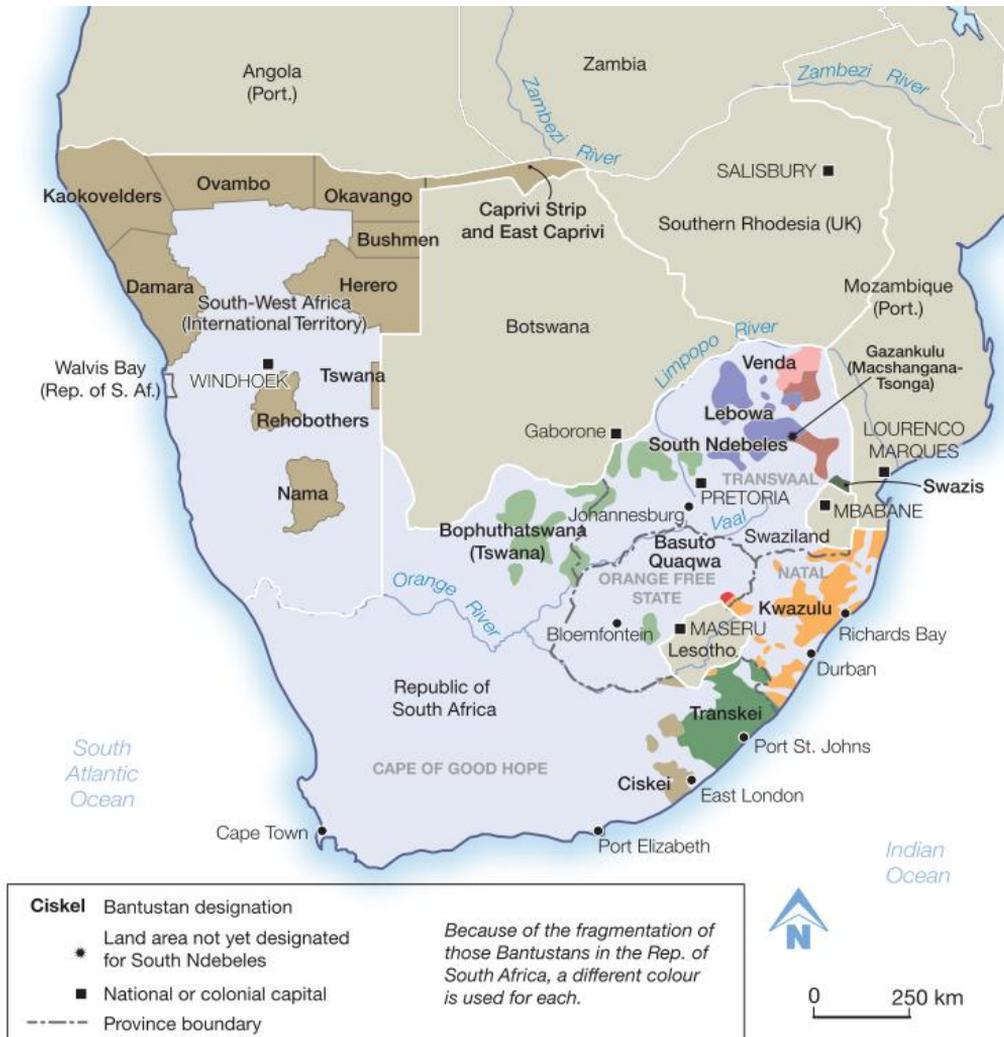
## The ‘architect’ of apartheid

**Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd** was a professor of psychology and sociology, who became prominent in South African politics in 1937, when he was appointed editor of the new nationalist daily, *Die Transvaler*, in Johannesburg. He held that post until the National Party won the 1948 election, when he was appointed a senator. Becoming Minister of Native Affairs in 1950, he was responsible for overseeing much of the apartheid legislation. In 1958, he became Prime Minister, which allowed Verwoerd to apply his apartheid program (and the parts of the Tomlinson Report he chose to) in full.

Apartheid became more and more complicated and severe in its control of non-white South Africans from the 1950s onwards. As stated, the purpose of the Bantu homelands did not have any altruistic purpose of saving the different African cultural groups, such as the Zulu and Xhosa, by keeping them separate from whites. Their key function was to keep blacks and whites separated entirely, and thus keep the white race ‘pure’. The exception was black Africans who worked as labourers for white employers.

## Did you know?

The Xhosa are the second largest cultural group in South Africa, after the Zulu-speaking nation. The four major ethnic divisions among black South Africans are the Nguni, Sotho, Shangaan-Tsonga and Venda. The Nguni represent nearly two-thirds of South Africa’s black population and can be divided into four distinct groups: the Northern and Central Nguni (the Zulu-speaking peoples), the Southern Nguni (the Xhosa-speaking peoples), the Swazi people from Swaziland and adjacent areas, and the Ndebele people of the Northern Province and Mpumalanga. Archaeological evidence shows that the Bantu-speaking groups that were the ancestors of the Nguni migrated down from East Africa as early as the eleventh century.



**Figure 1.12** A map of Bantustans or native homelands, which were created for the non-white population during the 1960s

The white government was constantly paranoid and increasingly vigilant of the ‘black peril’. The government instituted **influx control** laws to limit the number of passes issued to black South Africans, which were required to allow them to leave their homelands and work in the cities or on white farms. From 1952–1986, black South Africans over 16 were forced to carry pass books, which not only included personal details such as fingerprints, but also notes about their conduct from their (white) employer.

**Apartheid policy and practice: influx control**

Every African man had to carry a pass book, which gave him permission to be in an urban area. Only people who could find work were given a pass book, and as a result, people accepted whatever jobs they could find, often for very low wages. If an African male was unable to find work in the urban areas, he was forced to return to the rural areas.

**Pass raids** Police conducted regular pass raids. If a person's pass book was not in order or if they did not have a pass book in their possession, they were arrested, kicked out of the urban areas and sent back to the Native Homelands. Violence was routinely used by the police and it was common for black men to have been beaten or whipped by them. These pass raids happened so often that most Africans had, at one time or another, been arrested for a Pass Law offence. This had the effect of turning the majority of the African population into criminals. At the same time, the white government spent no significant finances on constructing services in the Bantustans. Public services for the black population in the homelands were either grossly insufficient or completely absent. Schools, hospitals, public transport, reliable electricity, running water, public telephones, sewerage systems, parks and playing fields were rare.

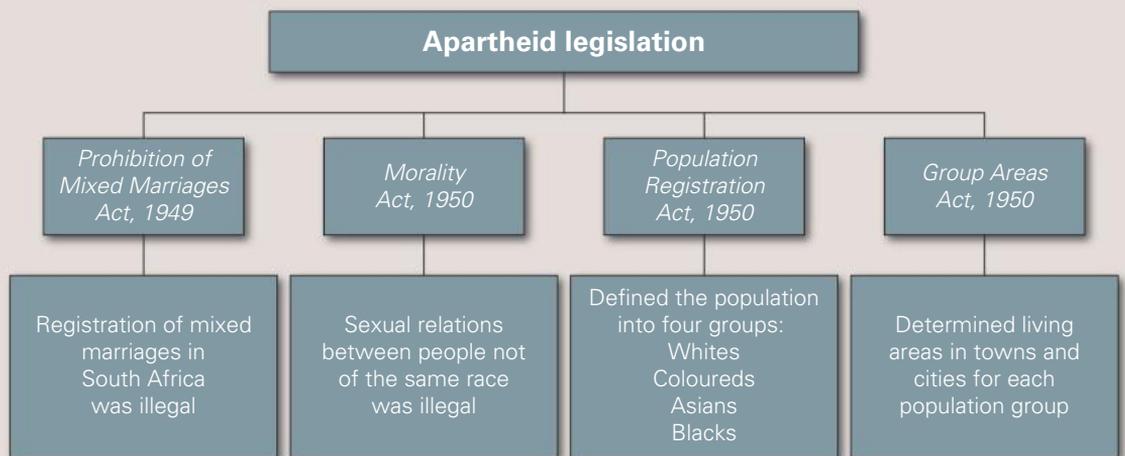
### The main principles of the apartheid policy

- Separate development for black people in their own territories according to their own national character.
- No political rights for black people in 'white' areas.
- Influx control and apartheid in industry.
- Division of black labour among the various economic sectors.
- Indians should preferably be repatriated, but otherwise would be segregated like blacks and coloureds.



**Figure 1.13** The pass book, or the 'Stinker' as it was more commonly known by the African community. All black South Africans were required to have a pass book to move into white areas for employment.

**The legal basis for apartheid** Apartheid was a dynamic policy, the scope and objectives of which were continually adapted to changing circumstances. As South African society changed, apartheid was customised into new laws and regulations that were inflexible and severely enforced by the white government.



### Major apartheid laws

- The *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act* (1949) prohibited marriages between whites and members of the other races.
- The *Immorality Amendment Act* (1950) forbade sexual relations between whites and members of other races.
- The *Population Registration Act* (1950) provided for a central population register in which all persons would be classified as whites, coloured, Asians (Indians) or blacks. Mixed marriages over generations made classification complicated and often members of one family would be classified as different races.
- The *Group Areas Act* (1950) provided for a particular area to be proclaimed as an area for a particular racial group. In 'white' areas, black people were forced to move out.
- The *Suppression of Communism Act* (1950) banned communism and all other political protest groups in South Africa.
- The *Native Laws Amendment Act* (1952) controlled the movement of black people in and out of cities.
- The *Abolition of Passes Act* (1952) did not abolish passes. In fact, it enforced pass books or reference books. It required all black men living in 'white' areas to carry a pass book containing personal details, including their racial group. Pass books needed to be renewed and this meant waiting in line in places such as the Pass House in Pretoria for lengthy periods of time.
- The *Separate Amenities Act* (1953) marked out all public places and services with signs such as for 'Europeans only' or 'for Coloureds'. Black and coloured public services were always inferior to that of whites.
- The *Bantu Education Act* (1953) placed the control of education in the hands of the white government. Black students were forced to undertake courses separately to white students. Black people were to be trained as domestic servants for their white masters. Mission schools were closed down and subjects were taught in Afrikaans. Mathematics and science were deemed unnecessary subjects for black students.
- The *Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act* (1953) prohibited registered trade unions from accepting black workers as members and forbade black workers to strike.

- The *Separate Representation of Voters Act* (1956) removed coloured people of the Cape Province from the Common Voters Roll. This meant that they could not vote with whites in elections. In time, they were only able to vote for four white representatives in the House of Assembly.
- The *Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act* (1959) abolished the representation black people had in parliament and set guidelines for a political system for black rule in the homelands.

## Activities

### Source analysis 1.5

1. Which apartheid legislation introduced the pass book?
2. Using Figure 1.13 and the information from the text, what information do you think was contained in an individual's pass book?
3. What was another common name for the pass book?
4. Using information from the text, explain why pass books were universally despised among the black African community.
5. Using the apartheid legislation discussed, select three pieces of legislation and outline the impact of each, how it affected lives of citizens and how it enforced 'separate development'.

## 1.4 Impact of apartheid on rural and urban communities

### FOCUSQUESTION

How did apartheid affect rural and urban communities?

#### International standing

Through the use of the Bantustan or homeland system, more than 80 per cent of South Africa's land was set aside for its white residents, despite the fact that they comprised less than 10 per cent of the population.



**Figure 1.14** Black men and children standing at a barbed-wire fence that marked the boundary of their homes in the bleak, filthy slum of Moroka, which housed 60 000 people on the outskirts of Johannesburg, 21 April 1950

As a result of the social engineering policies of apartheid, South Africa by 1960 existed in a unique world of its own making. South Africa's political, economic and social policies were directly contrary to the decolonisation and desegregation rapidly taking place in the rest of the modern world. South Africa was starting to face some international criticism over apartheid, yet diplomatic, economic and sporting ties with other nations still existed. Condemnation of the apartheid system from other countries only strengthened the white government's determination to defend and develop apartheid.

Resistance to apartheid came from all circles, and not only, as is often presumed, from those who suffered the negative effects of discrimination. Criticism also came from other countries, and some of these gave support to the South African freedom movements. We will look at resistance to apartheid in Chapter 2.

### Did you know?

*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is a milestone document in the history of human rights: an international document that states basic rights and fundamental freedoms to which all human beings are entitled. It was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly as Resolution 217 on 10 December 1948. Of the then 58 members of the UN, 48 voted in favour, none against and eight abstained – including the Union of South Africa.

**Figure 1.15** Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady of the United States, with the UNHDR she helped draft in 1949



In 1961, the ruling National Party, now led by Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd (commonly known as the architect of apartheid because he developed comprehensive policies to expand separate development) held a referendum for South Africa to become a republic. A popular National Party slogan stated, 'Unite to keep South Africa white – a Republic now'. White South Africa voted in favour of a republic and, in 1961, the Republic of South Africa (RSA) cut all ties with the British Commonwealth and continued to strengthen the apartheid regime.

### Forming the Republic of South Africa

**Figure 1.16** 'The Link and the Chain': International criticism of apartheid: a cartoon from England in 1961 by Norman Mansbridge, from *Punch Magazine*. It shows the South African Prime Minister Verwoerd as the symbolic link that has broken away from the chain – a comment about South Africa leaving the British Commonwealth to become a republic. You may also recognise the Australian leader in the centre: depicted is Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies.



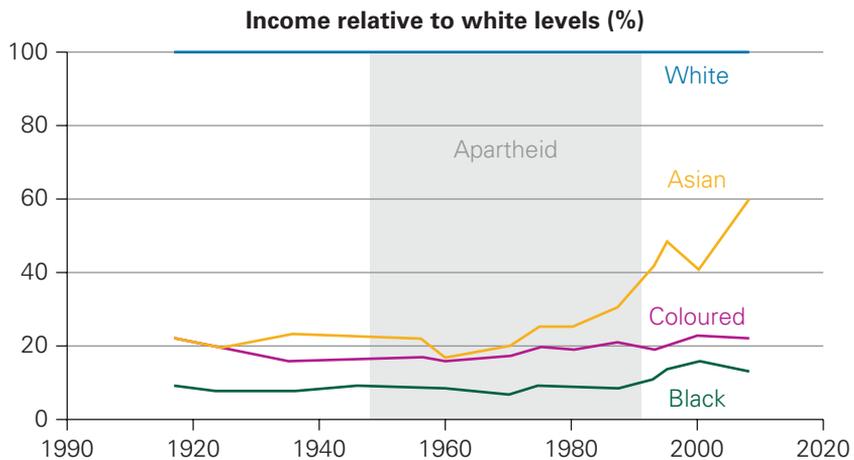
The economy in South Africa in the 1960s boomed. Mining and minerals were the main reasons for the rapid increase in South Africa's economy. Johannesburg (or in Zulu '*egoli*'), the City of Gold, was a modern and sophisticated centre of the South African republic. During the 1960s, the number of people employed in gold mining doubled. With new technology and cheap black labour, the South African economy surged forward.

### The South African economy

The De Beers Diamond Company and the Rand Gold Fields traded on the international stock market. The government used this money to invest in national roads, dams and power plants. The government also used its wealth to purchase military equipment from France, Britain and the United States.

Whites prospered most as a result of the booming economy. Large Afrikaner corporations were formed and Afrikaners for the first time began to earn (on average) twice what the English-speaking South Africans were earning. Except for some small pockets of urban and rural poverty, whites were living a comfortable life. Most white people worked in skilled jobs and most households could afford a maid and a gardener. Despite the prosperity in South Africa, the black population lived in poverty.

Black workers, who were the backbone of the South African economy, had not benefitted from an increase in wages. They were paid less than half the earnings of a white worker and their work was labour intensive and unskilled. Only in the 1970s, due to a relaxation in the apartheid laws concerning trade unions, were black workers able to organise and demand better wages. The government decided it required more skilled workers, and paid some organised semi-skilled black workers a higher rate of pay.



**Figure 1.17** Annual per capita personal income by race group in South Africa relative to white levels

Source: Based on 'Trends in South African Income Distribution and Poverty since the Fall of Apartheid', OECD

### Racial dynamics

In 1960, South African society was divided sharply between black, white, coloured and Indian/Asian. During the 1960s, some wealthy and educated white South Africans travelled or migrated and criticised the apartheid regime from abroad. However, most whites supported the apartheid state and white protest was minimal. Those who did protest were harassed and interrogated by the South African police and intelligence organisations, and were often ostracised by their own communities. When white people

interacted with black people, it was in the context of the ‘master-servant’ relationship. Whites had rising incomes, big homes and plenty of freedom, and blacks were their servants. Commonly, any elderly black South African man would refer to any white child as ‘**Baas**’ or ‘Master’ and all black men, regardless of age, were known as ‘boys’ or ‘**kaffirs**’. The words ‘yes Baas’ and ‘kaffir’ characterised the racial dynamics of South Africa.



**Figure 1.18** African mine workers, the backbone of economic prosperity in South Africa in the 1960s

During the 1960s, as white South African society began to urbanise, many black communities, or what whites called ‘black spots’ (‘informal’ or illegal black townships), were bulldozed out of existence to make way for white suburbs. This was also done to ease the fears of a black revolt, such as the one at Sharpeville in March 1960 (covered in Chapter 2). Under the *Group Areas Act*, the government redrew the boundaries of the black homelands to include townships not far from white factories, thus allowing a source of cheap labour. Black workers could commute to work, yet live in Bantustans. Any existing black township too close to a white development was simply bulldozed.

### Townships

The facilities and services in the **townships** such as the one in **Soweto** (a South Western Township) were inferior in every respect. In the ‘informal settlements’ or ‘illegal settlements’, black South Africans were forced to live in shanty houses constructed of corrugated iron with no more than dirt floors, with no electricity or running water. The situation in the Bantustans was similar: overcrowded and poverty stricken. The land could not cope with the demands of a growing black population. Insufficient water and scarce fertile soil made economic self-sufficiency and independence impossible.



**Figure 1.19** (Left) Houses in Orlando, a township in Soweto, Johannesburg, 1960, and (right) an ‘informal’ or illegal shanty town in Soweto

**Interracial relationships** As apartheid developed, it pervaded all aspects of daily life. Before apartheid, mixed-race relationships and marriages were permissible, but after the election of the National Party in 1948 and the introduction of *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act* in 1949 and the *Immorality Act* of 1950, areas of South Africa that were considered more liberal in their attitudes towards ‘race mixing’ had their populations forcibly disbursed and the populations of their towns were encouraged to spy and report incidents of interracial relationships. This occurred in areas such as District Six in Cape Town and Sophiatown, a township outside Johannesburg. South Africa had become a society where racism and racial laws created a culture of fear and repression based on skin colour.



**Figure 1.20** A mixed-race couple who fell afoul of apartheid laws in South Africa, in Camps Bay, Cape Town, circa 1960

## Summary

- Apartheid is an Afrikaans word which generally means apartness.
- Apartheid was developed in the 1930s and 1940s, and was similar to the policy of segregation that it replaced.
- The ideological foundation of apartheid was that the different races in South Africa needed to be separated for their own mutual benefit.
- South Africa became a republic in 1961. It cut all ties with the British Commonwealth and continued to strengthen the apartheid regime. South Africa was becoming more and more politically isolated from the international community but continued to maintain economic and sporting ties with other nations, such as the United States and Britain.
- Resistance groups against apartheid were forming across South Africa at this time, working to educate and unite blacks against the common enemy of ‘apartheid’ and to create a non-racial democracy in South Africa.
- The economy in South Africa in the 1960s boomed. Mining, minerals and cheap, mainly black, labour were the main reasons for the rapid growth in South Africa’s economy.
- Most white people worked in skilled jobs and most households could afford a maid and a gardener. Despite the prosperity in South Africa, the black population lived in poverty.
- The *Separate Amenities Act* (1953) marked out all public places and services with signs such as for ‘Europeans only’ or ‘for Coloureds’. Black and coloured public services were always inferior to those provided for whites.
- In 1960, South African society was divided sharply between black, white, coloured and Indian/Asian populations.
- Bantustans or Homelands were rural areas set aside for black people within South Africa as independent ethnic tribal homelands. Forcing black people to relocate from the cities to these areas was a way to separate them from white society and restrict their economic potential, while the hated pass book was another way apartheid policies discriminated against and controlled black people.

### Personalities

**Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd** Also known as the 'architect of apartheid', he was a South African professor, journalist, editor-in-chief and politician who served as Prime Minister of South Africa from 1958 until his assassination in 1966



Figure 1.22 Dr D.F. Malan



Figure 1.24 Jan Smuts

**D.F. Malan** A South African politician who served as Prime Minister of South Africa from 1948 to 1954; he was the leader of the National Party, which came to power in 1948, and laid the foundations for the apartheid state

**J.B.M. Hertzog** A Boer general during the second Anglo-Boer War, he became Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa from 1924 to 1939; Hertzog promoted the growth of Afrikaner culture in South Africa

**Jan Smuts** A South African and British Commonwealth statesman and military leader, Smuts was Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa from 1919 until 1924 and from 1939 until 1948; he originally supported racial segregation and opposed the right to vote for black Africans; however, he began to oppose segregation and his government lost the 1948 election to the National Party, who advocated apartheid



Figure 1.21 Hendrik Verwoerd

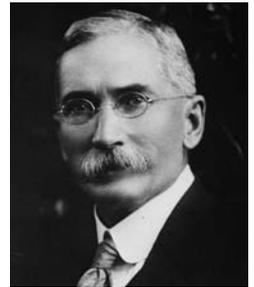


Figure 1.23 J.B.M. Hertzog

### Terms

**Afrikaner:** The name for part of the white South African population; Afrikaner heritage derives from the colonists who broke away from the English-controlled Cape Colony and moved into the interior of South Africa to set up their own republics in the 1800s; also known as Boers

**Afrikaner nationalism:** The concept of Afrikaners forging their own cultural identity and language in South Africa and maintaining racial segregation based on the apartheid system

**Apartheid:** From 1948–91, the white minority of South Africa used force to oppress the black majority by forcing them into segregated homelands and denying them equality; a system of segregation and discrimination in which different races were forced to live separately

**Baas:** Term used by black South African workers to address white adult males

**Bantu:** A term for the main linguistic and ethnic group to which most black Africans in Central and Southern Africa belong; the nationalist government used this term to identify black Africans and so it has some perjorative overtones

**Bantustans:** (*see* Homelands) Areas set aside for black people within South Africa as independent ethnic tribal homelands

**Boers:** A white South African of Dutch, German or Huguenot descent, especially one of the early settlers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State

**Coloureds:** Those 'of mixed race', in apartheid terminology; usually referred to people with African and Dutch ancestry

**Decolonisation:** Process by which colonies become independent of the colonising country

**Great Trek:** The Great Trek was a movement of Dutch-speaking colonists into the interior of southern Africa in search of land where they could establish their own homeland, independent of British rule

**Homelands (also Bantustans):** Ten mini-states designated by the white South African government under apartheid as self-governing black areas intended to segregate blacks and limit their contact with the minority white population; more than 80 per cent of the population was relegated to these 10 states, which represented approximately 13 per cent of the total land; the homelands were carved out of the least agriculturally and economically productive land in the country

**Influx control:** The apartheid-era policy of restricting the movement of black people into urban areas to live or work through the use of pass books.

**Kaffir:** Insulting term used to describe black African men by white South Africans

**National Party:** (*also* Purified National Party or Nationalist Party) White minority party that came to power in 1948 and institutionalised the system of apartheid

**Organisation of African Unity (OAU):** Organisation of African nations created to promote continental peace, unity and cooperation; the group works to resolve conflicts between nations and to coordinate political, economic, cultural, scientific, medical and defence policies

**Segregation:** the policy of keeping one group of people apart from another and treating them differently, especially because of race, sex, or religion. In South Africa, apartheid was a policy of segregation

**Separate development:** Under Hendrik Verwoerd, apartheid developed into a policy known as separate development, where each of the nine African (Bantu) groups was to become a nation with its own homeland, or Bantustan

**Townships:** Government-built towns with minimal municipal services located near cities that were designated as living areas for members of specific racial groups in order to separate them from whites, such as Soweto (South Western Townships), a black township in the Johannesburg area

## Activities

### Thinking historically 1.1

1. Describe how the apartheid system operated in South Africa by 1960.
2. Outline the ideological foundations of apartheid.
3. Identify the role the Bantustans played in the implementation of the apartheid policy.
4. Use this text and ICT to research the basic rights that were removed from non-whites by apartheid laws. Copy and complete the table below.

Apartheid-era law/Act	Year of implementation	Effects on non-whites

5. Explain the purpose of the *Bantu Education Act*. What were its short- and long-term impacts on equality in South Africa?
6. What was the government's reaction to international criticism of apartheid?
7. What impact did the 1960s' booming economy have on white communities?
8. Describe the social division between white and black South Africans.
9. Describe the impact of apartheid on rural and urban communities.
10. As a class, discuss the following question: Why does political representation matter in a democracy?

### Source analysis 1.6

Examine the following historical sources and answer the questions which follow.

It is accepted Government policy that the Bantu (native) are only temporarily residents in the European (white) areas of the Republic for as long as they offer their labour there. As soon as they become, for one reason or another, no longer fit for work or superfluous in the labour market, they are expected to return to their country of origins or the territory of the nation's unit where they fit ethnically if they were not born in their homeland.

An extract from a government document from The Department of Native Affairs, 1957

Source 1.F

The wind of change is blowing through the continent ... Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact ... The aim (of our modern Commonwealth) ... is to create a society which represented

Source 1.G

the rights of individual ... in which merit and merit alone is the criterion for a man's advancement, whether political or economic.

Extract from the speech by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan to the South African Parliament, February 1960

**Source 1.H 'To unite and keep South Africa white – A Republic now' National Party Election Poster, 1961**



**Source 1.I**

We do not only seek and fight for a solution which will mean our survival as a white race, but we seek a solution which will ensure survival and full development – political and economic – to each of the other racial groups ... We want each of our population groups to control and to govern themselves, as is the case with other Nations. In the transition stage the guardian must teach and guide his ward. That is our policy of separate development. South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all, by means of political independence coupled with economic independence.

Speech by Prime Minister Verwoerd on the South African Homelands policy in London in 1961; adapted from L. Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (USA, Yale Nota Bene, 2001), p. 215

**Source 1.J**

**The Star**

**February 1980**

**1979 had at least 150 'chameleons'**

**Political staff**

PARLIAMENT – More than 150 people officially changed colour last year. They were reclassified from one race group to another by the stroke of a government pen. The Minister of the Interior, Alwyn Schlebusch, answered a question in Parliament today on the number of racial classifications that took place in 1979.

- A total of one hundred and one coloured people became white.
- One Chinese became white.
- Two whites received coloured classification.
- Six whites became Chinese.
- Two whites became Indians.

- Ten Malays became Indians.
- Eleven Indians became coloured.
- Four Indians became Malays.
- Three coloured people became Chinese.
- Two Chinese were reclassified as coloured.
- No blacks became white and no whites became black.

Pro-government newspaper report on ethnicity in South Africa under apartheid; quoted in *Understanding Apartheid*, OUP South Africa, 2006

## Questions

1. Using source 1.F, outline what the government believes the role of black South Africans should be under their policy of apartheid.
2. How useful would source 1.F be for historians studying government attitudes to native Africans?
3. Examine source 1.G. What is the 'national consciousness' Harold Macmillan is referring to? How does this contrast to the reality of apartheid in South Africa in the 1960s?
4. How do sources 1.F and 1.G portray different perspectives on race relations in South Africa during the apartheid period?
5. Examine source 1.H. What does the National Party election poster reveal about the influence of racism in shaping South African history?
6. Using Source 1.I and your own knowledge, outline Verwoerd's justification for apartheid and the Homelands policy.
7. Using Source 1.I and your own knowledge, consider the date of his speech. It was 1961, the height of the Cold War. What fears might Verwoerd be playing on in this speech?
8. *Racial classifications were purely arbitrary (random) under apartheid.* Using source 1.J, explain to what extent you agree with this statement.

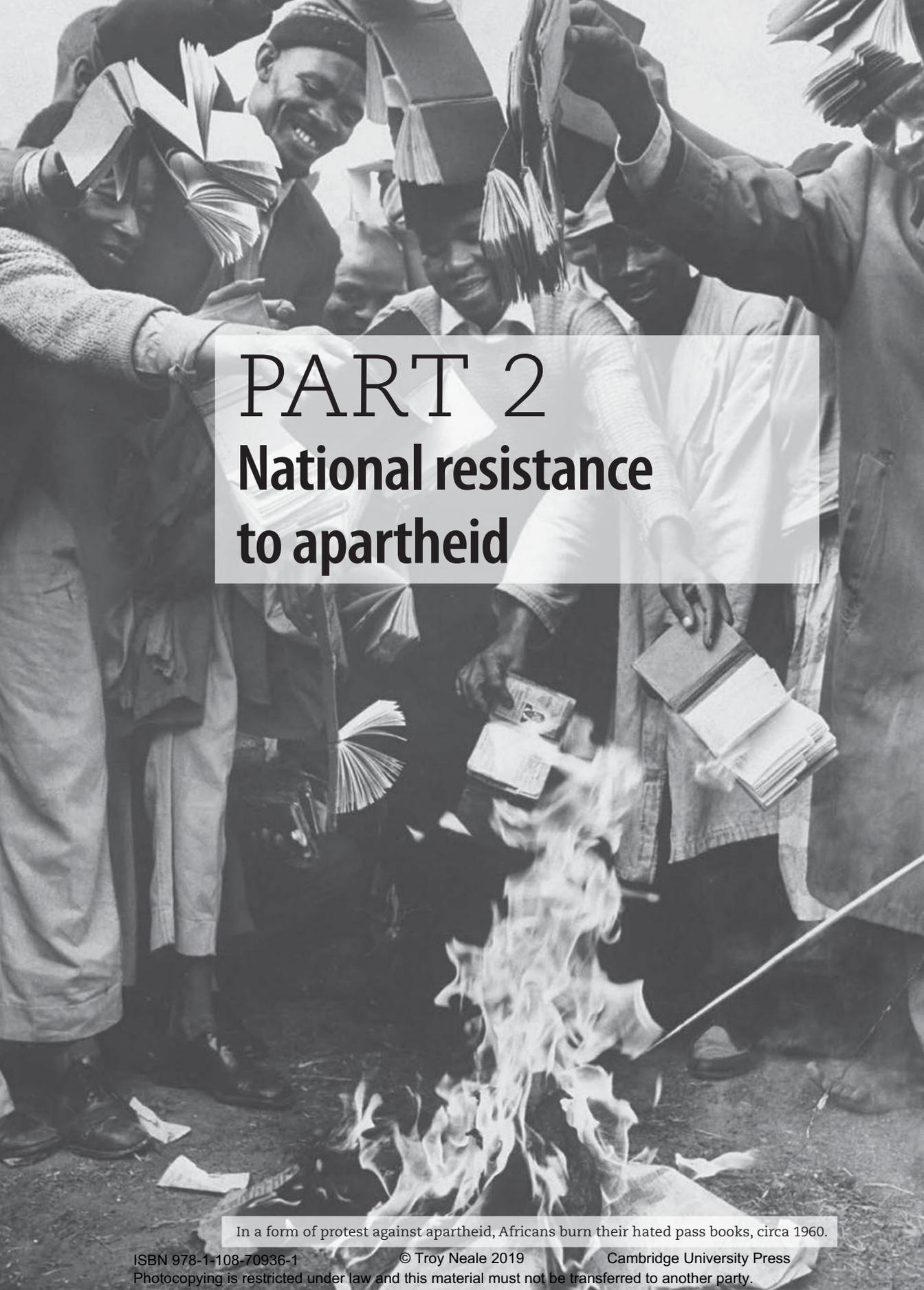
## Writing historically 1.1

### Short-answer response

The non-white citizens of South Africa were excluded from the democratic process. Propose how both black and white South Africans viewed the concept of 'democracy' during apartheid.

## Questions

1. What were the reasons behind apartheid policies enacted by the South African government?
2. Outline restrictions put on black South Africans under apartheid policies.
3. What major apartheid policies were enacted by the South African government by 1960?
4. What was the economic impact of apartheid policies on black and white South Africans during the 1960s?
5. Explain how the policy of apartheid developed in South Africa.



# PART 2

## National resistance to apartheid

In a form of protest against apartheid, Africans burn their hated pass books, circa 1960.



# The growth of opposition to apartheid

# 2

At the end of this topic you should attempt to answer the following question:

**How did the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups fight against the apartheid system?**

## Key syllabus features

The key features are:

- resistance to apartheid
- changes in society.

The key features provide the basis for HSC examination questions.

## Timeline

<b>1912</b>	African National Congress (ANC) is created
<b>1944</b>	ANC changes its approach to mass protest by establishing the ANC Youth League
<b>1949</b>	Program of Action is adopted by the ANC, transforming the party from an organisation led by middle-class liberals aimed at persuading change to a more militant liberation movement demanding freedom
<b>1952</b>	Defiance Campaign
<b>1955</b>	Freedom Charter is adopted
<b>1959</b>	In 1959, a splinter group within the ANC, led by Robert Sobukwe, breaks away from the ANC and forms a new organisation called the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)
<b>1960</b>	Sharpeville Massacre – a PAC-organised protest against the Pass Laws ends with 69 people shot and killed by the police and 180 wounded. The South African government faces international condemnation and calls for apartheid to end. PAC and the ANC are both banned. PAC leaders are arrested, while ANC leaders such as Nelson Mandela flee overseas. Both parties became more militant after Sharpeville
<b>1963–64</b>	Mandela imprisoned at Rivonia Trial: Mandela and other prominent leaders are sentenced to life imprisonment for terrorism and treason
<b>1976</b>	Soweto uprising – students protest against discriminatory education laws; international press coverage of the ensuing police violence results in major sanctions against South Africa
<b>1977</b>	Steve Biko killed – Biko was a radical leader who began the Black Consciousness Movement but later dies suspiciously in police custody, increasing outrage against the government

## 2.1 National resistance to apartheid

### FOCUSQUESTION

What was the national reaction to apartheid?

#### Overview

By the end of the 1950s, the oppression of non-white South Africans by the white minority made South Africa an anomaly in the modern world. South Africa opposed the 'winds of change' in Africa and around the world with a determination to maintain white supremacy. Only the continual struggle of the anti-apartheid parties, chiefly the ANC, could unite black Africans and gain international support to bring down the apartheid regime. As the rest of the world was moving towards the ideas of decolonisation and human rights, championed by the United Nations, South Africa strengthened its apartheid policy to deny the majority of its population the human rights and dignity being fought for across the world. Under the leadership of Hendrik Verwoerd, the government attempted to maintain white domination in South Africa and ensure both social and economic inequality.

At the same time as white Afrikaner nationalism was reaching its peak, black opposition to apartheid was becoming more organised. Despite some differences in political ideology, the African National Congress (ANC) was working to educate and unite blacks against the common enemy of 'apartheid' and to create a non-racial democracy in South Africa. Anti-apartheid splinter groups were formed, including the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Many groups also formed to demand equal rights for 'coloureds' and 'Indians' in South Africa. In 1960, after the Sharpeville Massacre, the ANC was banned and forced underground. **Umkhonto we Sizwe** (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC, popularly known as MK, was created by **Nelson Mandela**, who was determined to bring down the apartheid state by whatever means possible. This chapter will look closely at these anti-apartheid groups and key events.

## 2.2 The nature, growth and impact of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

### FOCUSQUESTION

Who were the groups who fought against the apartheid system, and how did they fight?

The **African National Congress** (ANC) was created in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), but did not represent the majority of black Africans in their earliest period of protest. The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), during the early 1940s and 1950s, organised most resistance to apartheid and was led mostly by white communists. The banning of the Communist Party in 1952 made organising protests exceptionally difficult and risky. In 1944, the ANC changed its approach to mass protest by the creation of the **ANC Youth League**.



**Figure 2.1** The South African Native National Congress delegation to England, June 1914. Left to right: Thomas Mapike, Rev. Walter Rubusana, Rev. John Dube, Saul Msane, Sol Plaatje. The delegation tried to get the British Government to intervene against the Land Act but the outbreak of World War I thwarted their hope.



**Figure 2.2** ANC Youth League member Anton Lembede

Members of the ANC Youth League – including **Anton Lembede**, Nelson Mandela (more on Mandela later in the chapter), **Oliver Tambo** and **Walter Sisulu** – demanded a much more assertive program of action. Their aim was to encourage mass protests, boycotts of white services and passive resistance against apartheid laws, such as the **Pass Laws**. This new form of mass protest was known as the **Program of Action**. The Program of Action was adopted by the ANC in 1949, becoming its united strategy against the apartheid

regime. During the 1950s, there were a number of non-violent protests, especially by Indians, coloureds and white women. The official name was the **Defiance Campaign** (1952). The aim was to deliberately but politely break apartheid laws such as curfews and Pass Laws.

This campaign was not effective in the face of harsh government oppression. The police simply responded with extreme violence, and many thousands of peaceful protesters were jailed or fined heavily. Finally, the ANC was forced to call off the Defiance Campaign. After the Defiance Campaign failed, a number of groups in the struggle against apartheid joined and formed the **Congress Alliance**. This Alliance consisted of the



**Figure 2.3** 9 May 1952, Cape Town, South Africa: In defiance of Prime Minister Malan's white supremacy laws and their rigid segregation rules, these African people took over a train compartment marked 'For Europeans Only' and rode into Cape Town, shouting their slogan 'Africa'. Thirty-four were arrested by Cape Town police. In this photo, they are giving the 'thumbs up' before they are taken from the train.

ANC, the South African Council of Trade Unions, the South African Indian Congress and the Coloured Peoples Association. In 1955, members of the Congress Alliance travelled the country collecting the demands of all ordinary Africans for a 'just and free society'. These demands were compiled in the **Freedom Charter**, which was a statement of the Alliance's principles and political aims; its lists of basic rights and freedoms were borrowed from similar documents from the United States, Britain and Europe.

### The Freedom Charter

#### **Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, South Africa, on 26 June 1955**

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together – equals, countrymen and brothers – adopt this Freedom Charter.

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

### **The People Shall Govern!**

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

### **All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights!**

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

### **The People Shall Share In The Country's Wealth!**

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

### **The Land Shall Be Shared Among Those Who Work It!**

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

### **All Shall Be Equal Before The Law!**

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

### **All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!**

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

### **There Shall Be Work And Security!**

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

### **The Doors Of Learning And Of Culture Shall Be Opened!**

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

### **There Shall Be Houses, Security And Comfort!**

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

### **There Shall Be Peace And Friendship!**

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation – not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates-Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland-shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

**‘THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.’**

## Activities

### Source analysis 2.1

#### Source 2.A Extract from a statement by Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia Trial, 1964

The most important political document ever adopted by the ANC is the Freedom Charter.

#### Questions

Refer to the articles of the Freedom Charter.

1. Outline the freedoms, rights and liberties that are promised to all South Africans by the Freedom Charter.
2. Using the internet, research how the ANC wrote this document. Who were its authors and what were their inspirations? With your findings, write a brief history of the origins of the Freedom Charter.

#### DID YOU KNOW?



Lilian Ngoyi was the first woman elected to the executive committee of the African National Congress, and helped launch the Federation of South African Women. She joined the ANC Women's League in 1952; she was, at that stage, a widow with two children and an elderly mother to support, and worked as a seamstress. A year later she was elected as President of the Women's League. In 1955, Ngoyi played a key role in the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

#### The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

In 1959, a splinter group within the ANC, led by **Robert Sobukwe**, broke away from the ANC and formed a new organisation called the **Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)**. The PAC drew much of its support from areas such as Soweto and other black areas around Cape Town, notably Langa, where the ANC was not influential. The PAC argued that it differed radically in its conception of the struggle against apartheid. The PAC believed they were repressed as Africans. The ANC policy was non-racial democratic freedom for all races in South Africa, while the PAC was pro-African and, some have argued, anti-white. The PAC therefore was mostly opposed to the Congress Alliance, which also included the white-based Congress of Democrats. Sobukwe argued that the ANC was heavily influenced by the Communist Party and must therefore favour a class-based concept of the struggle against apartheid. On the other hand, the PAC claimed to stand solely for the liberation of an oppressed Africa and its repressed people.



**Figure 2.4** South African Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) founder Robert Sobukwe (L) with Potlako Leballo (R), member of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), circa January 1960

The PAC held the view that black people alone should be responsible for policy matters, without white interference. As a new anti-apartheid front, the PAC would face a baptism of blood during a protest over Pass Laws at Sharpeville in 1960.

## Activities

### Thinking historically 2.1

#### Questions

1. Outline the ANC. What was their vision for South Africa?
2. Outline the aims of the Defiance Campaign and reasons for its failure.
3. Explain how the Defiance Campaign can be considered an important step in the development of national resistance to apartheid.
4. Compare the strategies of the ANC and PAC against apartheid.

## 2.3 Significance of the Sharpeville Massacre

### FOCUSQUESTION

What happened at Sharpeville?

#### Protesting the Pass Laws

On 21 March 1960, the PAC organised a protest against the Pass Laws. The campaign involved large numbers of protestors marching to the police station in Sharpeville, where they would burn their passes in protest. Over 5000 protestors converged on the tiny police station, armed at most with stones. The police inside opened fire and killed 69 protestors (of these, eight women and 10 children were shot in the back while running away). The police also wounded another 180.



**Figure 2.5** Protestors run for their lives after police open fire during the protest against the pass system at Sharpeville, 21 March 1960.

At the same time in the Langa Township near Cape Town, the PAC was also demonstrating and some 20 000 protestors gathered. The protestors were baton-charged and ordered to leave. They threw stones and the police opened fire, killing two and wounding 49 protestors.



**Figure 2.6** The aftermath of the Sharpeville protest against the pass system: pictured are some of the 69 victims of the repression of the apartheid regime. Images like these shocked the world.

The consequences of the shootings at both Sharpeville and Langa were immediate:

- South Africa received international condemnation and calls for apartheid to end. Under pressure to act, the Pass Laws were temporarily suspended.
- Trouble erupted in Cape Town when Phillip Kgosana, the local PAC leader, led 30 000 protestors to the House of Parliament to protest police violence. The police did not have the numbers to hold back the protestors and a compromise was reached where Pass Laws were suspended. The following day, however, Kgosana was arrested and the suspension order lifted.
- The vulnerability of white South Africa and the seething undercurrent of black unrest were made very clear to the South African government and to the world.
- Both the ANC and PAC were banned and immediately went underground, and some members went into exile.
- PAC president Robert Sobukwe and other leaders were arrested.
- Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo of the ANC fled overseas.
- Going forward, both ANC and PAC changed direction from non-violent protest to direct military action against the apartheid regime. Both parties formed armed wings, **Umkhonto we Sizwe** (ANC) and **Poqo** (PAC). Poqo was the first black political organisation in South Africa that openly accepted the taking of human life as part of its strategy, and historians have argued that it was far more militant than the ANC.
- By 1964 the greater part of the internal leadership of both groups had been arrested and jailed, most famously in the Rivonia arrests and trial of 1963–1964.



**Figure 2.7** (Left) South African troops control black people, in Nyanga, near Cape Town, 2 April 1960. Despite the state of emergency, black protestors tried to march to Cape Town to demand the release of black leaders, arrested after the Sharpeville massacre. (Right) A child demonstrates to have his mother released, in May 1960 in front of Johannesburg's city hall. More than 500 Africans were arrested after the Sharpeville massacre.

### Source analysis 2.2

#### Sharpeville: an historical interpretation

**Source 2.B** An extract from D. Welsh, 'The executive and the African population: 1948 to the present': in R Shrire (ed), *Leadership in the apartheid state: from Malan to De Klerk*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 161

'While Sharpeville was undoubtedly a crisis, there was never any serious danger that the countrywide disturbances could escalate into a revolutionary uprising. Compared with what it was to acquire later, state's instruments, both legal and physical, for coping with unrest were rudimentary. The ANC and the PAC were prohibited, over 11 000 people were detained under the state of emergency and public meetings were banned. By mid-April of 1960, protest has substantially petered out and the police felt confident enough to resume enforcement of the Pass Laws, which had been suspended shortly after 21 March.'

#### Questions

1. What point is the historian making about the Sharpeville Massacre?
2. Why did resistance from groups such as the ANC and the PAC not seriously hamper the government's ability to enforce apartheid laws?



**Figure 2.8** Painting of the Sharpeville Massacre by Godfrey Rubens, currently located in the South African Consulate in London

## Source analysis 2.3

### Sharpeville: reaction from the United Nations

On 1 April 1960, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 134 in response to complaints put to it by 29 member countries.

#### Extract from United Nations Security Council Resolution 134

Source 2.C

The Security Council,

*Having considered* the complaint of twenty-nine Member States ... [and] ... concerning “the situation arising out of the large-scale killings of unarmed and peaceful demonstrators against racial discrimination and segregation in the Union of South Africa”,

*Recognizing* that such a situation has been brought about by the racial policies of the Government of the Union of South Africa and the continued disregard by that Government of the resolutions of the General Assembly calling upon it to revise its policies and bring them into conformity with its obligations and responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations,

*Taking into account* the strong feelings and grave concern aroused among Governments and peoples of the world by the happenings in the Union of South Africa,

1. Recognizes that the situation in the Union of South Africa is one that has led to international friction and if continued might endanger international peace and security;
2. Deplores that the recent disturbances in the Union of South Africa should have led to the loss of life of so many Africans and extends to the families of the victims its deepest sympathies;
3. Deplores the policies and actions of the Government of the Union of South Africa which have given rise to the present situation;
4. Calls upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the present situation does not continue or recur, and to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination;
5. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Government of the Union of South Africa, to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter and to report to the Security Council whenever necessary and appropriate.

### Questions

1. Why did the United Nations pass Resolution 134 in reaction to the Sharpeville Massacre?
2. Outline how the United Nations:
  - a Criticised the South African government, and;
  - b Showed support for black South Africans.
3. What actions did the United Nations take against South Africa?
4. Do you think the government of South Africa would have taken the UN resolution seriously? Explain your answer using the source.

## DID YOU KNOW?

In 1966, the United Nations declared the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Since 1994, 21 March has been a public holiday in South Africa and designated Human Rights Day in memory of those killed at Sharpeville in 1960.

## 2.4 The role of Nelson Mandela

### FOCUSQUESTION

What was Mandela's role in the fight against apartheid?



**Figure 2.9** A modern statue of Nelson Mandela in front of Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town, South Africa.

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL: Nelson Mandela (1918–2013)

### Mandela Timeline Part 1 (1918–1982)

- 1918** Born in the village of Mvezo, South Africa on 18 July; given the birth name Rolihlahla, which means literally ‘pulling the branch of the tree’ and can be interpreted as ‘troublemaker’
- 1919** His father (Gadla Henry Mphakanyiswa) is dispossessed of his land and money due to orders passed by a white magistrate
- 1925** Mandela becomes the first person in his family to go to school; a teacher gives him the name Nelson
- 1927** With the death of his father, he is placed in the care of the acting chief of the Thembu clan, Jongintaba Dalindyebo
- 1936–40** Pursues European-style education until expelled by the University of Fort Hare for political activism; this is where he meets his lifelong friend, Oliver Tambo
- 1941** Moves to Johannesburg to avoid an arranged marriage  
Completes his degree through correspondence from University of South Africa and also studies law  
Meets African National Congress (ANC) activist Walter Sisulu and begins work at a law firm
- 1943** Joins the African National Congress (ANC), initially as an activist
- 1944** Becomes a founding member of the ANC Youth League alongside Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu  
Marries Evelyn Mase; they divorce in 1958 after having three children
- 1947** Is elected secretary of the ANCYL, and becomes a member of the Transvaal ANC executive
- 1948** The National Party comes to power on the policy of apartheid  
The ANC launch a campaign of passive resistance against the laws  
They later begin the Campaign for the Defence of Unjust Laws
- 1951** Mandela is made president of the Youth League
- 1952** Mandela sets up the country’s first black law firm with Oliver Tambo; they provide legal services to those who would have normally had no representation  
Mandela becomes president of the Transvaal ANC but is banned under the *Suppression of Communism Act*, including from attending meetings  
Given a suspended prison sentence for his role in the Defiance Campaign against apartheid

<b>1953</b>	The ANC is concerned that it will be banned so Mandela is tasked with ensuring the party can work underground
<b>1955</b>	The Freedom Charter is adopted at the Congress of the People, calling for equal rights and equal share of wealth with the country's white population
<b>1956–61</b>	Mandela, along with 155 other political activists, is accused of conspiring to overthrow the South African state by violent means, and is charged with high treason; after a four-year trial, the charges are dropped
<b>1958</b>	Mandela divorces his first wife and marries Winnie Madikizela, who is a social worker, and they eventually have two children
<b>1959</b>	ANC loses much of its financial and military support because many members break up and form Pan Africanist Congress under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe
<b>1960</b>	Mandela is imprisoned for five months during the State of Emergency following the Sharpeville Massacre of black protestors on 21 March
<b>1961</b>	The ANC concludes that peaceful protest is not enough to combat apartheid and forms an underground military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation); Mandela, now vice-president of the ANC, is appointed as the group's first leader Under the 1961 <i>Unlawful Organisations Act</i> , the South African government bans the ANC and PAC; the MK and the PAC's Poqo begin sabotage campaigns
<b>1962</b>	Mandela is smuggled out of South Africa, addressed the conference of African nationalist leaders, undergoes guerrilla training and flies to London to meet with Tambo Having spent a year underground, Mandela is arrested for leaving the country illegally; he is sentenced to five years in jail but somehow escapes
<b>1963</b>	Returns to court as part of the Rivonia Trial, accused of sabotage and treason
<b>1964</b>	On 20 April, Mandela makes a famous speech in court before being sentenced to life imprisonment along with seven other defendants; they are all taken to prison on Robben Island His wife Winnie spearheads a campaign for his release
<b>1964–82</b>	Mandela is imprisoned at Robben Island

*Please note – Mandela's Timeline Part 2, covering his years in prison and the 'Free Mandela' campaign, can be found in Chapter 3. Timeline Part 3, covering Mandela's presidency and later life, can be found in Chapter 5.*

## Family background and education

A member of the Madiba clan and of the royal family of the Thembu people, Rolihlahla Dalibhunga Mandela was born on 18 July 1918, in the tiny village of Mvezo on the banks of the river Mbashe. Mvezo is in the district of Umtata, in what was then called the Transkei. He lived in a peaceful farming area between the Cape and Natal in a thatched *rondavel* with his mother Nonqaphi Nosekeni and his father Nkosi Mphakanyiswa Gadla Mandela. He was born into the Xhosa nation in which his father was a respected chief. The birth of Mandela brought great celebration in his village. His father named him Rolihlahla, which in Xhosa literally means, ‘pulling the branch of a tree’ or ‘troublemaker’.

As a member of the Thembu people, Mandela’s father was a highly respected chief, who was known for his stubbornness, often clashing with the white authorities. When Mandela was about one year old, his father had a dispute with the local white authorities. He was stripped of his position as chief and lost his cattle and home, and the family was forced to move to the nearby village of Qunu. At Qunu, Mandela lived with his aunts, uncles and his half-brothers and sister, who supported the Mandela family. Mandela’s mother converted to Christianity and joined the Methodist congregation. In 1925, at the age of seven, Mandela was sent to the nearby Wesleyan church and was educated in the one-room mission school. When Mandela arrived at the school, his teacher, Miss Mdingane, gave him the Christian name Nelson, as was the custom at the time.

In 1927, after Mandela had been in school for only two years, his father died of lung disease. Mandela was placed in the care of Jongintaba, the Chief Regent of the Thembu, and was taught the traditions of the Xhosa people. In his teenage years, Mandela was sent to the Wesleyan mission school, and excelled academically at Clarkbury Boarding Institute. Mandela enrolled at Healdtown, a Methodist college in Fort Beaufort. In 1938, at the age of 21, Mandela graduated from Healdtown and then enrolled at Fort Hare University, the only black university in South Africa.

## Birth and clan

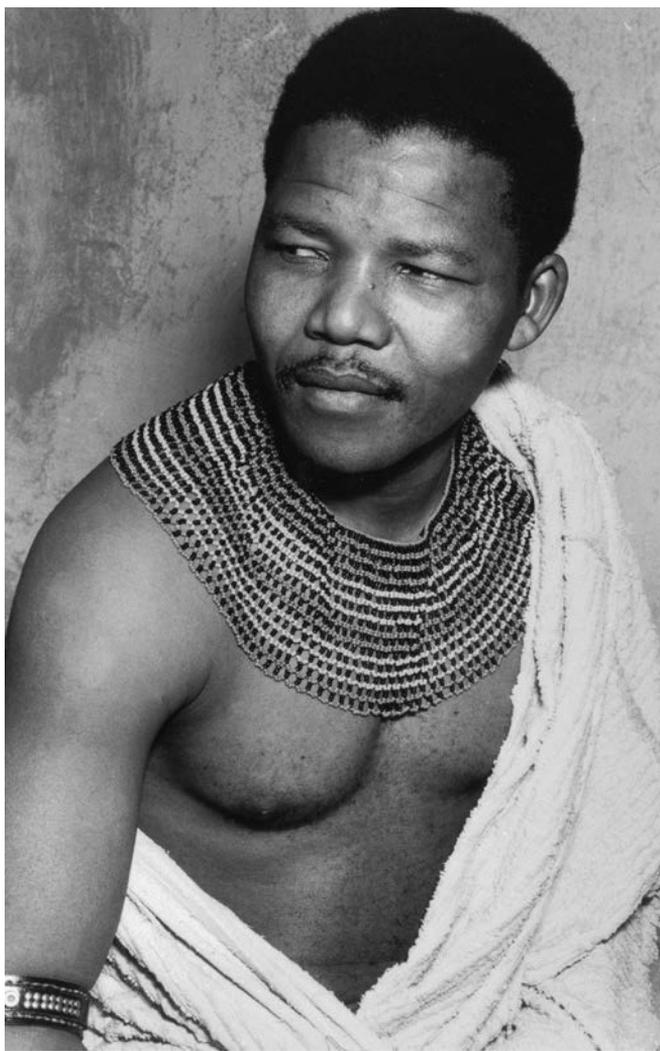


Figure 2.10 Mandela wearing traditional attire, circa 1950s

### Career as a lawyer

At Fort Hare, Mandela's guardian tried to arrange a marriage for him, but Mandela fled to Johannesburg and worked for a time as a guard at Crown Mines. At the mines, Mandela witnessed the true brutality of apartheid on non-whites in South Africa. Mandela was fired from his job as a guard at the Crown Mines, but luckily met Walter Sisulu, an estate agent who helped Mandela find employment as a law clerk. Sisulu and Mandela become good friends. Sisulu was a member of the African National Congress and influenced Mandela greatly. Shortly after meeting Sisulu, Mandela joined the ANC. Mandela had graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree from Fort Hare and now wanted to enrol in a law degree at the



**Figure 2.11** Fighting for social justice: Nelson Mandela posing in boxing attire, circa 1950

University of Witwatersrand (or Wits), the premier English-speaking university in South Africa. At Wits, Mandela had many problems with racist lecturers, but at the same time he met Joe Slovo and his partner Ruth First, both white members of the South African Communist Party (SACP), who were dedicated to fighting apartheid in South Africa. They introduced Mandela to many politically active whites. Eventually, Mandela left Wits without his law degree and studied via correspondence at the University of South Africa to achieve his legal qualification.

### 'Mandela and Tambo'

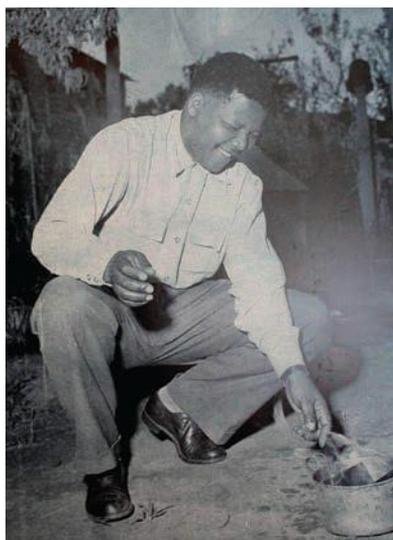
At Fort Hare, Mandela met Oliver Tambo and, in 1952, they opened the first black legal service, providing free or low-cost legal counsel for many black people who would otherwise have been without legal representation. 'Mandela and Tambo' was the name on the brass plate of Africa's first black law firm. Mandela and Tambo spent every day dealing with the injustices of the apartheid state on poor black people who had been arrested and/or charged for minor breaches of the apartheid laws, including being on 'whites only' beaches or buses. In defending poor blacks, Mandela and Tambo met with the racist attitudes of the white legal system.

Mandela found himself fighting for the victims of police brutality and against the decisions of the Racial Classification Board, where many people had their 'colour' determined by the court.

Mandela clearly states in his autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* that his time fighting the injustices of the apartheid system at his law firm, Mandela and Tambo, shaped his ideas about needing radically different methods for fighting apartheid:

I began by speaking about the increasing repressiveness of the government in the wake of the Defiance Campaign. I said the government was now scared of the might of the African people. As I spoke, I grew more and more indignant. In those days, I was something of a rabble-rousing speaker. I liked to incite an audience, and I was doing so that evening. ... As I condemned the government for its ruthlessness and lawlessness, I overstepped the line: I said the time for passive resistance had ended, that non-violence was a useless strategy and could never overturn a white minority regime bent on retaining its power at any cost. At the end of the day I said that violence was the only weapon that would destroy apartheid and we must be prepared, in the near future, to use that weapon.

Nelson Mandela (1994), *Long Walk to Freedom*, London: Abacus, pp.181–2.



**Figure 2.12** Mandela burns his pass book in an act of defiance against apartheid, circa 1960

## Mandela's leadership of the ANC

### Joining the ANC

In 1944, Mandela joined the ANC and became one of the leaders of its Youth League. That same year he met and married Evelyn Ntoko Mase. Mandela subsequently held other ANC leadership positions, through which he helped revitalise the organisation and oppose the apartheid policies of the ruling National Party. In the late 1940s, he helped launch the party's defiance program and, importantly, in 1955 he was involved in the drafting of the Freedom Charter. Mandela's anti-apartheid activism made him a frequent target of the authorities.

From 1952, he was banned numerous times (severely restricted in travel, association and speech), and in December 1956 he was arrested with more than 100 other people on charges of treason that were designed to harass anti-government activists. Mandela went on trial that same year and eventually was acquitted in 1961. During the extended court proceedings, he divorced his first wife and married Nomzamo Winifred Zanyiwe Madikizela.



**Figure 2.13** The ‘Treason trial’ accused members from 1956: One hundred and fifty-six members of the African National Congress, including black South Africans, Europeans and Indians (including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo), accused in December 1956 of having supported The Freedom Charter, which called for the creation of a non-racial democracy and a socialist economy in South Africa.



**Figure 2.14** Nelson Mandela giving a speech before the African National Congress, circa 1961

## Mandela as head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 'The Spear of the Nation' (MK)

After the Sharpeville Massacre, the ANC was banned by the government, but it continued its activities underground. Nelson Mandela pushed the ANC and its military unit, MK, towards the direction of sabotage. MK's sabotage attacks in 1961 were against power stations and other strategic government buildings and symbols of apartheid, such as the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The banning of the ANC left it no option but to pursue a policy of violence. It was obvious to Mandela and many others in the ANC executive that decades of non-violent

### The policy of violence

resistance had only led to harsher repression by the white government. The objective of sabotage was to harm the white economy, and bring national and international attention to the ANC cause.

After the banning of the ANC, Mandela and the MK successfully operated underground for almost two years. In this time, Mandela moved covertly across South Africa and trained in Ethiopia with other MK members as a guerrilla fighter. As Mandela travelled, he received the nickname 'the black pimpernel' after the novel *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, about a hero with a secret identity. He had close encounters with police in South Africa. Mandela disguised himself at times as a chauffeur, gardener, milkman and chef, and managed to dodge the police successfully. He also made his way to Britain and to other African states, seeking support and advice on fighting

### Operating underground



**Figure 2.15** Nelson Mandela while operating underground as the leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 'The Spear of the Nation' (MK): (left) Mandela learning tactics from commanders of the Algerian Army in 1962, and (right) Mandela pictured in London in the same year

the apartheid regime. His most important work, however, was leading the MK, and keeping newspapers informed of its political aims and of the next sabotage attack. However, in August 1962, Mandela was arrested in Natal and received a three-year sentence for incitement.

## Activities

### Thinking historically 2.2

#### Questions

1. Describe the major events connected to Mandela's family background and education.
2. Explain the importance of the following people in Mandela's movement towards political activism:  
**a** Walter Sisulu    **b** Joe Slovo and Ruth First    **c** Oliver Tambo.
3. Construct a timeline outlining the major roles Mandela played in the ANC or Explain how and why Mandela's role within the ANC changed between the 1940s and 1960s.

### Rivonia Trial, 1963

#### Operation Mayibuye

The activities of Nelson Mandela and MK came to a sudden halt when the police arrested MK's executive, including Walter Sisulu, at a hideout on Lilliesleaf farm in Rivonia, Johannesburg. The police found evidence that MK was planning a large-scale military action code-named **Operation Mayibuye** (meaning 'bringing back what was lost').

... The white state has thrown overboard every pretence of rule by democratic process. Armed to the teeth it has presented the people with only one choice and that is its overthrow by force and violence. It can now truly be said that very little, if any, scope exists for the smashing of white supremacy other than by means of mass revolutionary action, the main content of which is armed resistance leading to victory by military means ...

Extract of MK planning document for Operation Mayibuye found by the police at Rivonia, 11 July 1963

#### The charge of treason

Members of the ANC and whites in the South African Communist Party were arrested and charged with treason against South Africa. They were all charged with sabotage, Mandela being brought from prison to stand trial with them. The white government was outraged that a banned organisation was planning a black revolution. The involvement of the Communist Party was made the central issue in the prosecution of the MK leaders. In the context of the Cold War and decolonisation in other African states, the government was determined to see the 'traitors and terrorists' executed for violence against white society.

## DID YOU KNOW?

### South Africa's anti-sabotage laws

In 1962–63, the apartheid government strengthened its anti-sabotage laws, implementing even harsher legislation to suppress any violent resistance. These laws were used against the ANC members in the Rivonia Trial.

The Rivonia Trial and the life sentences of ANC leaders broke not only the leadership of MK but to some extent its immediate spirit of resistance. The role of Nelson Mandela during the trial was highly significant in recharging the spirit of resistance. Mandela, a trained and articulate lawyer, used the trial as a platform to respond to the oppression by white society in South Africa. During the trial, Nelson Mandela made a historic address to the white members of the court. Firstly, he explained the ANC's decision to adopt violent strategies.

### Mandela's role in court

## Activities

### Source analysis 2.4

#### Extract from the speech by Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia Trial, 20 April 1964

### Source 2.D

Four forms of violence are possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism and there is open revolution. We chose to adopt the first method and to exhaust it before taking any other decision. In the light of our political background the choice was a logical one. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Bitterness would be kept to a minimum and, if the policy bore fruit, democratic government could become a reality ...

The initial plan was based on a careful analysis of the political and economic situation of our country. We believed that South Africa depended to a large extent on foreign capital and foreign trade. We felt that planned destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications would tend to scare away capital from the country, making it more difficult for goods from industrial areas to reach the seaports on schedule, and would in the long run be a drain on the economic life of the country, thus compelling the voters of the country to reconsider their position ...

This then was the plan. Umkhonto was to perform sabotage, and strict instructions were given to members right from the start, that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations.

## Questions

1. List the four violent options open to the ANC.
2. According to the source, how did it justify choosing sabotage?
3. According to the source, what was Umkhonto we Sizwe hoping that sabotage would achieve?
4. Using your own knowledge, explain how the Sharpeville Massacre motivated the ANC to change its approach to fighting against apartheid.
5. Explain the strengths and weaknesses of Mandela's point of view.
6. Why did Mandela abandon the tactics of non-violent resistance?
7. What methods did he push the ANC to adopt?
8. Describe Mandela's rise to prominence in the ANC.

During the Rivonia trial, Mandela also explained his own motivations to fight apartheid:

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

Nelson Mandela, Rivonia Trial speech, 20 April 1964

## Imprisonment on Robben Island

Fortunately for the members on trial, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, the world's attention was on the Rivonia Trial, and the death penalty was begrudgingly withdrawn by the government. The accused were found guilty and sentenced to life in prison on **Robben Island**, a small desolate island off Cape Town.



**Figure 2.16** Robert Resha, Patrick Molaoa and Nelson Mandela charged with treason by the South African government, walked to the courtroom where their trial was being held in Johannesburg, South Africa



**Figure 2.17** Winnie Mandela (centre) leaves the Palace of Justice in Pretoria, 16 June 1964, with her fist clenched, after the verdict of the Rivonia Trial was given, sentencing eight men, including her husband – anti-apartheid leader and ANC member – Nelson Mandela, to life imprisonment. The men were charged with conspiracy, sabotage and treason

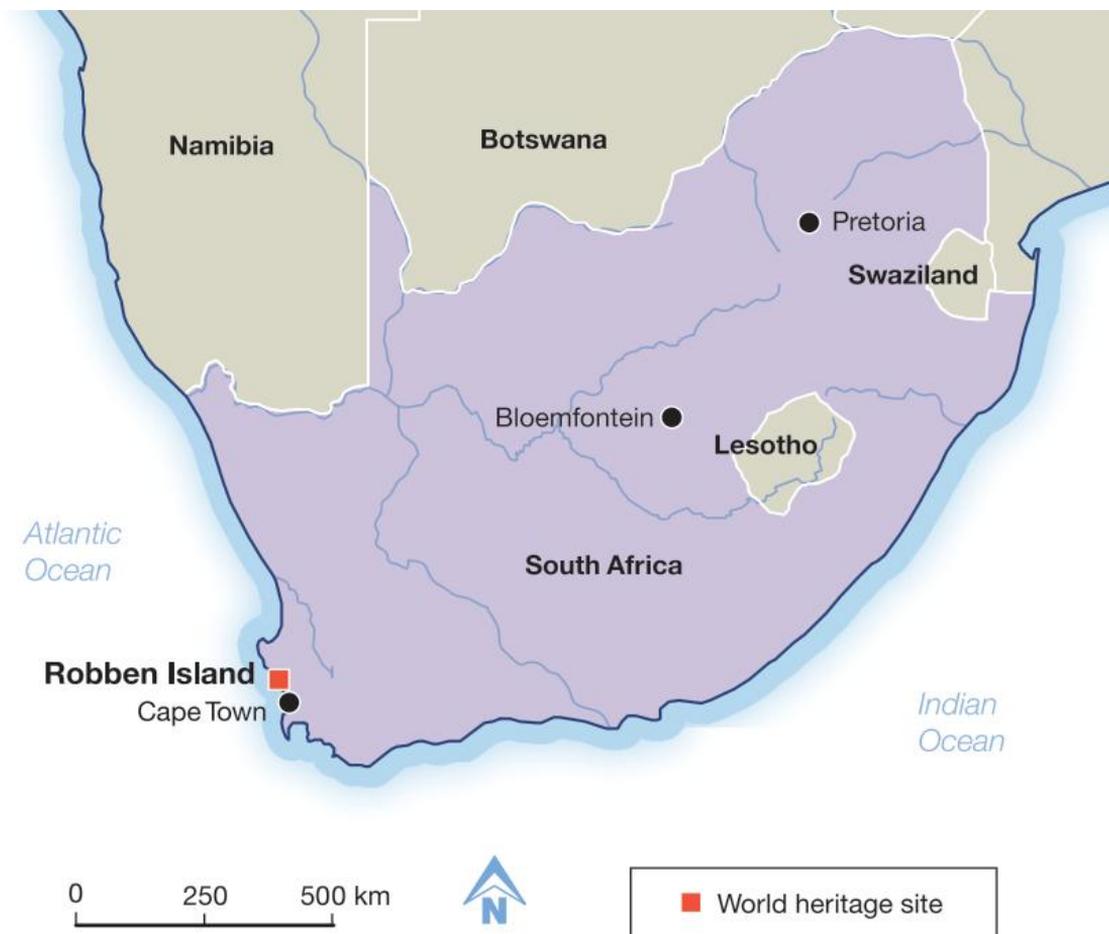
The courage of Nelson Mandela to defy white law under the threat of death and to make a stand on universally moral grounds elevated the ‘struggle’ of black South Africans and their representatives in the

ANC. Mandela gained a high international profile and became the focus point and international figurehead in anti-apartheid protests then and for years to come.

*Please note – more on the story of Nelson Mandela can be found in later chapters. Chapter 3 discusses the rise of the ‘Free Mandela’ campaign and Mandela’s role as an international symbol of the growing anti-apartheid movement by the 1980s. Chapter 4 covers his release from prison and rise to the presidency in the 1990s. Chapter 5 considers his legacy in the fight against apartheid.*



**Figure 2.18** Nelson Mandela with Walter Sisulu on Robben Island in 1966



**Figure 2.19** Robben Island is located just off Cape Town

## Activities

### Thinking historically 2.3

1. Outline Mandela's reasons for opposing apartheid and PAC.
2. Outline the significance of the Rivonia Trial in 1963.
3. Explain why the death penalty was withdrawn.
4. Explain why Mandela's role during the trial was so important in the fight against apartheid.

## Source analysis 2.5

A British political cartoon from 1963 by Leslie Illingworth, which appeared in *Punch* Magazine, entitled 'The Trial'. The caption reads: 'Under the "Sabotage Act" there is no need for South Africa to bring accused persons to trial. They may be kept in prison for an indefinite series of ninety-day periods merely on suspicion, even when – as last week – indictments are quashed'.

Source 2.E



### Questions

1. Identify the figures depicted in the cartoon. Why are they significant?
2. Research the Sabotage Act mentioned in the cartoon. Explain how it allowed the government to crush any resistance and maintain its authority.

## DID YOU KNOW?

### The assassination of the architect of apartheid

On 9 April 1960, a deranged white farmer shot South African Prime Minister Verwoerd in an assassination attempt that failed. Six years later, Verwoerd was stabbed to death in the parliamentary chamber by a parliamentary messenger. Dimitri Tsafendas – a Mozambique immigrant of mixed descent – initially blamed his actions on instructions he had received from a giant tapeworm in his stomach, and was found to be insane and was confined to prison or a mental asylum for the rest of his life. Later interviews with Tsafendas revealed that the assassination was motivated by the resentment he felt toward the arbitrary racial classifications of apartheid, which had adversely affected his life. *Time Magazine* in 1966 reported that around 250 000 (mainly white) people attended Verwoerd's state funeral. Finally, according to historian Graham Leach, the blood-stained carpet where Verwoerd lay after his murder remained in Parliament until it was removed in 2004.



**Figure 2.20** (Left) South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in 1966; (right) Dimitri Tsafendas, who stabbed Verwoerd to death during a parliamentary session, 6 September 1966

## Activities

### Thinking historically 2.4

1. How did the assassination of Verwoerd in 1966 indicate that South Africa was divided over apartheid?



**Figure 2.21** Anti-apartheid protestors in London read the news of Verwoerd's death in September 1966

## 2.5 Indian people under apartheid

What was the role of Indian people in the fight against apartheid?

### FOCUSQUESTION

Though a minority, some half a million people of Indian descent lived in South Africa under apartheid. South Africans of Indian origin comprise a diverse community distinguished by different origins, languages, and religious beliefs. A key factor that helped forge a common South African 'Indian' identity was the political struggles waged against harsh discriminatory laws enacted against Indians and the other Black oppressed groups in the country. As a consequence, the Indian community established a number of political formations, the most prominent being the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) established by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. Members of the Indian Congress were instrumental, from the 1930s onwards, in building cross-racial alliances. The small Indian, Coloured and White progressive sectors joined with progressive African activists and together they conducted a common non-racial struggle for freedom and equality.



**Figure 2.22** Indians of South Africa take part in a multiracial protest against apartheid policies in South Africa, circa 1958

### DID YOU KNOW?



**Figure 2.23** Mahatma Gandhi as a lawyer in South Africa, circa 1905.

### Mahatma Gandhi and apartheid

Mohandas Gandhi arrived in South Africa in 1893 at age of 24 as a newly qualified lawyer to help Indians fight for legal rights. By the time Gandhi left South Africa in 1914, he had earned the title Mahatma (or Great Soul) for his work in obtaining important legal allowances for the local Indian population.

While in South Africa, Gandhi established a protest strategy known as *satyagraha* (meaning truth-force), whereby protestors set about on peaceful marches and allowed themselves to be arrested en masse in protest against unjust laws. *Satyagraha* (or non-violent protest) became one of the great political tools of the twentieth century, influencing the civil rights movement in the United States and the ANC in its early years of struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

## The role of Ahmed Kathrada

The South African anti-apartheid activist Ahmed Kathrada was among those jailed for treason alongside Mandela after the Rivonia trial in 1964. His activism against the segregation policies of the government started at the age of 17, when he joined the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and was one of 2000 ‘passive resisters’ arrested in 1946 for defying laws that discriminated against Indian South Africans. In the 1950s, Kathrada, or ‘Kathy’ as he was known, took part in the Defiance Campaign, and also visited the concentration camps at Auschwitz, Poland, which impressed upon him the urgent need to eradicate racism in South Africa. After Sharpeville and the banning of the ANC and PAC, Kathrada was also detained for five months as a political prisoner. Upon his release,

Kathrada went underground to continue the struggle as a member of the ANC’s armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. In July 1963, he was arrested along with the leadership of MK, even though he had stopped being an active member of the militant group. It was the eighteenth time Kathrada had been arrested for political activism in South Africa. He was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour on Robben Island, along with fellow prisoners including Mandela and Walter Sisulu. He was released from prison 26 years later in 1989. Sisulu wrote of him: ‘Kathy was a tower of strength and a source of inspiration to many prisoners, both young and old.’



**Figure 2.24** Senator (and future US President) Barack Obama tours Robben Island with Ahmed Kathrada in 2006.

## Activities

### Research task 2.1

Google ‘The Role Of The Indian People In The South African Revolution: An Interview In 1968’, From the South African History Online website.

Read the interview then complete the following:

1. Describe this historical source. Who is the interviewee? Is this a primary or secondary source?
2. Outline the roles Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo saw for different groups of Indian people in the fight against apartheid:
  - a Militant youth/freedom fighters
  - b Other Indian people.
3. Explain how Dadoo uses Gandhi’s name to motivate his people.
4. Which particular aspects of apartheid policy does Dadoo identify for his people to oppose?
5. Describe how Dadoo characterised the South African Indian Council?
6. Describe the status of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) by 1968.
7. Explain how useful this source would be for a historian in understanding the growing militarism of the anti-apartheid movement by 1968.

## 2.6 Stephen Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

How was Stephen Biko a significant person in the fight against apartheid?

### FOCUSQUESTION

The banning of the ANC and the PAC left a political vacuum in black politics in South Africa during the 1960s. This void was filled by the **Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)**. BCM was led by **Stephen Biko**, a young medical student at the University of Natal. Biko was a powerful writer and was able to expound the intellectual theories of Black Consciousness coming out of the United States and apply them to the struggle against apartheid. Biko formed the **South African Students Organisation (SASO)**, a breakaway group from the National Union of Students, which demanded change and argued that whites in South Africa would not take the necessary steps to end apartheid, declaring only pride in black culture and history and an advancement of black consciousness could end apartheid.



**Figure 2.25** South African anti-apartheid activist Stephen Biko (1946–1977) addresses council members of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) during a conference at the University of Natal, Durban, South Africa, July 1971. Next to him are members identified as W. Mbalane (from the Lutheran Theological Seminary) and C. Mzoneli. The poster on the brick wall behind them reads, 'I believe in the supreme worth of the individual and [in] his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of justice', a quote similar to one by John D. Rockefeller where the word 'happiness' appears instead of 'justice'.



**Figure 2.26** The clenched black fist became the icon of the Black Consciousness Movement

Biko expressed the theory of Black Consciousness in SASO newsletters entitled 'I Write What I Like'. He argued that only blacks could liberate themselves as white society was too accustomed to the racist policies of apartheid, and that black people must end all economic and social dependence on white people in order to be free.

## Activities

### Source analysis 2.6

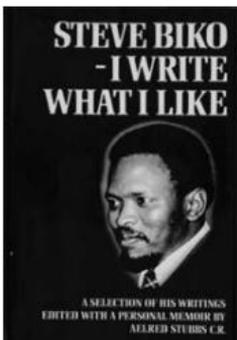
An overview of the goals of SASO was written by Stephen Biko in one of his newsletters.

#### Source 2.F Extract from Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like*, 1978, p. 4–5

1. To crystalise the needs and aspirations of the non-white students and to seek to make known their grievances.
2. Where possible to put into effect programs designed to meet the needs of the non-white students and to act on a collective basis in an effort to solve some of the problems which beset the centres individually.
3. To heighten the degree of contact not only amongst the non-white students but also amongst these and the rest of the South African student population, to make the non-white students accepted on their own terms as an integral part of the South African student community.
4. To establish a solid identity amongst the non-white students and to ensure that these students are always treated with the dignity and respect they deserve.
5. To protect the interests of the member centres and to act as a pressure group on all institutions and organisations for the benefit of the non-white students.
6. To boost up the morale of the non-white students, to heighten their own confidence in themselves and to contribute largely to the direction of thought taken by the various institutions on social, political and other current topics.

### Questions

1. Outline the main goals of SASO.
2. Propose what you think the apartheid government would have thought of these goals.
3. To what extent was Biko's vision for South Africa an impossible dream under apartheid?



'The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.'

'Being black is not a matter of pigmentation – being black is a reflection of a mental attitude.'

'The basic tenet of black consciousness is that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.'

From Steve Biko's evidence given at the SASO/BPC trial, 3 May 1976; and Steve Biko, 'The Definition of Black Consciousness', *I Write What I Like*, 1978

Nicholas Southey of the Department of History, University of South Africa, states that:

‘Black Consciousness was the promotion of the view that South Africa was a black country on a black continent and that black leadership, interest and values had to be asserted and had to dominate.’

In order to advance black consciousness and reach more black people, Biko and other university students set up Community Health Clinics, such as the Zanempilo Community Health Care Centre (ZCHC), to give free medicine and treatment to those in need. Biko’s work in setting up these clinics and his published criticisms of white oppression gained him national and international attention. As a result, the apartheid regime had Biko banned in 1973. He was detained without trial.

From 1973 onwards, Biko came under close scrutiny by the South African police for his political and community programs. In 1977, he was once again arrested and held naked in a cell for 18 days. He was interrogated and beaten into a coma. Biko lay dying from internal bleeding and head wounds, and was driven over 1000 kilometres from his King William’s Town cell to a Pretoria army hospital where he was pronounced dead on arrival. According to historian Shannen L. Hill, Biko was the 46th political detainee to die during interrogation since the government introduced laws permitting imprisonment without trial in 1963.

The death of Biko was listed as an accident by prison officials. The Minister for Police, Jimmy Kruger, stated nationally that: ‘I don’t know what he died of ... his death leaves me cold!’ The BCM was immediately banned by the government and the Community Health Clinics Biko helped establish were destroyed by the South African Police.



**Figure 2.27** The body of BCM leader Stephen Biko



**Figure 2.28** Pallbearers giving the black power salute at Steve Biko’s funeral

## DID YOU KNOW?

The 1987 film *Cry Freedom* tells the story of Steve Biko and is based on two books by journalist Donald Woods. Strangely, the film was shown in South Africa upon its release without any censorship, even though Biko's own books were still banned at the time.



**Figure 2.29** (Left) The poster for *Cry Freedom* (1987), and (right) Denzel Washington as Steve Biko in a scene from the film

## Activities

### Research task 2.2

In 1980, English musician Peter Gabriel released a famous song entitled 'Biko'.

### Questions

1. Listen to the song online and analyse the lyrics.
2. 'Yihla Moja' is an Xhosa phrase. What does it translate to?
3. What aspects of Biko's story does he emphasise?
4. Research the popularity of the song and Peter Gabriel. To what extent did the song help bring global attention to bear on apartheid?
5. Using information on this page and your research findings, explain how popular culture used Biko's life and death to highlight the injustices of apartheid.

## 2.7 The Soweto uprising

What was the significance of the events in Soweto in 1976?

### FOCUSQUESTION

In the immediate years before Biko's tragic death, BCM's philosophy of black self-empowerment, education and independence greatly fuelled a sense of political militancy in many black youths. Some historians believe that the ideas of BCM directly influenced the famous student protests at Soweto in June 1976, while others, such as Sifiso Ndlovu, disagree. He took part in the demonstrations and later said, 'I do not remember any liberation movement ... as students we faced our own destiny and own problems.'

In 1975, the Minister for Bantu Education, M.C. Botha, made it official education policy that half the subjects in school would be taught in Afrikaans ('the language of the white oppressor', as anti-apartheid activist Archbishop Desmond Tutu would later put it). Most black teachers were unable to instruct in Afrikaans, and black students knew that their education would suffer as a result of this policy.

### Reasons for the protests

On 16 June 1976, in Soweto, a township south-west of Johannesburg, school children began rioting against these policies as well as overcrowding, lack of resources and high fees. Most black students began to realise that the objective of apartheid policy in education was to prepare black students to be servants. Protestors were also angered by the general poverty in the township and the rising level of unemployment. Over 20 000 protestors marched in the streets of Soweto. The police eventually opened fired on the protestors with teargas and live bullets. Estimates of those killed range from 176 to over 700. A 12-year-old student, Hector Pieteron, was among the first children to die in the uprising.

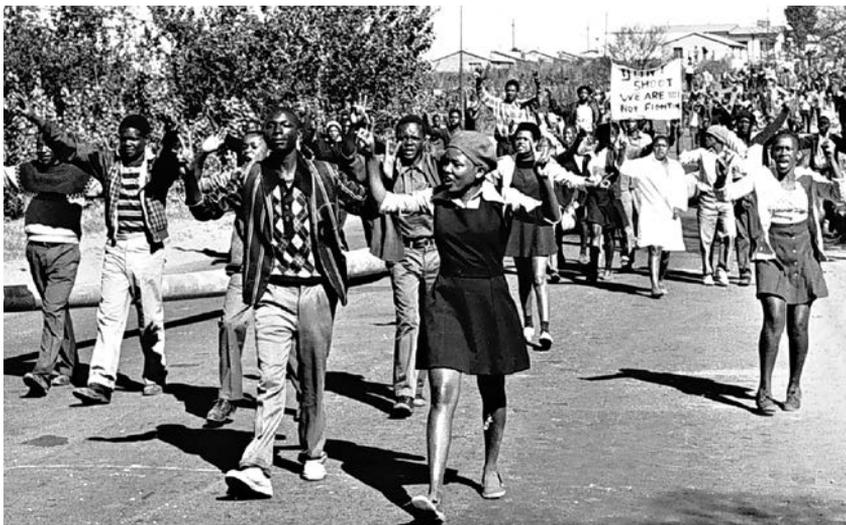


Figure 2.30 Soweto student protest, 21 June 1976



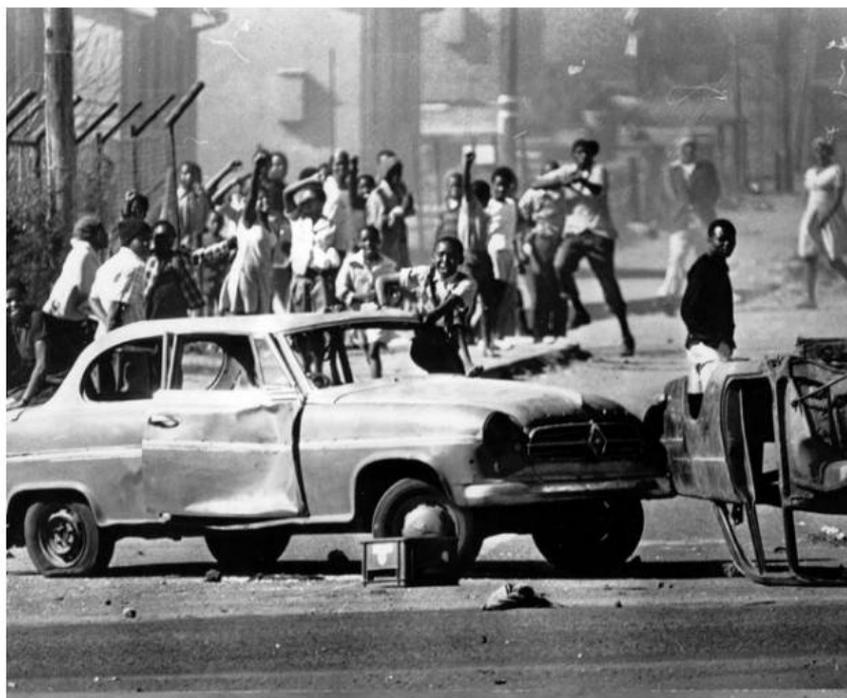
**Figure 2.31** This image became symbolic of the 1976 Soweto uprising, when a newspaper photograph by Sam Nzima of the dying Hector Pieterse being carried by fellow student Mbuyisa Makhubo and accompanied by his sister, Antoinette Sithole, was published around the world

## Activities

### Source analysis 2.7

1. Explain what you see in Figure 2.31 to someone who doesn't know about apartheid.
2. What questions do you think they would ask, and how would you answer them?
3. Why did this image have such a powerful effect around the world?
4. Can you think of any other examples of images that have brought international attention to a particular situation?

The uprising in Soweto was eventually crushed by police, but it had a major impact on white society. The Soweto uprising was the single largest challenge to the government and the apartheid system ever. The government of Prime Minister **J.B. Vorster** and the white community could no longer ignore the demands for change coming from black people in South Africa. The world also cast its attention on the methods and tactics of oppression used by the apartheid regime. Soweto was the major turning point in the struggle against apartheid. Some historians have argued that it marked the beginning of the end of apartheid.



**Figure 2.32** Soweto uprising, 21 June 1976: South African rioters in Soweto use cars as roadblocks during unrest stemming from protests against the use of Afrikaans in schools

## Activities

### Source analysis 2.8

#### Analysing statistics

##### Source 2.6

##### Statistics for Soweto, 1976

<b>Population:</b>	1.5 million
<b>Area:</b>	87 square kilometres
<b>Location:</b>	+10 km south-west of Johannesburg's city centre
<b>Administration:</b>	West Rand Administration Board
<b>Electricity:</b>	20% of homes
<b>Hot water:</b>	5% of homes
<b>Hospitals:</b>	1
<b>Schools:</b>	280
<b>No. of pupils per class:</b>	60
<b>Average rent per month:</b>	R40 for a two-roomed house
<b>Average income per month:</b>	R100
<b>Average cost of living per month:</b>	R140
<b>Number of homeless:</b>	400 000
<b>Employment:</b>	Very little in Soweto – most people commute daily to work elsewhere in the Greater Johannesburg region

*What is history?* Skotaville Educational Division, p. 45, quoted in *Understanding Apartheid*, OUP South Africa, 2006

#### Questions

1. What do these statistics tell us about the general living conditions in Soweto in 1976? Note down what information you find the most startling.
2. Look at the average income of people living in Soweto and compare it with their monthly expenses. What does this tell you about the living standards of the general population in Soweto?
3. Was there adequate schooling in Soweto in your opinion? Use statistics to prove your answer.
4. Based on these statistics, if you lived in Soweto in 1976, what would your major grievance have been?
5. Explain to what extent these statistics help you to understand why there was such anger in the townships in 1976.

Extract from E. Harsch, *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt*, New York: Monad Press, 1980, p. 35

Given black grievances ranging from low pay and poor housing to the Pass Laws and political repression, virtually any issue could have set off a generalised upheaval. The one that finally did was the regime's decision to implement a policy of teaching half the courses in African secondary schools in the southern Transvaal through the medium of Afrikaans.

Adapted from P. Bonner and L. Segal, *Soweto: a History*, Maskew Miller Longman, 1998, p. 78

No new secondary schools were built in Soweto between 1962 and 1971 because it was government policy that all new schools should be built exclusively in the homelands. As a result, secondary school classes were severely overcrowded and many teachers resorted to increasingly harsh methods to maintain control. Pupils bitterly resented this.



Figure 2.33 Soweto student protest, 21 June 1976

Extract from J.P. Brits, *Modern South Africa – From Soweto to Democracy*, UNISA, Pretoria, 2005, p. 5

The Soweto uprising – historical interpretation

The Soweto uprising was one of the watersheds in South Africa history and brought about dramatic changes. For the first time the National Party realized that it was ideologically bankrupt. It became clear that Verwoerdian apartheid was not the solution to South Africa's racial situation and this led to intense soul-searching. This realization contributed to P.W. Botha's reforms in the 1980s and, eventually F.W. de Klerk's dramatic speech on 2 February 1990, which unbanned the ANC and the PAC.

## Activities

### Source analysis 2.9

#### Questions

1. How do the sources support the view that the uprising was triggered by government changes to schooling?
2. Explain why the historian J.P. Brits views the 1976 Soweto uprising as such a major turning point for South Africa and apartheid.
3. Outline what Brits means by 'Verwoerdian apartheid'.
4. To what extent do you agree that the Soweto uprising in 1976 was a major turning point for South Africa? Give reasons for your answer.



**Figure 2.34** Mural painting illustrating the rising of the inhabitants of Soweto against apartheid. Photographed in Soweto in 2017.

## Summary

- By the end of the 1960s the oppression of non-white South Africans by their white masters made South Africa an anomaly in the modern world.
- The African National Congress (ANC) was created in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) but did not represent the majority of black Africans in their earliest period of protest.
- The Program of Action was adopted by the ANC in 1949, becoming its united strategy against the apartheid regime. During the 1950s, there were a number of non-violent protests, especially by Indians, coloureds and white women. The official name was the Defiance Campaign (1952).
- In 1959, a splinter group within the ANC, led by Robert Sobukwe, broke away from the ANC and formed a new organisation called the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).
- On 21 March 1960, the PAC organised a protest in Sharpeville against the Pass Laws. The campaign involved large numbers of protestors marching to the Sharpeville police station where they would burn their passes in protest. Sixty-nine people were shot dead by police.

- Due to the media coverage of Sharpeville, South Africa received international condemnation and calls for apartheid to end.
- Nelson Mandela and the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) pursued a policy of sabotage, focusing on economically important targets. For this, Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life in jail on Robben Island.
- The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was led by Stephen Biko, a young medical student at the University of Natal.
- In June 1976, in Soweto, a township south-west of Johannesburg, school children began protesting against new education policies, overcrowding, lack of resources and high fees, and Soweto exploded in riots.
- BCM founder Steve Biko was beaten to death while in police custody, and his murder shocked the world.
- The harsh realities of apartheid were shown to the world and anti-apartheid protests intensified while the white government vowed to crush all resistance.

## Key personalities, groups and terms

### Personalities



**Figure 2.35** Nelson Mandela

**Nelson Mandela:** The leader of ANC and eventually became South Africa's first democratically elected black leader; imprisoned from 1962–90; leader of the anti-apartheid movement while in prison and was inspirational in bringing about a free and democratic South Africa after his release from prison; Mandela became an international statesman and champion for equality and justice



**Figure 2.37** Robert Sobukwe

**Stephen Biko:** Founder of South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement and president of the South African Students' Organisation; he was banned by the government from political activity in 1973, he was killed while in police custody in 1977; Biko became an international symbol of repression by the white government of South Africa

**Robert Sobukwe:** Founder of the anti-apartheid Pan Africanist Congress (PAC); he helped organise the demonstrations against the Pass Laws in 1960 and was banned and imprisoned from 1960–69

**Oliver Tambo:** Nelson Mandela's lifelong friend who directed the ANC from exile while Mandela was in prison; he was the Deputy President of the African National Congress



**Figure 2.36** Stephen Biko



**Figure 2.38** Oliver Tambo

**J.B. Vorster:** The Prime Minister of South Africa from 1966 to 1978 and the fourth State President of South Africa from 1978 to 1979; Vorster was known for his steadfast adherence to apartheid; as the Minister of Justice he supported the state prosecution in the Rivonia Trial in which Nelson Mandela and other ANC figures were sentenced to life imprisonment



Figure 2.39 J.B. Vorster



Figure 2.40 Walter Sisulu

**Walter Sisulu:** A prominent leader of the South African fight against apartheid; he was imprisoned on Robben Island from 1962–89

## Groups

**African National Congress (ANC):** South African political group led by Nelson Mandela, which led the fight against apartheid; they won the majority of legislative seats in the 1994 election and, at the time of writing, continue to lead the government of South Africa

**ANC Youth League:** Founded in 1944 by Nelson Mandela and other young nationalist members of the ANC to steer the parent organisation toward a more militant mass-resistance agenda

**Black Consciousness Movement (BCM):** South African movement led by Stephen Biko; stressed black pride and the rediscovery of black culture

**Pan Africanist Congress (PAC):** A splinter group of the ANC that broke away in 1959; the organisation's beliefs differed to the ANC in that PAC was focused on liberation and self-government of black Africans

**Pass Laws:** South African legislation controlling the movements of blacks and coloureds (people of mixed racial descent) under the apartheid system; the laws were created to control the movement of people between their homes and places of work, and between rural and urban areas; between 1952 and 1986, millions were punished by the courts for failing to carry their passes; the Pass Laws were abolished in 1986

**Poqo:** Military wing of the PAC

**South African Students' Organisation (SASO):** A breakaway group from the National Union of Students, which demanded change and argued that whites in South Africa would not take the necessary steps to end apartheid

**Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation):** Also known as MK, this was the military wing of the ANC co-formed by Nelson Mandela in 1960

## Terms

**Operation Mayibuye:** (meaning 'bringing back what was lost') A plan of guerilla-type activities against the apartheid government by the ANC's military wing MK, which was thwarted in 1963 during a police raid at Rivonia

## Activities

### Thinking historically 2.5

1. Describe the growth of the ANC up to 1960.
2. Explain why some members left the ANC and formed the PAC.
3. Identify the fundamental differences between the tactics of the ANC and the PAC.
4. Draw up a table to show the immediate effects of the Sharpeville Massacre. Copy and complete the table below.

The Sharpeville Massacre		
Immediate effects	Short-term effects	Long-term effects

5. Explain the significance of the Sharpeville Massacre in the fight against apartheid.
6. Discuss why Nelson Mandela abandoned the tactic of non-violent resistance.
7. Outline the methods he pushed the ANC to adopt.
8. Write a brief description of the significance of the Rivonia Trial in 1963.
9. Why was the death penalty withdrawn in the Rivonia Trial?
10. Explain why Mandela's role during the trial was so important in the fight against apartheid.
11. Describe the methods Stephen Biko used to promote the black cause.
12. Outline the philosophy of the Black Consciousness Movement.
13. Explain the significance of the Soweto Uprising in 1976.

### Source analysis 2.10

Examine the following historical sources and answer the questions which follow.

**Extract from Stephen Biko, 'The Quest for a True Humanity',  
*I Write What I Like*, 1978**

Source 2.H

'Black Consciousness is an attitude of the mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude.'

**Extract from Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 1994**

Source 2.I

'We of the ANC had always stood for non-racial democracy, and we shrank from any policy which might drive the races further apart than they already were. But the hard facts were the fifty years of non-white non-violence

had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights ... (It) would be unrealistic and wrong for the African leader to continue preaching non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force.'

### Questions

1. What insights does Source 2.H provide about the nature of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa?
2. How does Stephen Biko explain the philosophy of Black Consciousness?
3. Examine Source 2.I. Why did Mandela believe that the ANC needed to abandon non-violence as a tactic? Outline the reason he provides.



**Figure 2.41** In the 1990s South African President Nelson Mandela unveiled a statue to honour Stephen Biko in East London in the Eastern Cape province.

# PART 3

## Repression and control by South African governments



A riot policeman beats a young person in 1976, in Cape Town, South Africa

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# 3

## How the apartheid policy was enforced

At the end of this topic you should attempt to answer the following question:

**How did the government of South Africa control and repress black society during the apartheid period?**

### Key syllabus features

The key features are:

- role and impact of state terror and repression
- resistance to apartheid.

The key features provide the basis for HSC examination questions.

### 3.1 Enforcing apartheid

#### FOCUSQUESTION

What was South Africa like under apartheid by the 1970s?

#### Timeline

<b>1972</b>	Black People's Convention
<b>1973</b>	Major strikes in Durban
<b>1976</b>	Nationwide student protest
<b>1976</b>	Soweto student uprising
<b>1977</b>	UN imposes arms embargo on South Africa
<b>1977</b>	Stephen Biko is murdered in police custody
<b>1983</b>	United Democratic Front forms
<b>1984</b>	Archbishop Tutu wins Nobel Peace Prize
<b>1985</b>	International sanctions are imposed on South Africa
<b>1986</b>	State of Emergency is declared

#### Introduction

South Africa in the 1970s began to change dramatically. The economic boom of the 1960s began to slow and unemployment began to rise. The black population was growing at a much faster rate than the white population. Resistance from black organisations intensified and international pressure against apartheid increased. The complex set of laws and enforcing bodies that were part of the apartheid apparatus became very expensive.

South Africa's neighbours were throwing off their white masters and setting up independent black governments. All this caused great anxiety for the minority white government. The government used increasing amounts of force and a range of repressive tactics to maintain power in South Africa.



**Figure 3.1** Police officers drag away a man who has just been shot in Cape Town, South Africa, 1976

### 3.2 The role and significance of Bantustans and independent black states

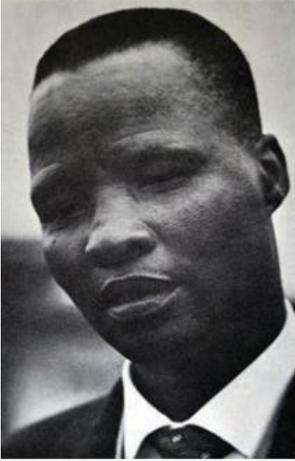
How did the apartheid government control and repress black society through the Homeland System?

#### FOCUSQUESTION

During the 1970s the government wanted to make a number of the Bantustans fully independent black states. The concept was to preserve 'white' South Africa and appease the rest of the world. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, in 1959 the *Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act* had been passed. This legislation was designed to create homelands or Bantustans as separate areas for black South Africans to live according to their racial group. While he was the Minister for Native Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd was determined to push the message of 'separate development' for all black South Africans. The theory was to 'retribalise' Africans. The economic, political and social administration of the Bantustans would eventually come under the control of black civil administrators, not the Republic of South Africa, and all blacks would be prescribed to one of the 10 Bantustans as a homeland.

The Bantustans by the 1970s

Many black leaders opposed the homelands, but eventually came to adopt government policies. However, most people living in the Bantustans saw the black tribal chiefs – such as Kaiser Matanzima, the leader of the



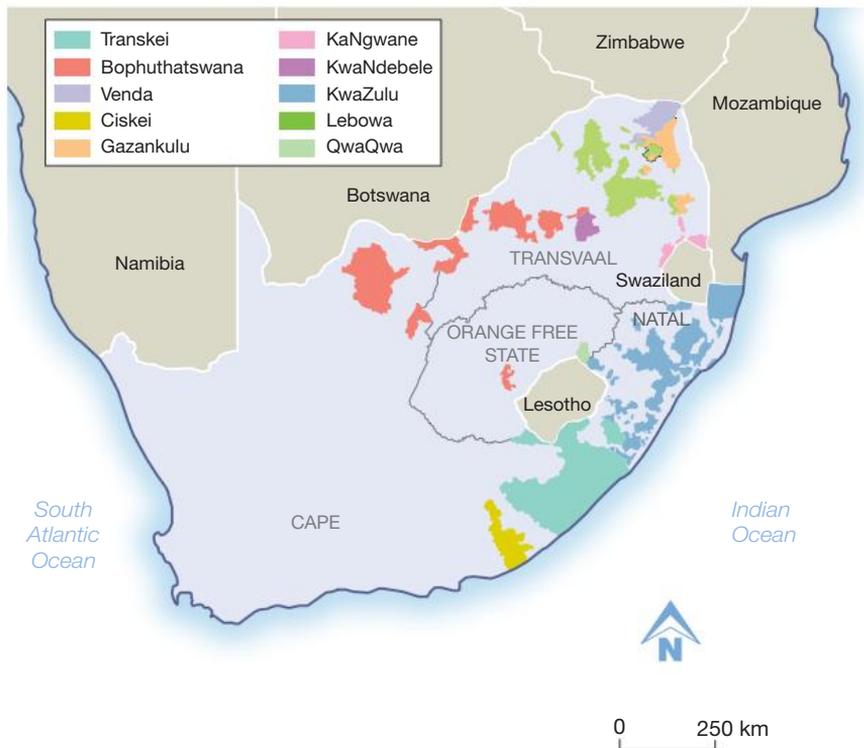
**Figure 3.2** Many considered leaders of the homelands to be puppets of the South African government, such as Kaiser Matanzima, the long-time leader of the Transkei

Transkei – and other leaders who were appointed by the white government as mere ‘lackeys’ of the South African government. The reality was that Bantustans were overcrowded and impoverished, and heavily reliant on South African infrastructure and economic aid. Bantustans such as Bophuthatswana relied heavily on subsidies from the white government.

The creation of the Bantustans was the jewel in the crown of the social engineering policies of the apartheid government. The government hoped this would solve the ‘black problem’ forever because ‘ethnic’ loyalty in the Bantustans would replace broader African nationalism and split the power base of anti-apartheid groups such as the ANC and PAC. By the 1970s, the Bantustans were a failure, yet the government was determined to make them independent as a demonstration of liberalisation and modernisation, and a way of quelling domestic and international protest. However, Bantustans only ever housed one-third of the black African population and they never received international recognition as independent nations.

**Making homelands  
‘independent’**

The government decided to grant limited independence to four homelands. This would entitle them to their own president and give them some administrative powers. However, the homelands remained



**Figure 3.3** A map of Bantustans or native homelands by 1994

financially dependent on South Africa and did not have the right to make their own policies. In this way, **P.W. Botha** and his cabinet hoped to create a group of African leaders in the homelands who depended on the South African government's support. In 1976, the Transkei became the first homeland to gain its 'independence', followed by Bophuthatswana and Venda in 1977 and Ciskei in 1981. However, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused to accept 'independence' for KwaZulu, and massive resistance by the people in the remaining Bantustans eventually led the government to scrap its plans to extend 'independence' to them.



**Figure 3.4** KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi speaking in 1989

The homelands are listed below with the ethnic group for which each homeland was designated, with limited self-government:

**Bantustans in South Africa**

**Table 3.1** 'Independent' states

Bantustan	Tribe	Years
Transkei	Xhosa	1976–1994
Bophuthatswana	Tswana	1977–1994
Venda	Venda	1979–1994
Ciskei	Xhosa	1981–1994

**Table 3.2** Self-governing entities

Bantustan	Tribe	Years
Gazankulu	Tsonga	1971–1994
Lebowa	Northern Sotho	1972–1994
QwaQwa	Southern Sotho	1974–1994
KaNcwane	Swazi	1981–1994
KwaNdebele	Ndebele	1981–1994
KwaZulu	Zulus	1981–1994

**Activities**

**Thinking historically 3.1**

1. Why did the Botha government make some of the homelands 'independent' in the late 1970s and early 1980s?
2. Explain the role KwaZulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi played in resisting the policies of the apartheid government.
3. Explain why 'independent' homelands were never truly independent.

### 3.3 The nature, impact and significance of tactics of repression and oppression

#### FOCUS QUESTION

What methods were used by the apartheid regime to enforce control over the non-white population?

#### Total onslaught

By the mid-1980s, the new leader of the National Party and South Africa, P.W. Botha, declared that South Africa was facing a **'total onslaught'** in every aspect of its national life'. Botha was determined to keep South Africa under white minority rule. Botha perceived a world conspiracy against South Africa, led by Communists, who were helping liberate Mozambique and Angola at that time. To counter this threat, Botha declared a policy of **total strategy**, where every aspect of white South Africa would fight to resist its enemies, both internal and external.



**Figure 3.5** President P.W. Botha giving a speech outlining 'total strategy', Johannesburg, South Africa, 1985

#### Reforms of 'total strategy'

'Total strategy' aimed to counter 'total onslaught'. The government intended to gradually introduce a number of reforms in the hope of winning black people's support.

- The government planned to:
  - change petty apartheid laws such as separate amenities and therefore less 'public apartheid'
  - recognise African Trade Unions
  - repeal laws against interracial sex and marriage
  - end some segregation in business and employment
- The government granted limited independence to four homelands. These included the previous Bantustans of the Transkei in 1976, Bophuthatswana and Venda in 1977, and the Ciskei in 1981. These homelands were still economically dependent on the South African economy.
- The government planned to reorganise black urban townships by allowing the development of new townships and by providing them with adequate facilities, housing, water and electricity. This was done to reduce the frequency of riots in the townships, which were growing steadily.
- The government attempted to build a black 'middle class'. Wealthier blacks formed a class that poor blacks referred to as the 'excuse me class'. This was an attempt to get black people to 'appreciate' the white government but not demand the end of apartheid.
- In 1983, the South African Constitution was changed, allowing a tricameral Parliament, which gave parliamentary representation to coloured people and Indians. Blacks were still denied the right to vote in their own country. The 1983 constitution was widely considered a sham because blacks were still excluded from parliamentary representation at

every level and the representation of coloureds and Indians could be overridden by the white representatives in the President's Council.

At the same time, the white government intensified its repression to crush all opposition. Tactics included more banning orders, strengthening of the army and increasing the civil defence forces. Fighting wars in border nations to prevent liberation and deliberately destabilising any black government not subordinate to South Africa became part of government policy. Strategies for increasing white male conscription into the armed forces, attempting to purchase a nuclear bomb from Israel and trying to persuade the world to accept apartheid, and South Africa's so called status as a besieged nation, were also implemented.

The following tactics of oppression and repression were used:

- Additional security measures and legislation were created in parliament.
- *Internal Security Amendment Act No. 79* of 1976 granted the police powers to deal with individuals who were seen as a threat to the security of the state.
- A large number of activists were detained without trial and many died from 'suicide or hunger strikes' while in police custody (including Stephen Biko).
- In 1977, 17 black political organisations and the black daily newspaper *The World* (famous for publishing Sam Nzima's iconic photograph of Hector Pieterse, taken during the Soweto uprising of 16 June 1976) were banned.
- The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), newsprint and radio complied with censorship laws set down by the government (TV in South Africa did not arrive until 1976, making government control of the media somewhat easier than in other Western countries). Media was used to transmit biased reporting of anti-apartheid protests and police action. All anti-apartheid newspapers could be closed down. All new reports dealing with 'security matters' were censored. Any organisation or individual breaking censorship laws could be fined or jailed.
- Gun ownership by white South Africans was higher than any population in the world. Whites privately owned over 2 million guns.
- The military was vastly increased and modern equipment such as jets, tanks and military technology was purchased from around the world. Total military personnel increased from 106 000 in 1961 to 592 000 in 1981.
- Total military spending increased from R72 million (Rand is the currency of South Africa) in 1961 to R3 billion by 1981.

### Tactics of repression and oppression



**Figure 3.6** Members of the South African Defence Force (SADF), April 1994

## Activities

### Source analysis 3.1

Source 3.A Statistics from IDAF, *Apartheid: The Facts*, 1983, p. 68

The growth of military personnel and expenditure				
	1961	1974	1977	1981
Total military personnel	106 000	328 000	439 500	592 000
Military spending in millions	72	707	1940	3000

#### Questions

1. By how much did the South African government increase its military spending between the 1970s and 1980s?
2. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, how many more people were drawn into the armed forces?
3. Using the table and your own knowledge, explain what events in South African history in 1961 and 1977 may have persuaded the government to increase the size of its army and the amount spent on the military?
4. How do you explain the sharp increase in the military budget and the number of military personnel from the 1970s to the 1980s?

### The impact of government tactics: a State of Emergency

#### FOCUS QUESTION

What was the significance of the government's tactics?

Black resistance to apartheid intensified in the 1980s, with numerous violent township riots. The leader of the ANC in exile, President-General Oliver Tambo, used the radio station, Freedom, to call on all those people fighting apartheid to 'render South Africa ungovernable'. By 1985, continued protests in many townships left the police unable to restore order. In 1986, the South African Defence Force (SADF) was used to stop the riots and a national state of emergency was declared.

In 1986, the South African Defence Force (SADF) was used to stop the riots and a national state of emergency was declared.

As the white government desperately tried to end the township violence, a general **state of emergency** was declared for all of South Africa. This included strict curfews and saw military patrols in cities and streets. Townships were sealed off by the army.



Figure 3.7 Newsstand posters headlining SADF raid on ANC strongholds in Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe, 20 May 1986

## DID YOU KNOW?

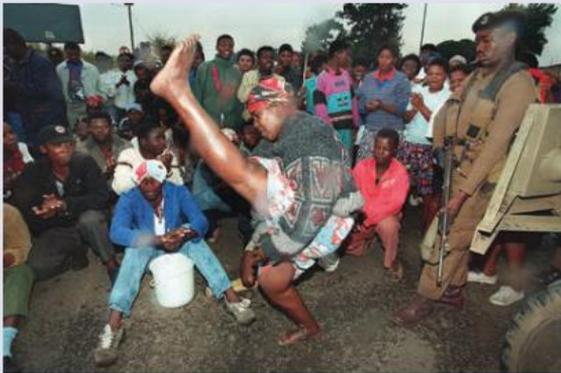
### The toyi-toyi

'Even though South Africa has 11 official languages, toyi-toyi could be considered the 12th, since it's nearly as old as the country itself and everyone knows it, including the government.'

A resident of Orange Farm, South of Johannesburg

'Most of the riot police who had to contain those marches were shit-scared of the chanting blacks confronting them. Here was an unarmed mob instilling fear just by their toyi-toyi!'

A former riot police commander, interviewed for the documentary,  
*Amandla! A four part harmony*, 2002



**Figure 3.8** (Left) Woman performs a traditional dance, in Thokoza township east of Johannesburg, 20 April 1994. (Right) A member of the South African Police Internal Stability Unit (ISU) watches as a group of Zulu men protest the ISU's withdrawal from this township in South Africa. The ISU police officers are being replaced by soldiers from the South African Defence Force (SADF), as part of a plan to bring stability to the townships.

During Apartheid, toyi-toyi symbolized the triumph of spirit through song and dance, against one of the world's most oppressive state apparatuses. The chant 'Amandla' was a popular rallying cry. Widely regarded as the trademark of African National Congress (ANC), this is a Xhosa and Zulu word that means 'power'. The leader would cry out 'Amandla!' and the crowd would respond with 'Awethu', which means, 'to us'. This would complete the cry: 'Power to the people!'. 'One Settler, One Bullet', was a cry used by party members of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) (a Settler was, at that time, defined as a white person participating in the oppression of indigenous people).

The toyi-toyi is quite a marvel to watch. Throngs of people charge forwards, stomping and chanting political slogans. Such energy struck fear into the hearts of the armed forces who tried to contain them. But toyi-toyi

was also a distraction from fear during the marches because people knew that later, once the crowds had dispersed, they would suffer harassment at the hands of police.

Adapted from Lisa Nevitt, ‘...Toyi-toyi? You can take everything away from South Africa, but you can’t stop us from dancing’, *Cape Town Magazine*, 2005

### Political violence in the 1980s

Serious political violence was a prominent feature from 1985 to 1989, as black townships became the focus of the struggle between anti-apartheid organisations and the Botha government. Throughout the 1980s, township people resisted apartheid by acting against the local issues that faced their particular communities. The focus of much of this resistance was against the local authorities and their leaders, who were seen to be supporting the government. By 1985, it had become the ANC’s aim to make black townships ‘ungovernable’ (a term later replaced by ‘people’s power’) by means of rent boycotts and other militant action. Numerous township councils were overthrown or collapsed, to be replaced by unofficial popular organisations, often led by militant youth. People’s courts were set up, and residents accused of being government agents were dealt extreme and occasionally lethal punishments. Black town councillors and policemen, and sometimes their families, were attacked with petrol bombs, beaten and murdered by **necklacing**, where a burning tyre was placed around the victim’s neck, after they were restrained by wrapping their wrists with barbed wire. This signature act of torture and murder was embraced by the ANC and its leaders.

### State of emergency

On 20 July 1985, Botha declared a ‘state of emergency’ in 36 magisterial districts. Areas affected were the Eastern Cape and the ‘Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging’ (PWV) region. Three months later, the Western Cape was included. An increasing number of organisations were banned or listed (restricted in some way), and many individuals had restrictions such as house arrest imposed on them. During this state of emergency, about 2436 people were detained under the *Internal Security Amendment Act*. This Act gave police and the military sweeping powers. The government could implement curfews controlling the movement of people. The president could rule by decree without referring to the constitution or to parliament. It became a criminal offence to threaten someone verbally, to possess documents that the government perceived to be threatening, to advise anyone to stay away from work or oppose the government, and to disclose the name of anyone arrested under the state of emergency until the government released that name, with up to 10 years’ imprisonment for these offences. Detention without trial became a common feature of the government’s reaction to growing civil unrest and, by 1988, 30 000 people had been detained. The media was censored, thousands were arrested and many were interrogated and tortured. (More on how the state of emergency helped bring about the end of apartheid in chapter 4.)

**Township riots case study – Pollsmoor March, August 1985**

**Overview**

In March 1982, Nelson Mandela and fellow ANC leaders were transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison. By August 1985, **United Democratic Front (UDF)** leaders had called upon people to march to Pollsmoor Prison to demand the release of Mandela and other political prisoners (More on the UDF in chapter 4). The protestors were largely made up of students, who were also protesting against the state’s education system, which offered black students inferior education. The march was severely repressed by government security forces, and 28 people were killed in the ensuing violence.



**Figure 3.9** Police attack youths early in the morning on the day of the Pollsmoor Prison March

**Victim testimony – parents of a deceased child**

**From the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report*, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Subsection 20, page 423, published in 1998. Interview held in 1996.**

**Ms and Mr Paulsen testified about the death of their twelve-year-old son, Lionel Paulsen [CT00625], who died with Quentin Bailey (13) [CT00630]:**

Ms Paulsen: We were going to march in Mitchells Plain on the 29th because the march in Athlone had failed. My son Quentin came home and, like children are, was inquisitive. Then when he went there he was shot and killed. I was at work and they called me and they told me that my son had been shot. My husband and I ran home. His brother Karel was just one year older. Karel couldn’t utter one single word. When he saw me he said ‘Mommy Mommy’, and he charged out of the house. We tried to go to the police station but it was terrible. Having arrived there they chased us away like dogs and said, ‘Go and find your son’s body in the morgue.’ My husband tried to negotiate with them, but they wanted to arrest him. Some friends who were with us had to calm him down.

Mr Paulsen: I went into the police station. I hit on the counter and asked who had shot my child. They didn’t answer, they were just looking at me. And then I asked again, ‘Where is my child?’ and they said ‘Go and find him at the mortuary.’ And then we went to the mortuary and found

his body there. For three months I had this pain in my chest. To tell the honest truth, I loved that child dearly.

Ms Paulsen: The next day we returned again and then they took us to the Commissioner of Police. He was a white man on the second floor and he said, 'Please come again on Monday. We don't have time for you now.'

Lionel and Quentin were 13-year-olds and they both died. There were thousands of people but why did the police shoot the children? Karel sat with Lionel while he was dying – now Karel is suffering because he and his brother were like twins.

That day the 29th of August, I still remember that. I had two sons Lionel 12 years and Karel 13 years. That day I lost two sons. Karel did not study any further. They tried to give him psychiatric treatment but even today he is still suffering. We never heard who were the guilty people – who had shot my son.

### **Truth and Reconciliation Commission verdict**

The Commission finds that the goal of the 'Pollsmoor March' was symbolic in nature, namely to deliver a message to Mr Mandela and demand his release. Many of the groups of marchers were led by clerics, students and community leaders. The actions of the security forces on the day of the Pollsmoor March and the following few days were therefore unwarranted and used excessive force. The Commission finds that a minimum of 28 deaths associated with the event were the responsibility of the security forces. The Commission finds that the harsh repression of this act of peaceful protest propelled the region into the most extensive period of public unrest in its history, lasting several months until the end of the year.

Please note: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was a process set up by Nelson Mandela after he became president of South Africa to force the country to address its past in order to move on from apartheid. More on the TRC in chapter 5.

### **Extending the State of Emergency**

On 12 June 1986, four days before the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising, the state of emergency was extended to cover the whole country. The government amended the *Public Safety Act 1953*, including the right to declare 'unrest' areas and allowing extraordinary measures to crush protests in these areas. Severe censorship of the press became a dominant tactic in the government's strategy, and television cameras were banned from entering such areas. The state broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation, provided propaganda in support of the government. Media opposition to the system increased, supported by the growth of a pro-ANC underground press within South Africa.

In 1987, the state of emergency was extended for another two years. Meanwhile, about 200 000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers

commenced the longest strike (three weeks) in South African history. In 1988, the activities of the UDF and other anti-apartheid organisations were banned. The state of emergency continued until 1990, when it was lifted by State President F.W. de Klerk.



**Figure 3.10** A mother walks with her young son and daughter through the streets of Soweto during the state of emergency, 1985



**Figure 3.11** Police avoid gunfire between ANC and Inkatha supporters on one of the most violent days before the first open elections in 1994.

Much of the violence in the late 1980s and early 1990s was directed at the government, but a substantial amount was between the dissidents themselves. Many died in violence between members of Inkatha and the UDF-ANC faction. It was later proven that the government manipulated the situation by supporting one side or the other when it suited. Government agents assassinated opponents within South Africa and abroad; they undertook cross-border army and air force attacks on suspected ANC and PAC bases. The ANC and PAC in return exploded bombs at restaurants, shopping centres and government buildings, such as magistrates courts. Between 1960 and 1994, according to statistics from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Inkatha Freedom Party was responsible for 4500 killings, South African Defence Forces were responsible for 2700 killings and the ANC was responsible for 1300 killings. This will be discussed further in the following two chapters.

## Political violence

## Activities

### Thinking historically 3.2

#### Questions

1. Explain the impact and significance of repression and oppression in South Africa under apartheid by the late 1980s.

## 3.4 The role of South African security forces

### FOCUS QUESTION

What was the role of the South African security forces in maintaining control?

#### The South African security forces

The **South African security forces** became a combination of the police and the **South African Defence Force (SADF)**; demarcations between soldiers and police were gone. Given the task of preventing riots and maintaining law and order in a South Africa that was exploding, the security forces were finding new ways of keeping control.

Many tactics had been used for some time, but the torture of accused 'terrorists' and 'disappearances' of others became commonplace. The South African security forces also used vigilantes, called **Kitskonstabels** (instant constables). These men were unemployed blacks who were deputised and then let loose on their own people with no restraint. The security forces also set up counterintelligence operations spying on all South Africans to prevent criticism of the government. One of the main goals of the security forces was to protect 'key points' and important government installations such as the Sasol oil refinery, which was constantly being targeted by the MK in the 1980s.

#### The military state

A large proportion of the South African national budget was dedicated to making South Africa a military state. People were spied on, banned, banished, tortured, jailed in secret, made to disappear/vanished, forced to turn states evidence, committed suicide, had an accident or were killed. It seemed that the government and its agencies would stop at nothing to enforce apartheid and white minority rule.



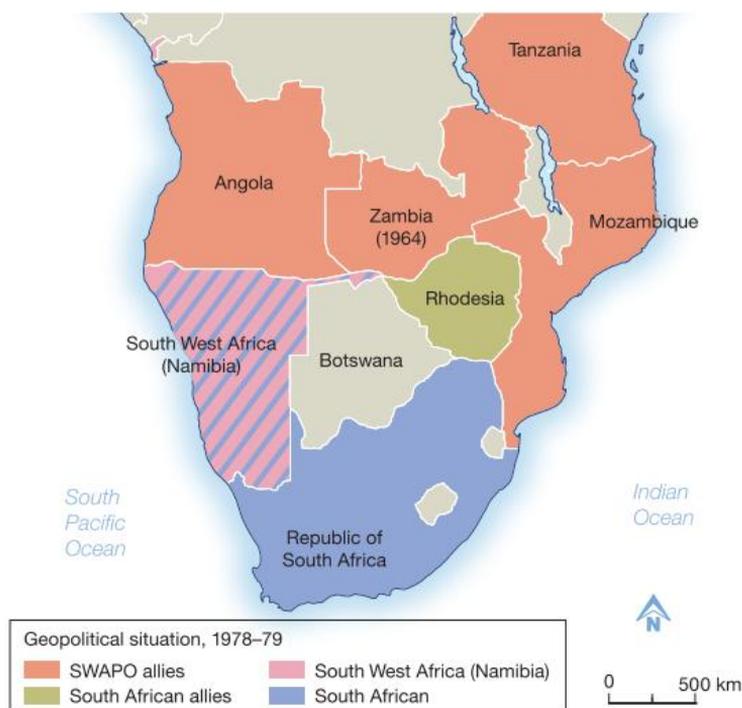
**Figure 3.12** Archbishop Desmond Tutu assisted by Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape, try to escape teargas fired by police, on 23 August 1989 after some anti-apartheid activists emerged from a meeting in St Mary Magdalene, Gugulethu

### 3.5 Relations with neighbouring African countries

What were South Africa's relations with neighbouring countries?

#### FOCUS QUESTION

The second phase of 'total strategy' was to protect the borders of South Africa from the neighbouring African countries who were advancing the process of decolonisation, gaining independence and instituting black governments. South Africa had always maintained the border countries of Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Botswana as a 'buffer zone'. These countries were being supported by Marxist governments, including the Soviet Union and Cuba, who were determined to aid the ANC and other black freedom fighter organisations, such as **SWAPO** in Namibia, in their attempt to rid Africa of apartheid.



**Figure 3.13** A map of the geopolitical situation of the South African Border War or Namibian War of Independence, circa 1978-79. Please note: Botswana was neutral but still had events of the conflict take place on their soil, such as the Raid on Gaborone in June 1985.

#### DID YOU KNOW?

##### Namibia and the South African Border War

In September 1922, South African Prime Minister Jan Smuts testified before the League of Nations Mandate Commission that South West Africa was being fully incorporated into the Union of South Africa and should be regarded, for all practical purposes, as a fifth province of South Africa. He called it an 'annexation in all but in name'. Under South African apartheid rule, South West Africa was ruled much like the rest of South Africa, with the Homeland System and other methods of repression and control put in place.

The South African Border War, also known as the Namibian War of Independence, was largely a conflict that occurred in Namibia (then South West Africa), Zambia and Angola from 26 August 1966 to 21 March 1990. It was fought between the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), an armed wing of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO). The South African Border War resulted in some of the largest battles on the African continent since World War II, and eventually Namibia won its independence from South Africa and became a democratic nation in 1990.

**Forward defence** The South African Defence Force pursued a policy of forward defence by carrying out undercover cross-border operations against every one of its neighbours. SADF crossed any border where it believed ANC bases were. The South African Defence Force also illegally occupied Namibia. SADF assisted **UNITA**, a military opposition force in Angola which was supplied with arms by the United States, and waged civil war against the newly independent government of Angola.

The SADF also supplied arms and financial aid to the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), an opposition military force in Mozambique that was waging a civil war in the country. The main goal of the SADF and the South African government was to destabilise those countries by supporting the opposing revolutionary forces and causing devastating civil wars. With help from the Cuban Army, the former Portuguese territories survived repeated incursions from South Africa. South Africa, which was waiting on support from the United States in defeating the Angolans and the Cubans, were forced back when it did not eventuate.

In Mozambique in 1984, after failing to destabilise the newly formed government, the Nkomati Accord was signed. South Africa would not interfere in Mozambique's affairs and Mozambique would not assist the ANC. However, South Africa continued to attempt destabilisation of its neighbouring countries. To continue the secret war in Angola, South Africa was forced to use conscripts. The war in Angola became a war of high patriotism for each side. The 'Boys on the Border' were protecting white South Africa from the black Communist hordes to the north. Many mercenaries from Australia and the former Rhodesia were also employed by the SADF to fight the Angolans and Cubans. A number of atrocities were committed by the SADF and attested to by ex-mercenaries.

As her neighbours gained freedom and were determined not to support the apartheid regime, South Africa attempted to seal her borders and create a '**ring of steel**'. The SADF built wire fencing along the border with Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) and stationed farmer Commando Units to monitor movement on the border.

### We are fighting ...

To protect Southern Africa against Russian colonialism and oppression

To protect freedom of worship and speech

To protect our families and friends

For peace

Text from a propaganda pamphlet circulated by the South African Defence Force (SADF) and issued to personnel departing for combat duty on the Namibian–Angolan border. Unidentified SADF author; published by the South African Ministry of Defence, 1980s

## 3.6 International responses to South African policies

How did the international community apply pressure on apartheid-era South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s?

### FOCUS QUESTION

After the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the constant township riots of the 1980s, South Africa began to face fierce international condemnation. Economic **sanctions** were applied by many Western countries. Never before had South Africa been so politically isolated as in the years of international sanctions leading up the end of apartheid.

International pressure on South Africa

The apartheid regime was coming under increasing attack, not just from traditional opposition such as the UN, but from the World Council of Churches, international businesses and international anti-apartheid movements. Important political figures, such as Democratic US Vice President Walter Mondale and President Jimmy Carter, and others began to speak out against the apartheid regime and demand rights for black people and tougher sanctions on South Africa. Despite this, Conservative Prime Minister of Great Britain, **Margaret Thatcher**, denounced ‘punitive sanctions as immoral and utterly repugnant’ and Republican US President **Ronald Reagan**, while condemning the philosophy and practice of apartheid, refused to support economic sanctions against South Africa to help end the apartheid regime.



**Figure 3.14** On 13 June 1986 at the White House in Washington DC, President Ronald Reagan addressed the media and stated that he regretted the state of emergency imposed in South Africa but was still hoping to influence the white-minority regime of President P.W. Botha to prevent ‘outright civil war’.

### **Extract from President Reagan's speech on apartheid in South Africa and economic sanctions**

The primary victims of an economic boycott of South Africa would be the very people we seek to help. Most of the workers who would lose jobs because of sanctions would be black workers. We do not believe the way to help the people of South Africa is to cripple the economy upon which they and their families depend for survival ... Strategically, this is one of the most vital regions of the world. Around the Cape of Good Hope passes the oil of the Persian Gulf, which is indispensable to the industrial economies of Western Europe. Southern Africa and South Africa is repository of many of the vital minerals – vanadium, manganese and chromium, platinum – for which the West has no other secure source of supply.

The Soviet Union is not unaware of the stakes. A decade ago, using an army of Cuban mercenaries provided by Fidel Castro, Moscow installed a client regime in Angola. Today, the Soviet Union is providing that regime with the weapons to attack UNITA, a black liberation movement, which seeks for Angolans the same right to be represented in their government that black South Africans seek for themselves.

This Administration is not only against broad economic sanctions and against apartheid, we are for a new South Africa, a new nation where all that has been built up over generations is not destroyed; a new society where participation in the social, cultural and political life is open to all peoples; a new South Africa that comes home to the family of free nations where she belongs ...

## **Activities**

### **Source analysis 3.2**

#### **The USA and sanctions**

##### **Questions**

1. Outline why President Reagan did not support sanctions against the South African government.
2. Explain the influence of the Cold War on President Reagan's decision.
3. To what extent do you agree with the justifications of President Reagan about sanctions for South Africa.

Please note the role of international sanctions in bringing down apartheid is expanded upon in chapter 4.

## The 'Free Mandela' campaign

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL: Nelson Mandela's story (1918–2013)

### Mandela Timeline Part 2 (1976–1994)

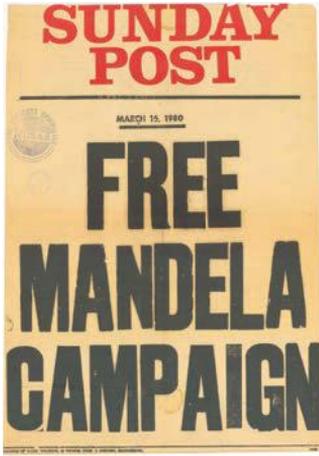
- 1976** Over 600 students killed in protests at Soweto and Sharpeville
- 1977** Stephen Biko, the leader of the protests, is killed while in police custody
- 1980** Oliver Tambo, who is in exile, launches an international campaign for the release of Mandela, with the support of the UN Security Council, known as the Free Mandela Movement; Zimbabwe gains independence
- 1982** In March, Mandela and fellow ANC leaders are transferred to Pollsmoor Prison
- 1986** The international community tightens sanctions against South Africa; it is estimated that, between 1988 and 1990, the economic embargoes cost the country's treasury more than \$4 billion in revenue
- 1990** On 11 February, Mandela is freed after 27 years, as a result of a relaxation of apartheid laws and the lifting of the ban on the ANC by President De Klerk; he is greeted by large crowds as he and wife Winnie leave the prison grounds; he begins to seek a negotiated path to majority rule
- 1991** At the ANC's first national conference in South Africa, Mandela is elected president of the party  
The International Olympic Committee lifts a 21-year ban on South African sportsmen to compete in the Olympics
- 1992** Mandela separates from Winnie Mandela
- 1993** Jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize with South African President F.W. de Klerk; accepting the award, Mandela says: 'We will do what we can to contribute to the renewal of our world.'
- 1994** Mandela participates in South Africa's first fully democratic elections and is elected president by the National Assembly on 10 May

The white government desired Mandela to be lost to history on Robben Island. This may have happened had it not been for the international anti-apartheid movement. Mandela became the symbol of the liberation struggle, which transformed him from just another imprisoned 'terrorist' to the world's most famous prisoner: Number 46664. In 1980, ANC leader Oliver Tambo introduced the 'Free Nelson Mandela' campaign that made the jailed leader a household name and fuelled the growing international outcry against South Africa's racist regime.

[Free Nelson Mandela](#)

**Figure 3.15** Nelson Mandela's cell in the prison on Robben Island





**Figure 3.16** (Left) Newspaper flyer announcing the start of the 'Free Mandela' campaign, in the *Sunday Post* for 16 March 1980, published in Johannesburg; (right) Oliver Tambo, instigator of the 'Free Mandela' campaign

In 1985, Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter Sisulu and one of the campaign's presidents, said Mandela's release was now the number one political priority of blacks, who believed that this would bring about negotiations not only for ending apartheid but for working out a new, 'non-racial, democratic' constitutional system replacing minority-white rule. 'We have come to demand that Nelson Mandela be released and that no conditions be attached to his release ... Mandela is our leader. He is a man known to the people and chosen by the

people. As long as the government won't release Mandela, there will be no peace in this country.'



**Figure 3.17** Anti-apartheid activists Albertina and Walter Sisulu pictured in 1989

The following is an account from the campaign on the occasion of Mandela's 70th birthday in 1988. It provides a useful summary of the 'Free Mandela' campaign's efforts until that time.

### **Free Nelson Mandela – an account of the Campaign to Free Nelson Mandela and all other Political Prisoners in South Africa, July 1988**

‘We are not calling for his release on humanitarian grounds. We are doing so on political grounds. We are saying that he is our leader. This is the acknowledged leader of the group that most blacks support, but more than that we are saying he is symbolic because we want all leaders, all political prisoners, released not on humanitarian grounds but on the grounds that this is going to be part of how we build up a climate conducive to negotiation.’

Bishop Desmond Tutu, interview on 31 January 1986

‘Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela has been in prison for over a quarter of a century – since August 5, 1962 – for leadership of his people in the struggle against racist oppression and for a non-racial democratic society.

‘Prison bars could not prevent him from continuing to inspire his people to struggle and sacrifice for their liberation. Public opinion polls have again and again shown that he is the most popular leader in the country. He has, indeed, grown in stature. As the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group observed in 1986, he has become “a living legend”, galvanising the resistance in the country. The London Times described him as “the colossus of African nationalism in South Africa”.

‘Mandela has become known and respected all over the world as a symbol of the struggle against apartheid and all forms of racism and a hero of African liberation.

‘He is the most honoured political prisoner in history. He has received prestigious international awards, the freedom of many cities and honorary degrees from several universities. Musicians have been inspired to compose songs and music in his honour. A major international art exhibit was dedicated to him and some of the most prominent writers have contributed to a book for him. Even an atomic particle has been named after him.

‘Balthazar John Vorster\*, the architect of the repressive measures under which Mandela and his colleagues were jailed in the 1960s, vowed that they would remain in prison “this side of eternity”. The regime prohibited the South African press from quoting them or even publishing their pictures without ministerial permission. It hoped that they would soon be forgotten.

‘But neither the South African people nor world public opinion have forgotten them. Vorster was obliged to bemoan in 1978 that Africa and the world see Nelson Mandela as the real leader of the black majority in South Africa.

‘The World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, launched when he was charged in the “Rivonia trial” in 1963, has become one of the most powerful international movements of our time. All governments of the world have repeatedly called for his unconditional

release, in the United Nations and other fora. Parliaments, trade unions, religious bodies and numerous other public organisations, as well as millions of people around the world, have joined the campaign which has greatly helped to educate world public opinion about the struggle in South Africa.

‘They call for the release of Nelson Mandela as the essential first step, to be accompanied and followed by the release of all other political prisoners, the ending of repression and state terrorism, the unbanning of the African National Congress and other people’s organisations, the dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic State.

‘Faced with pressure from the South African people and the international community, the Pretoria regime launched propaganda that Nelson Mandela was a “terrorist” and a “Communist” but failed. It offered him “conditional release” but was rebuffed. In its desperation, it has now even banned appeals and demands in South Africa for the release of political prisoners; the demands from the international community must grow stronger and be backed by effective action.

‘The World Campaign must be further strengthened this year, the year of the seventieth birthday of Nelson Mandela. For, the issue is not merely the freedom of a leader of the people but the future of South Africa and peace in southern Africa.’

\*J.B. Vorster was Prime Minister of South Africa between 1966–1978 – the fourth apartheid-era Prime Minister.

## Activities

### Source analysis 3.3

1. What evidence did the ‘Free Mandela’ campaign use to support their view that Mandela was ‘respected all over the world’ and ‘a hero of African liberation’?
2. Who were the main people involved in the campaign?
3. Explain some of the demands made by the campaign in 1988.

**Economic sanctions** As the world watched the military state crush the opposition mounted by the black people it oppressed, international pressure increased and action was demanded. In England, the **‘Free Mandela’ campaign** grew stronger each year. Similarly, many students led anti-apartheid protests and marched on banks, such as Barclays in England and Chase Manhattan in New York, to demand **disinvestment** (the act of selling off or pulling out of business) in South Africa. In 1986, the European Common Market banned the purchase of South African iron and steel. By 1987, more than 250 international companies withdrew from South Africa, including IBM, General Electric, General Motors, Ford and Coca-Cola.



**Figure 3.18** (Left) International anti-apartheid movements – Europe: A ‘Boycott Apartheid 89’ campaign bus in London, England, in 1989. (Right) USA: Student anti-apartheid protesters with placards urging Harvard University to divest itself of South African investments, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 23 April 1979.

The corporate disinvestment in South Africa saw the value of the Rand fall by 35 per cent and this caused an immediate financial crisis in South Africa. Economic sanctions were probably the most effective method to prove to the white government that the world considered apartheid morally reprehensible. South Africa once had the ability to ‘go it alone’ because its economy boomed on the back of mining. By the late 1980s, South Africa was economically vulnerable and dependent on the world economy for survival. Some historians have argued that these sanctions broke the back of apartheid, while others have argued that sanctions were not effective in bringing about reform, but only hurt poor black people.

To avoid these international sanctions, ‘**sanction busting**’ policies were undertaken. The Committee for Unconventional Trade was set up to trade with Israel and countries in Latin America and Asia who would not uphold the international sanctions. For many black people, the economic recession brought about by international sanctions caused high unemployment and great suffering.

**Figure 3.19** Corporate disinvestment in South Africa was designed to put international economic pressure on the South African government to end apartheid policies. Ford pulled its investments in South Africa by the mid 1980s – here we see a disused plant.



**Sporting sanctions** From the 1960s, South Africa was unable to compete in either the Commonwealth or Olympic Games. Britain, Australia and New Zealand banned both Test cricket and rugby matches with South Africa. Games that were played by rebel teams faced pitch invasion and large demonstrations, such as the Springbok tour of Australia in the 1970s. The sports-mad nation of South Africa was deeply offended by the rejection by nations it believed had similar racial policies to its own, namely Australia and New Zealand. Many white South Africans who watched the first televised demonstration against their beloved Springboks in 1971 were forced to recognise the world's disgust with apartheid.



**Figure 3.20** (Left) An anti-apartheid demonstration is held at Perth Airport as the Springboks rugby union team arrives for its Australian tour, 26 June 1971. Australia's anti-apartheid movement held demonstrations throughout the six-week tour. (Right) Police arrest anti-apartheid protestors during the rugby union match between Australia and South Africa at the Sydney Cricket Ground, 10 July 1971.

**The Gleneagles Agreement** In the Gleneagles Agreement, in 1977, Commonwealth Presidents and Prime Ministers agreed, as part of their support for the international campaign against apartheid, to discourage contact and competition between their sportsmen and sporting organisations, teams or individuals from South Africa. The agreement was unanimously approved by the Commonwealth of Nations at a meeting at Gleneagles, Perthshire, Scotland. The Commonwealth was a relevant body to impose a sporting ban on South Africa because several of the sports most popular among white South Africans were dominated by Commonwealth member states, such as cricket and rugby union. Agreed some six months before a parallel UN boycott, it was powerfully effective, and its success may have led the way to sanctions in cultural and economic areas.

## Activities

### Source analysis 3.4

#### Source 3.B The Gleneagles Agreement on Sporting Contacts with South Africa, 1977

The Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, better known as the Gleneagles Agreement, was issued by Heads of Government from the Retreat held at Gleneagles in Scotland during their London meeting in June 1977.

... they accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for, and by taking every practical step to discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa or from any other country where sports are organised on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin ...

### Questions

1. Describe the Gleneagles Agreement.
2. Explain why pressure from the leaders of the Commonwealth countries would carry any weight in South Africa.
3. Explain why the Gleneagles Agreement was a significant way for the international community to sanction South Africa at this time.

### Thinking historically 3.3

#### ICT task

1. Research one of these international sporting incidents involving apartheid-era South Africa:
  - a Rebel rugby tours
  - b Rebel cricket tours, 1970s–1990
  - c African-American US tennis star Arthur Ashe being denied a visa by South Africa to tour in 1970
  - d Discrimination against South African golfers like Gary Player
  - e Any other example you can negotiate with your teacher.
2. Present your findings in the form of a PowerPoint presentation or using other presentation software. Be sure to answer the following question:  
*How did (your chosen event) add to the pressure on the South African government to end apartheid?*

#### Class debate topic

Hold a class debate with a panel of students presenting arguments for and against the following topic:

With reference to apartheid-era South Africa, can you keep politics out of sport?



**Figure 3.21** Bishops in Ireland protest against the planned South African rugby union tour of Britain, 20 December 1969

## Summary

- South Africa in the 1970s began to change dramatically.
- The economic boom of the 1960s began to slow and unemployment began to rise. The black population was growing at a much faster rate than the white population.
- By the 1980s, South Africa was essentially a military state, with record numbers of arms held by the white population and armed force membership.
- The new leader of the National Party and South Africa, P.W. Botha, declared that 'South Africa was facing a 'total onslaught' in every aspect of its national life'.
- The government intended to gradually introduce a number of reforms in the hope of winning black support while at the same time eliminating all opposition to apartheid.
- At the same time, the white government intensified its repression to crush all opposition.
- Tactics included more banning orders, strengthening the army and increasing the civil defence forces. Fighting wars in border nations to prevent liberation and deliberately destabilising any black government not subordinate to South Africa became part of government policy.
- During the 1970s, the government wanted to make a number of the Bantustans fully independent black states. The concept was to preserve 'white' South Africa and appease the rest of the world.
- After the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the constant township riots of the 1980s, South Africa began to face fierce international condemnation.
- Economic sanctions were applied by many Western countries. Never before had South Africa been so politically isolated as in the years of international sanctions leading up to the end of apartheid.
- Sporting sanctions from the Commonwealth nations were designed to embarrass South Africa politically, though sporting rebel tours were held.

## Key personalities, groups and terms

### Personalities

**Pieter Willem Botha:** Commonly known as 'P.W.', he was the leader of South Africa from 1978 to 1989, serving as the last Prime Minister from 1978 to 1984 and the first executive State President from 1984 to 1989; he introduced the policy of total strategy to deal with the problems of apartheid and the township riots during the 1980s



Figure 3.22 P.W. Botha

**Ronald Reagan:** An American politician and actor who served as the Governor of California and the 40th President of the United States from 1981 to 1989

**Margaret Thatcher:** Later became Baroness Thatcher, she was a British stateswoman who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990 and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1975 to 1990



**Figure 3.23** Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher

## Groups

**Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP):** The IFP is a political party in South Africa; since its founding, it has been led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi

**Kitskonstabels:** (meaning instant constables) In the last days of apartheid, these men were unemployed blacks who were deputised into the South African security forces and then let loose on their own people with no restraint

**South African Defence Force (SADF):** The SADF's main role was to defend and protect South Africa's territory and borders, but it was increasingly used to crush rebellion and riots during apartheid

**South African security forces:** A combination of the South African Defence Forces (SADF) and South African Police, used to enforce apartheid and repress opposition

**SWAPO:** South West African People's Organisation; a political party and former independence movement in Namibia

**UNITA:** National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

**United Democratic Front (UDF):** A multiracial party formed with the aim of uniting all resistance groups in the fight against apartheid

## Terms

**Disinvestment:** The policy of international corporations of removing capital and investment from South Africa to end apartheid

**Sanctions:** Economic or sporting bans placed on South Africa by the United Nations or other countries

**Sanction busting:** Using third parties to defy international sanctions

**State of emergency:** In 1986 the government declared South Africa to be in a general state of emergency; to protect the white minority and repress any actions against apartheid, townships were sealed off by the army, the military patrolled cities and suburban streets, and strict curfews were put in place; the policy was in place until 1990

**Total onslaught:** The idea proposed by P.W. Botha in 1985 that South Africa was under threat from both domestic and international pressures

## Activities

### Thinking historically 3.4

1. Outline what the South African government hoped to achieve by creating Bantustans and encouraging the development of independent black states.
2. Why did Botha introduce the policy of total strategy?
3. Outline measures the government took to ensure the crushing of all opposition.
4. Explain the methods used by the South African security forces to maintain control.
5. Outline some of South Africa's relationships with neighbouring African countries.
6. Explain how and why the South African government attempted to undermine the stability of neighbouring countries.

### Source analysis 3.5

#### Source 3.C Extract from Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 1994

In 1981, the South Africa Defence Force launched a raid on the ANC offices in Maputo, Mozambique, killing thirteen of our people, including women and children. In December 1982 ... the South Africa military again attacked an ANC outpost in Maseru, Lesotho, killing forty-two people, including a dozen women and children.

### Questions

1. Outline how Nelson Mandela sheds light on the role of the South African security forces in fighting the ANC across African borders.
2. Explain what the source reveals about the extent of the tactics of terror and repression used by the South African security forces.

### Source analysis 3.6

**‘In South Africa we have always managed to keep politics out of sport’: a British political cartoon from 1968 by Leslie Illingworth, which appeared in *Punch* Magazine**

Source 3.D



#### Questions

1. Discuss why you think the illustrator chose cricket as the sport to depict.
2. Propose how you would explain the meaning behind the cartoon to someone who had never studied South African history.

### Writing historically 3.1

#### Extended response question:

To what extent were international responses to apartheid a reaction to the South African government’s tactics of oppression?

Before you write your response, you will need to make an essay plan. Use the table below to help you do this. You will also need to use ICT to research and make notes for the section on historians’ opinions to support your response.

Paragraph idea	Topic sentence	Key facts	Historians’ opinions
Paragraph 1			
Paragraph 2			
Paragraph 3			
Paragraph 4			
Paragraph 5			
Overall argument (thesis):			

# PART 4

## The end of apartheid



With the relaxing of apartheid laws from 1990, African people were allowed to ride on white buses in South Africa

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# The collapse of apartheid

# 4

At the end of this topic you should attempt to answer the following question:

**What factors brought about the end of the apartheid state?**

## Key syllabus features

The key features are:

- changes in society
- reasons for the collapse of apartheid
- international responses to apartheid.

The key features provide the basis for HSC examination questions.

## 4.1 Political, economic and social factors contributing to the end of apartheid

What were the key events and who were the key groups and personalities who worked to change the course of South African history and end apartheid?

### FOCUSQUESTION

### Timeline

- 1984–89** Township revolts  
State of Emergency
- 1989** F.W. de Klerk replaces P.W. Botha as president; meets Mandela  
Public facilities are desegregated  
Many ANC activists are freed
- 1990** ANC ban lifted; Mandela is released after 27 years in prison  
Namibia becomes independent, ending the South African Border War
- 1991** Start of multiparty talks  
De Klerk repeals remaining apartheid laws; international sanctions lifted; major fighting between ANC and Zulu Inkatha movement
- 1993** Agreement on interim constitution  
Mandela and De Klerk jointly win the Nobel Peace Prize for their work to end apartheid
- 1994** In April, the ANC wins first non-racial elections; Mandela becomes President, Government of National Unity formed, Commonwealth membership restored, remaining sanctions lifted  
South Africa takes its seat in the UN General Assembly after 20-year absence

## Failure of total strategy

The policy of total strategy, or counter-revolution as it became known, did not stop the anti-apartheid groups such as the ANC, PAC and UDF (United Democratic Front) from protesting for political and social equality for all races in South Africa. Poverty for black people continued in the townships and homelands. Unemployment was on the rise due to sanctions, and education and housing were still of a third-world standard.

In 1984 during the townships riots, P.W. Botha declared, 'I'm giving you one final warning: one man, one vote in this country is out – that is never!' By contrast, opponents of apartheid such as **Winnie Madikizela-Mandela** (wife of Nelson) claimed that, 'There will be one man, one vote in this country. There will be a majority government in South Africa, but that majority government will accommodate everybody.'

Botha's state of emergency failed to make South Africa safer for whites. Many whites were suffering loss of liberties under the censorship and rigid laws of the military state. Moreover, the ANC in exile continued to attack 'soft targets' in South Africa, including shopping centres and post offices. Many whites were becoming disillusioned with apartheid and feeling the rejection of their society and culture by the rest of the world. Many coloureds and Indians were becoming openly defiant of the white state, demanding nothing short of full democracy for South Africa.

## The United Democratic Front (UDF)

In January 1983, a minister of the Coloured branch of the Dutch Reformed Church and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Allan Boesak, called for a 'united front' of resistance groups (such as trade unions, churches, and student and civic organisations) and other anti-apartheid organisations to fight for freedom. After regional committees involving local activists had been established, on 20 August 1983 the multiracial party, the United Democratic Front, was formed at a meeting in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, with the Reverend Dr Boesak as the key speaker.



**Figure 4.1** Winnie Mandela, anti-apartheid activist, circa 1980s



**Figure 4.2** Reverend Dr Allan Boesak, one of the founding members of the UDF, 1986

A major goal of the UDF was to fight the introduction of the Tricameral Parliament (see the explanation next page), but they also advocated rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, school protests and worker stayaways. The UDF was highly successful because it was an umbrella organisation representing a vast number of people and organisations with different ideologies and following a range of approaches, but united in their desire to bring down the government. From 565 member organisations represented at the launch in 1983, membership numbers grew close to a 1000 affiliated groups. As many of these were groups who had emerged after the Soweto Uprising, and had become militant as a result, they did not have to wait for the National Executive Committee to drive their actions.

In addition, the UDF had many high-profile members, including church leaders such as **Archbishop Desmond Tutu** and the Reverend Frank Chikane, anti-apartheid activists such as Archie Gumede, Albertina Sisulu and Patrick ‘Terror’ Lekota, and supporters included ANC members such as Winnie Mandela. Despite the UDF adopting the Freedom Charter in 1987 and calling for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of its leaders, the relationship between the UDF and the ANC, and especially Inkatha, was always strained.

While the UDF was not involved in organising the township revolts of 1984 and 1985, instead focusing on issues around the Tricameral Parliament, the government held them responsible and started arresting and detaining UDF leaders – two of the most well-known instances became known as the Pietermaritzburg Treason Trial and the Delmas Treason Trial, both in 1985, with the state claiming ‘its ideas, its mode of operating, its very existence’ to be an act of treason. All charges were eventually dropped and/or sentences overturned.



**Figure 4.3** (Left) Some of 16 UDF activists on trial in Pietermaritzburg for treason including Rev. Frank Chikane (L-middle), Mrs. Albertina Sisulu (C-rear), Archie Gumede (2R-front) M.J. Naidoo (L-front) and Cassim Saloojee (L-rear). (Right) a protest by party supporters against the trial.

## Tricameral Parliament

In an attempt to pacify anti-apartheid activists and foreign investors, and simultaneously break up the unity of the disenfranchised, in 1983 a new constitution provided for Coloured and Indian people to have parliamentary representation in the form of a Tricameral Parliament. The Tricameral Parliament comprised of the House of Assembly (78 white MPs), the House of Representatives (85 Coloured MPs) and the House of Delegates (45 Indian MPs), each deciding issues relating to their respective communities. General issues affecting all population groups were overseen by the House of Assembly. In addition, the new constitution also provided for a State President and a majority white President's Council with powers to override any decisions they did not agree with. Black people were completely excluded.

## Township revolts

School boycotts continued after the 1976 uprising, echoing the call of 'Liberation before Education', and leading to a state of permanent disruption in schooling for black students, with only a small number of students in urban areas expected to complete their schooling. Some students left the country to be trained as liberation fighters in neighbouring countries while others joined the growing numbers of unemployed youths in the frontline of township resistance.

In response to the opening of the Tricameral Parliament in Cape Town in September 1984 protest demonstrations started in the Vaal Triangle (now Gauteng), taking the form of marches, 'stayaways' and school boycotts. These quickly spread to black townships across the country, often in response to increases in municipal rates and bus fees that an already impoverished worker force could not afford, and resulted in increased levels of retaliation by the police.



**Figure 4.4** Students from Johannesburg's Witswatersrand University protest against apartheid to commemorate the 27th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

In March 1985, after numerous altercations with stone-throwing protesters in townships around Uitenhage (Eastern Cape) police patrols were issued with heavy ammunition, leading to the death of six young men. Their funeral could not be held on the Sunday (a court order banning funerals from being held on weekends, Sundays and public holidays had been issued in an attempt to curb political activity) so the community scheduled the funeral for Thursday, 21 March. Belatedly the police realised that 21 March was the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville



**Figure 4.5** Bishop Desmond Tutu (L) and Reverend Allan Boesak (far R) at the funeral of 29 killed in the Langa massacre, 1985.

massacre, so they applied for another court order that ruled funerals could only be held on Sundays! On 21 March 1985 police observed that a crowd was gathering in Langa Township, and later marching towards the white residential area. Although the march was peaceful, police ordered them to disperse. When the protesters did not respond, the police opened fire, wounding 27 and killing 35 people.

Daily protests became the norm with students and activists gathering to throw stones or set tyres alight on public roads. On 15 October 1985 a South African Railways truck with a load of crates drove up and down such a road in Athlone, Cape Town. After it had passed twice, a stone was thrown at it. The truck stopped, armed policemen leapt up from among the crates and opened fire on the students, killing three youths and injuring several others. This incident became known as the Trojan Horse Massacre. Despite the fact that the incident had been filmed by a CBS television crew, and the police could be identified, a private prosecution ended in acquittal of the accused men.

## State of emergency

An increasing number of violent and non-violent acts of resistance led to State President P.W. Botha declaring a partial State of Emergency on 21 July 1985 in 36 magisterial districts in the Eastern Cape and the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging areas (now Gauteng) – a move regarded by many as the beginning of the end of apartheid.

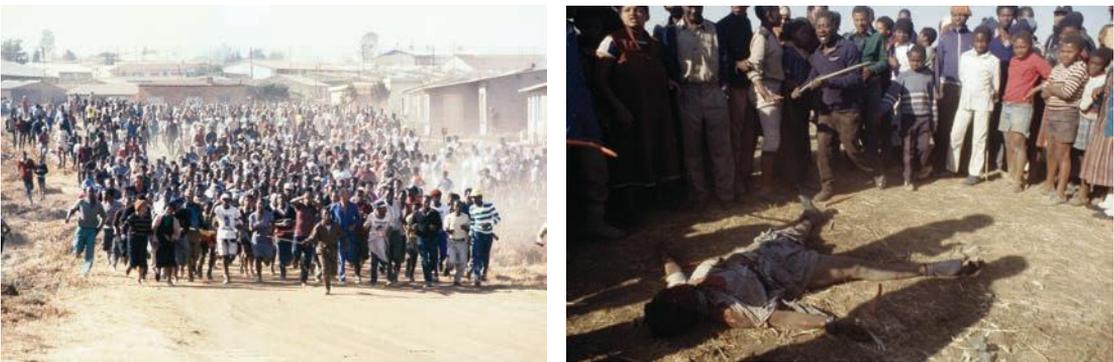
The State of Emergency gave the government extraordinary powers to impose curfews; ban organisations and restrict or ban meetings; detain ‘undesirables’ indefinitely without disclosing their names; and preventing the media from reporting on the Emergency.

With many leaders imprisoned and some killed – for example, Matthew Goniwe (one of the Cradock Four) and Victoria Mxenge – the UDF turned to consumer boycotts which they found acceptable as it was non-violent. Consumer boycotts of white-owned shops as well as the shops of collaborators quickly spread throughout the country as they proved to be ‘an effective weapon’.

By 1985, the UDF, representing more than 700 organisations and over two million members, was a powerful force in demanding the immediate end to apartheid, and so in August 1985 Allan Boesak organised a march to Pollsmoor Prison, in Cape Town, where Nelson Mandela was held at the time. Although the march focused on non-violent resistance to state repression and detention, the police retaliated with force, killing 28 people. Violence erupted throughout the Western Cape, and spread to other provinces.

Increasing violence was not confined to clashes between the armed forces and the disenfranchised poor. In the townships, amid growing fear and tension, perceived police informers or collaborators were treated harshly, assaulted and sometimes ‘necklaced’.

In Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) the situation was exacerbated due to the involvement of Inkatha. Their suspicion that the UDF was a front organisation for the ANC and other ideological differences led to hostilities



**Figure 4.6** (Left) A riot in Duduza township during the funeral of four blacks killed during an attack on government employees. (Right) A black woman suspected of collaboration with the police was murdered by a rioting crowd during the funeral of four black activists killed by South African police forces in Cradock, Eastern Cape.

between the two groups with regular violent clashes and killings, not only in Natal, but also in Inkatha strongholds in Gauteng.

Within the first six months of the State of Emergency, close to 600 people were killed in political violence – more than half of them by the police. However, as resistance continued to spread, in 1986 the State of Emergency was eventually declared throughout the country. This time, political funerals were banned along with certain indoor gatherings, television news crews were not allowed to film in areas with unrest, and curfews were imposed, preventing news coverage of unrest, atrocities and thousands of people being detained. Instead of quelling resistance, the draconian measures of the State of Emergency seemed to encourage anti-apartheid mobilisation as many interpreted it as a sign of insecurity about the long-term position of minority rule.

In January 1986 UDF delegates met with ANC members in Stockholm. Not only did the ANC need a national body to assist with their intention to increase pressure on the apartheid government, but they also suggested other reform activities to the UDF, giving them the impetus they needed at this stage. However, a few months later the UDF was banned, along with 16 other affiliates and other organisations. They continued to work in coalition with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), eventually joining in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in 1989, continuing to encourage acts of civil disobedience throughout the country.

### The banning of the UDF

In 1986 PW Botha abolished the hated pass book, introducing a common identity document for all South Africans, lifted the ban on mixed-race marriages and removed influx control laws. However, the gradual reforms of the Botha government delivered no real change in South Africa, only cosmetic ones. South Africa could not change and embrace the modern world while apartheid existed. Many white South Africans and politicians began to feel that apartheid was like ‘living on the back of a tiger and they needed to find a way off without being eaten’.

### Moderate reforms to apartheid laws



**Figure 4.7** Newspaper New Nation headlining the government banning of 17 anti-apartheid activist organisations.

## Activities

### Thinking historically 4.1

In 1986 Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was reported to have said:

‘With our boxes of matches and our necklaces we shall liberate this country.’

#### Questions

1. Explain what Madikizela-Mandela meant by this statement.
2. Research how this statement was received by
  - a political leaders in South Africa,
  - b international anti-apartheid organisations, and
  - c the activists in the townships.
3. Discuss how the State of Emergency contributed to worsening conditions in townships.
4. Research the contribution of the exiled ANC leaders to the internal revolution in South Africa in the 1980s. How significant was their contribution?



**Figure 4.8** Winnie Mandela makes her infamous necklace speech, seeming to praise the practice of burning tires around a person's neck, in the West Rand, near Johannesburg.



**Figure 4.9** In 1985, a man suspected of being a police informant is almost 'necklaced' by an angry mob during a funeral in Duncan Village. 'Necklacing' was a method used by some vigilantes to deal with police informants. A tyre filled with gasoline is placed around the body of the suspect and lit on fire. This man was saved by clergy attending the funeral before the tyre could be lit. In the upper right corner, a box of matches can be seen.



**Figure 4.10** (Left) August 1989: white Johannesburg riot police threaten anti-apartheid student protesters at the University of Witwatersrand, who are holding flowers and flashing peace signs. (Right) Conscientious objector David Bruce with his girlfriend outside a Johannesburg court on 25 July 1988 after being convicted of refusing to do national service in the South African Defence Force (SADF).

## Activities

### Thinking historically 4.2

#### Questions

1. Research white resistance to apartheid in South Africa. Outline notable figures who led white resistance to apartheid, such as Helen Suzman and Joe Slovo. What actions did they take in the fight against injustice in South Africa?
2. Research the End Conscription Campaign. How significant was this campaign in helping to end apartheid?
3. Research the 1988 court case of university student David Bruce. Why is his case significant?
4. Research the Women Against Apartheid movement. How significant was this campaign in helping to end apartheid?

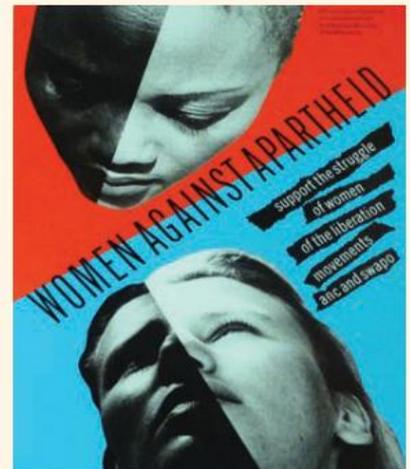
### Source analysis 4.1

#### Archbishop Desmond Tutu:

‘There was a road sign which said: “Careful, natives cross here”, and someone changed it to read, “Careful, natives very cross here”. Perhaps that sums it all up.’

#### Questions

1. Research the role of the various churches in helping to end apartheid.
2. Construct a timeline and biography of Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s role in the anti-apartheid movement.



**Figure 4.11** Poster for Women Against Apartheid, in support of the struggle of women in the liberation movements ANC and SWAPO, circa 1980s

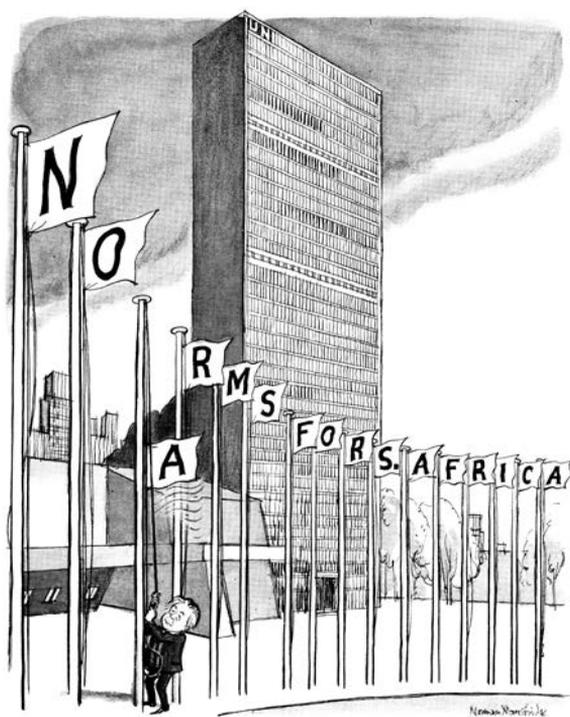
Source 4.A

## 4.2 International factors contributing to the end of apartheid

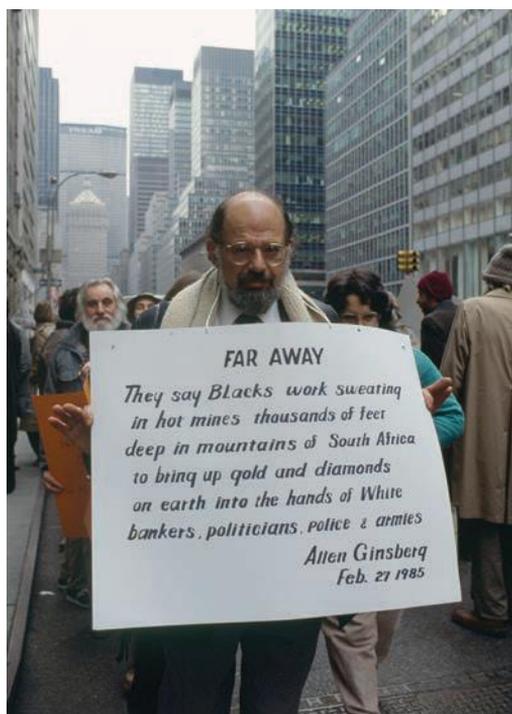
### FOCUS QUESTION

How did international pressure help end apartheid in South Africa?

Throughout the era of the apartheid policies, international pressure of one sort or another was constant, particularly in terms of political condemnation by the United Nations and through the growth of the anti-apartheid movement.



**Figure 4.12** The United Nations had placed arms embargoes on South Africa in 1963 and 1977, as illustrated by 'Into line', a British political cartoon from 1964 by Norman Mansbridge, which appeared in *Punch Magazine*



**Figure 4.13** American poet Allen Ginsberg during an anti-apartheid demonstration in a New York street during the 1970s

By 1988, the cost of running the military state was staggering and the economic performance of South Africa was poor. Sanctions had driven the economy into recession, and 'sanction busting' was failing to fix the problem. South Africa was unable to obtain foreign loans or foreign investment.

The impact of the 'Free Mandela' campaign, sporting sanctions, severe international criticism, military and technical equipment embargos and isolation by other African nations in the OAU (Organisation of African Unity) was crippling South Africa. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 removed the Communist threat, which had underpinned the existence of apartheid since the end of World War II. Festering social, political and economic grievances in all sectors of the South African population left the preservation of apartheid completely untenable by the start of the 1990s.

## International economic sanctions

### Timeline of select international economic sanctions against South Africa

- 1961** Sharpeville killings produce international outrage. African states call for sanctions. South Africa withdraws from the British Commonwealth.
- 1962** UN General Assembly calls for diplomatic, economic and military sanctions.
- 1963** UN Security Council introduces a voluntary arms embargo and the US announces they will no longer sell arms to South Africa.
- 1964** Britain bans arms exports to South Africa. Japan bans investment in the country, and excludes South Africa from the Tokyo Olympics.
- 1965** Students in the US protest against banking chain Chase Manhattan to cease its loans to South Africa.
- 1968** South Africa excluded from the Mexico Olympics.
- 1970** South Africa excluded from the Olympic movement. Throughout the 1970s, some governments and banks ban loans to and investments in South Africa.
- 1971** Rev. Leon Sullivan, a board member of General Motors, advocates the company's withdrawal from South Africa.
- 1972** Universities, especially from the US and UK, start to disinvest in South Africa.
- 1973** UN General Assembly recognises South African liberation movements as the 'authentic representatives' of the majority of the population.
- 1974** UN General Assembly suspends South Africa.
- 1976** After the Soweto Uprising, governments and banks increase restrictions on loans to South Africa. Israel signs agreement to increase scientific research with South Africa.
- 1977** Commonwealth adopts Gleneagles Declaration against apartheid in sport. World Conference for Action Against Apartheid urges all nations and corporations to cease all economic assistance and cooperation for South Africa. Israel sells tritium, used in the creation of nuclear weapons, to South Africa.
- 1978** Corporate codes of conduct introduced in Europe and Canada. US tightens restrictions on support to South African military and police.
- 1979** UN General Assembly calls for UN Security Council to introduce measures to stop South Africa from developing nuclear weapons. Iran stops oil exports to South Africa. The US via satellite detects a small nuclear explosion in the South Atlantic Ocean in September; South Africa denies it conducted a nuclear test.
- 1980** UN General Assembly calls for a total cultural boycott of South Africa.
- 1981** US announces new policy of 'constructive engagement' with South Africa, and relaxes existing sanctions. Springbok tour of New Zealand is the last sporting tour under apartheid.
- 1982** The Dutch Reformed Church is expelled from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1982 for its support of apartheid.
- 1983** Sir Richard Attenborough, director of the film *Gandhi*, supports the cultural boycott and cancels his appearance at the film's premiere in South Africa. UN General Assembly adopts a Programme of Action against Apartheid urging governments to cease any nuclear sharing of nuclear technology or materials with South Africa.
- 1984** South Africa's new constitution introduces a Tricameral Parliament with separate chambers for coloureds and Indians, but excludes blacks. Widespread protests and violence takes place across the country, especially in black townships. The Free South Africa Movement is launched at the South African Embassy in Washington, DC. UN Security Council expands its ban on the importation of arms from South Africa.

- 1985** South African government declares a state of emergency. UN Security Council prohibits nuclear-related contracts with South Africa. Banks such as Chase Manhattan start to call in debts owed by South Africa, while South Africa stops paying some of its debts. Australia bans exports to and imports from South Africa of arms and computers. Britain bans import of South African-made arms. The British Commonwealth passes a range of economic sanctions on South Africa in October, including a ban on the import or export of uranium. Australia and Japan introduce codes of corporate conduct, which limit dealings with South Africa. The US Corporate Council on South Africa is formed, representing 100 US corporations who oppose apartheid. Intensive student activism against apartheid begins in the US. Disinvestment increases, and business leaders in South Africa start talks with the ANC in exile, rather than the South African government.
- 1986** France bans the import from and limits the export of arms to South Africa. US Congress enacts (over President Reagan's veto) to pass the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in October. The British Commonwealth adopts tougher economic sanctions. European Community votes to ban the import of minerals such as iron and gold and new investments in South Africa. Japan bans the import of iron and steel. General Motors leads a flood of US companies to announce their withdrawal from South Africa. Global banks such as Barclays give in to customer pressure and cut all ties with South Africa.
- 1987** Retirement funds (known as superannuation in Australia) in the US withdraw from investment in South Africa following pressure from shareholders.
- 1989** The last remaining US companies in South Africa – Mobil and Goodyear – withdraw. De Klerk succeeds Botha and announces intentions to repeal many apartheid laws.
- 1990** Mandela released from prison, ANC and other opposition groups unbanned, and South Africa ends its nuclear weapons program.
- 1991** International Olympic Committee recognises the South African team. US, Britain and European Community remove most sanctions.
- 1992** South Africa participates in Cricket World Cup in Australia, and is announced as the host of the 1995 Rugby World Cup.
- 1993** De Klerk admits South Africa had obtained nuclear weapons. Mandela calls for an end to economic sanctions. In October the UN General Assembly lifts sanctions.
- 1994** Mandela elected president in first democratic national election, and calls for end to remaining sanctions. US colleges and universities repeal disinvestment policies. South Africa begins to re-establish diplomatic ties with the international community.
- 1995** South Africa decommissions a large uranium enrichment facility, used in the production of nuclear arms.
- 1996** Treaty of Pelindaba signed in Cairo, creating a nuclear-weapons-free zone in Africa.
- 1998** US arms embargo ends.

Adapted from *How Sanctions Work: Lessons from South Africa*, Eds Neta C. Crawford & Audie Klotz, Macmillan, 1999, pp. 283–7.

## Activities

### Thinking historically 4.3

#### Questions

1. Summarise the types of economic sanctions the international community placed on South Africa.
2. Research the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in the US. Why was it significant in helping to end apartheid?
3. Account for the significance of de Klerk's admission in 1993.

## Source analysis 4.2

### Australia's role in ending apartheid

**Extract from Paul Kelly, 'Australia's role in ending apartheid: New book reveals freed Mandela told Hawke: I owe it to you', *The Australian*, 9 July 2010**

Source 4.B

'I want you to know, Bob, that I am here today, at this time, because of you.'

The former South African president, who had recently been released from prison, uttered those words before his ascent to his country's top job.

Mandela's comment is contained in Blanche d'Alpuget's new book, *Hawke, The Prime Minister*, a 100 000-word-plus inside account of how Hawke ran Australia from 1983 to 1991.

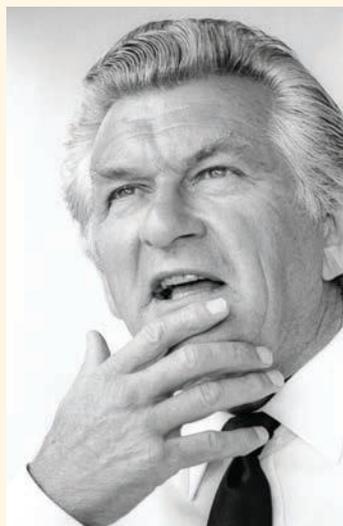
D'Alpuget quotes Hawke's former chief adviser as head of the Prime Minister's Department, Mike Codd, as saying that Hawke played a significant role in the collapse of apartheid in South Africa ... She documents how Hawke devised the idea of attacking the regime through the global banks that funded its economy, won support from a small group of Commonwealth leaders and proposed that Jim Wolfensohn, later head of the World Bank, orchestrate the campaign ...

'It was the most powerful individual weapon that had been used against South Africa. Bob had a good idea and he won other people over to it, he got the right group committed.'

D'Alpuget quotes South African Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in 1990 as saying disinvestment was 'the dagger that finally immobilised apartheid'.

### Questions

1. Define the term 'disinvestment'.
2. Research the author of the book quoted in the article. What is her connection to the subject of her book?
3. Who is interviewed in the source?
4. How reliable is this as a historical source?
5. Explain the effects of disinvestment on the South African government.



**Figure 4.14** Bob Hawke, Prime Minister of Australia from 1983 to 1991

## 4.3 Problems facing the National Party and the ANC in the transition to democracy in South Africa

### FOCUSQUESTIONS

How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s? How were the crises managed: conflict, compromise, negotiation, settlement, elections?

In 1989, after a mild stroke and the failure of total strategy, P.W. Botha resigned as President of South Africa. Botha was replaced by **F.W. de Klerk**, who was determined to steer South Africa on a new path toward ending apartheid.

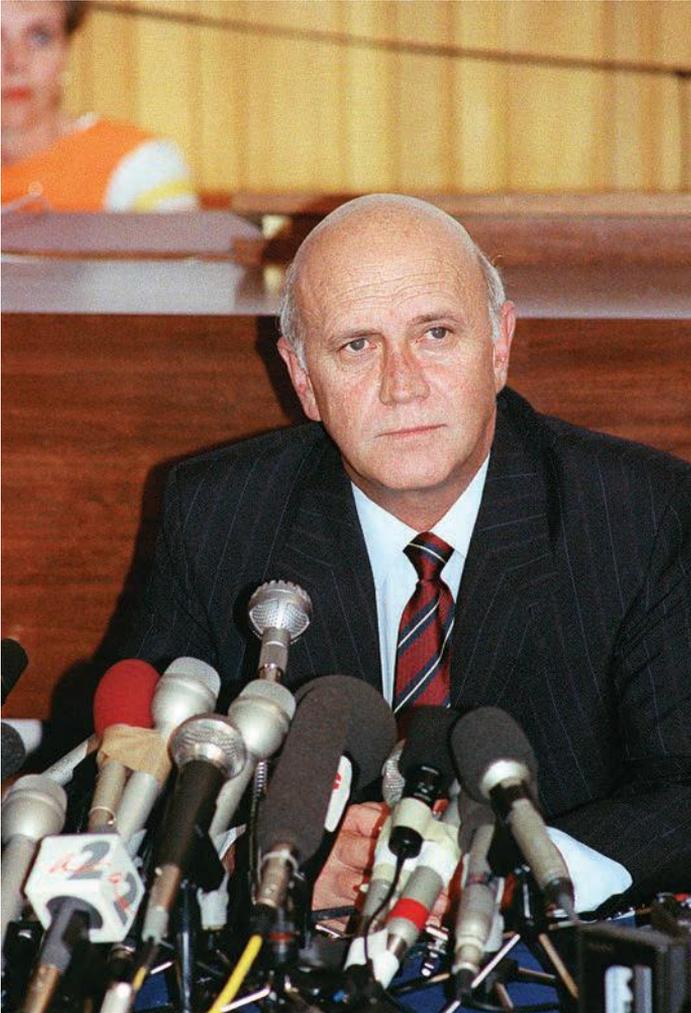


Figure 4.15 President F.W. de Klerk

On 2 February 1990, de Klerk opened Parliament, and in his maiden speech as President began dismantling the apartheid state. He rescinded the ban on the ANC, the PAC, the South African Communist Party and 30 other political organisations. He freed political prisoners and suspended the death sentence. On 11 February, de Klerk released Nelson Mandela from prison. South Africa would have one man, one vote.

### 2 February 1990, Cape Town, South Africa

‘History has placed a tremendous responsibility on the shoulders of this country’s leadership, namely the responsibility of moving our country away from the current course of conflict and confrontation ... The hope of millions of South Africans is fixed on us. The future of southern Africa depends on us. We dare not waver or fall.’

President F.W. de Klerk



**Figure 4.16** Nelson Mandela and his then-wife anti-apartheid campaigner Winnie raising their fists and saluting the cheering crowd upon Mandela's release from the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl, 11 February 1990



**Figure 4.17** African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela (left) and Jacob Zuma attend a two-day Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), on 21 December 1991, in Johannesburg

The transition to democracy was a challenging task. Some historians and Nelson Mandela himself have called it a 'miracle'. Both the National Party and the ANC struggled to keep South Africa from sliding into civil war in the early 1990s. Meetings were held to lay out South Africa's new democracy, entitled **The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)**. It was in the CODESA meetings that the National Party and the ANC debated their differing visions of democracy. CODESA I ended when the ANC walked out of negotiations. Finally, CODESA II was able to pave the way for a new constitution and a national election.

- The traditional rulers of South Africa wanted to hold on to power for as long as possible. They wanted 'one man, one vote' to eventuate slowly to protect the white minority.
- **Eugène Ney Terre'Blanche**, a popular and charismatic South African white supremacist, Afrikaner nationalist and founder and leader of the **AWB** (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) Movement, caused the splintering of National Party and other conservative forces. He led right-wing demonstrations across the country appealing to the Boers to set up their own homeland and defy peaceful negotiations. This made it difficult for the National Party to bring about a peaceful transition to democracy.
- Right-wing extremist elements, including the AWB, vowed to prevent free elections and to assassinate Nelson Mandela.
- Other white extremists also let off bombs and interrupted official democracy meetings such as CODESA.

#### Transition to democracy

#### Problems facing the National Party



**Figure 4.18** AWB members protest against President de Klerk's reforms and the release from prison of Nelson Mandela during a rally in Pretoria, 10 February 1990

### Problems facing the ANC

The ANC faced a number of difficulties:

- There was conflict in dealing and negotiating with the National Party and with other anti-apartheid parties, especially the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) (a political organisation formed in 1975 to fill the political vacuum after the ANC and PAC were banned).
- The ANC wanted a 'one person, one vote' multiracial democracy immediately, and many of its members were understandably anxious to embrace democracy for the first time.
- In Natal/KwaZulu Province, **Chief Buthelezi** of Inkatha refused to have anything to do with constitutional negotiations, and savage violence between ANC members and Inkatha broke out. Chief Buthelezi feared that a 'one man one vote' election would lead to an ANC/SACP government and instead proposed a federal democracy. He accused the ANC and the Nationalist government of not following a democratic constitution-making process and 'bulldozing through' their own agendas.
- The assassination of a charismatic national hero of the ANC and member of the SACP, Chris Hani, by two right-wing fanatics who purportedly were acting alone, almost erupted in nationwide violence. Only a prompt appeal to the nation by Mandela averted a massive reaction.
- The ANC seemed to be losing control of its political base. Many feared that extremist whites were supplying Inkatha with weapons and instigating the fighting between rival black political groups to prevent South Africa's march towards democracy.



**Figure 4.19** Secretary general of South African Communist Party (SACP) and strong anti-apartheid activist Chris Hani, pictured in 1991. Hani was assassinated in 1993, sparking violent protests across the country.

**Table 4.1** Countdown to democracy

Negotiations	Month	Violence
<b>1990</b>		
Unbanning of political organisations (ANC, PAC, SACP) Release of Mandela	February	
Groote Schuur Accord – the terms of negotiations are set out	May	
<i>Separate Amenities Act</i> repealed	June	
	July	27 people killed at Sebokeng
Pretoria Minute – Mandela announces the end of the armed struggle	August	(3600 people killed in political violence in 1990)
<b>1991</b>		
Repeal of <i>Group Areas Act</i> , <i>Population Registration Act</i> , <i>Land Act</i>	March	
	June	Violence escalates in the Johannesburg area
CODESA I meets – it was agreed that an interim government would rule until a new constitution had been drawn up	December	Suspicion that government is aiding Inkatha in the township violence (Third Force activity) (2700 people killed in political violence in 1991)
<b>1992</b>		
Whites-only referendum is held. 68% of the white population vote in favour of continuing negotiations for democracy	March	
CODESA II talks break down – the ANC and the NP government cannot agree on how power should be shared	May	ANC suspicious of the NP's role in the ongoing violence
	June	200 members of Inkatha attack a squatter camp near Boipatong, killing 49 people 28 unarmed ANC demonstrators are killed and 200 wounded by Ciskei security forces at Bisho (3550 people killed in political violence in 1992)

Negotiations	Month	Violence
<b>1993</b>		
Talks resume	March	
	April	SACP leader Chris Hani assassinated by right-wing fanatics 72 people die in the violence that follows
	June	AWB force their way into the negotiating chamber after driving an armoured vehicle through the windows of the World Trade Centre
The IFP and Conservative Party walk out of the talks	July	
Agreement is reached on a new constitution for South Africa	November	(4450 people killed in political violence in 1993)
<b>1994</b>		
	March	The governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana collapse and are incorporated into South Africa
The IFP decides to participate in the election at the last minute	April	
The first democratic elections are held in South Africa	27 April	

Adapted from *Understanding Apartheid*, OUP South Africa, 2006, pp. 91–2

## Activities

### Thinking historically 4.4

#### Working with timelines

In the study of history, a ‘turning point’ could be defined as ‘the time at which a situation starts to change in an important way’.

#### Questions

Analyse the timeline above.

1. Identify two key turning points on the timeline in the table.
2. Explain what caused each turning point and how it changed the course of events that followed. Use information from the timeline and your own research to answer this question.

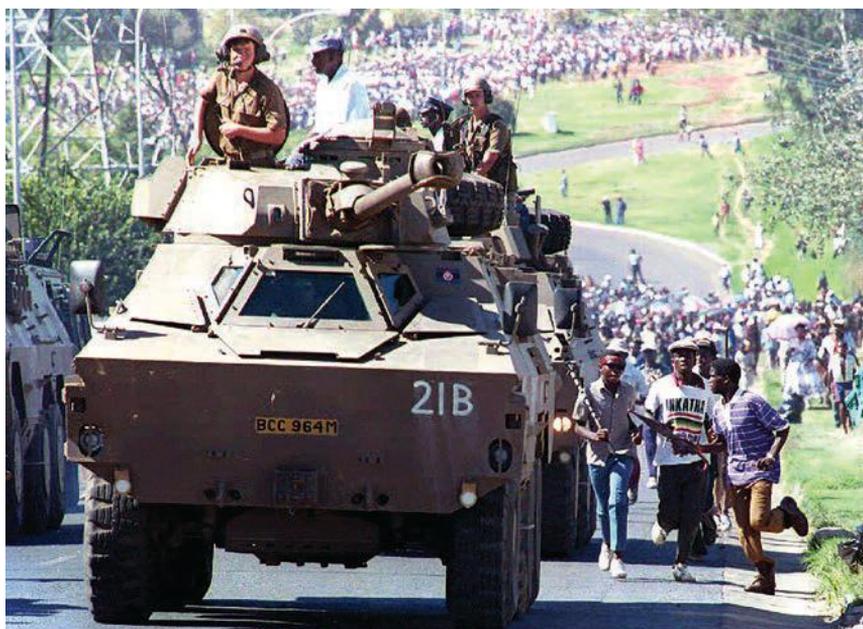
## Political violence and the first openly democratic election campaign in South Africa, 1993–94



**Figure 4.20** Mourners form an honour guard at the funeral of eight victims of violence in Tembisa, east of Johannesburg, 12 August 1993. Addressing the funeral, ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba urged supporters to direct their bullets against President de Klerk and to drive troops out of the townships.



**Figure 4.21** Zulu Impi (regiment) toyi-toying in Alexandra township. They are heading to Orlando Stadium to hear Buthelezi speak at an Inkatha Freedom Party rally, 24 April 1994.



**Figure 4.22** 13 April 1994: A South African Defence Force tank leads some 12 000 Inkatha supporters to the town of Vryheid in Natal, South Africa, to protest against the multiracial democratic elections scheduled for 27 April.



**Figure 4.23** ANC supporters jeer at a passing ISU (Internal Stability Unit) vehicle during clashes with Inkatha supporters while the South African Defence Force (SADF) looks on in the East Rand township of Thokoza, South Africa, 14 April 1994. Violence erupted in the town earlier in the day after the National Peace Keeping Forces (NPKF) took control of security from the SADF and failed to quell the conflict.



**Figure 4.24** African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela greets young supporters who wait for him atop a billboard in a township outside Durban, 16 April 1994, prior to an election rally.

South Africans of all races turned out to vote in their first non-racial election on 27 April 1994. People lined up in long queues that stretched for miles to cast their historic ballot.

**South Africa's first democratic election: 27 April 1994**



**Figure 4.25** A woman sealing a ballot box during the 1994 general elections in Johannesburg on 27 April 1994



**Figure 4.26** Voters in long queues on election day

The ANC won the election and Nelson Mandela, after spending almost three decades in jail, became President of a free South Africa, while F.W. de Klerk became the Deputy President.

At his inauguration as President on the vast lawn of the Union Building in Pretoria, Mandela said:

'Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another ... The sun will never set on so glorious a human achievement.  
Let freedom reign. God bless Africa'.



**Figure 4.27** Speech by activist Archbishop Desmond Tutu during the inauguration of Nelson Mandela to the South African Presidency in Pretoria, 10 May 1994



**Figure 4.28** At his inauguration as South African President in Pretoria, Nelson Mandela shakes hands with former President and Deputy President F.W. de Klerk (right) as Second Deputy President Thabo Mbeki (left) looks on



**Figure 4.29** Mandela being sworn in as President

### Summary

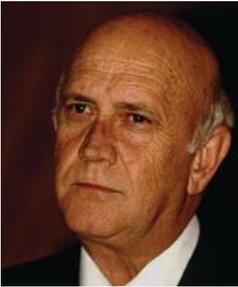
- The state of emergency failed to make South Africa safer for white people. Many whites were suffering loss of liberties under the censorship and laws of the military state.
- The ANC in exile continued to attack 'soft targets' in South Africa.
- In 1983, the multiracial party the United Democratic Front was formed with the aim of uniting all resistance groups in the fight against apartheid.
- By 1988, the cost of running the military state was staggering and the economic performance of South Africa was poor. Sanctions had driven the economy into recession.
- The impact of the 'Free Mandela' campaign, sporting sanctions, severe international criticism, military and technical equipment embargos and isolation by other African nations in the OAU was crippling South Africa.
- On 2 February 1990, de Klerk opened Parliament, and in his maiden speech as President, he began dismantling the apartheid state.
- Both the National Party and the ANC struggled to keep South Africa from sliding into civil war; over 10 000 people lost their lives as a result of political violence between 1990 and 1994. Some historians and Mandela himself have called the transition to democracy a 'miracle'.
- South Africa's first democratic election was held on 27 April 1994.
- The ANC won the election and Nelson Mandela, after spending almost three decades in jail, became President of a free South Africa, with F.W. de Klerk as the Deputy President.

### Personalities

**Mangosuthu Buthelezi:** A South African politician and Zulu tribal leader who founded the Inkatha Freedom Party in 1975 and was Chief Minister of the KwaZulu bantustan until 1994; he served as Minister of Home Affairs of South Africa from 1994 to 2004



**Figure 4.30** Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi



**Figure 4.31** F.W. de Klerk

**F.W. de Klerk:** The last white minority president of South Africa; in 1989, de Klerk became president and began to dismantle the apartheid system; he freed Nelson Mandela in 1990 and negotiated with Mandela for a peaceful transfer of power and free elections; he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize along with Mandela in 1993

**Winnie Madikizela-Mandela:** (1936–2018) The second wife of Nelson Mandela, marrying him in 1958 and divorcing in 1996; she was a strong critic of apartheid, resulting in lengthy periods of imprisonment, torture, solitary confinement, internal exile and house arrest from the 1950s to 1990; she was a member of parliament for the ANC from 2009 to 2018



**Figure 4.32** Winnie Madikizela-Mandela



**Figure 4.33** Eugène Ney Terre'Blanche

**Eugène Ney Terre'Blanche:** A South African white supremacist and Afrikaner nationalist who was the founder and leader of the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) Movement; he was murdered in 2010

**Desmond Mpilo Tutu:** A South African Anglican cleric known for his work as an anti-apartheid and human rights activist; he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 for his political activism; from 1996, Tutu served as head of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and delivered its findings in 1998



**Figure 4.34** Desmond Tutu

### Groups

**AWB:** (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or Afrikaner Resistance Movement) Right-wing extremist group

**CODESA:** The Convention for a Democratic South Africa

## Activities

### Thinking historically 4.5

1. Explain why many white South Africans began to feel that apartheid was like 'living on the back of a tiger'.
2. Assess the importance of international factors in bringing apartheid to an end.
3. Assess the role played by de Klerk in the dismantling of apartheid.
4. Discuss the significance of the various religious leaders at Mandela's inauguration.

### Source analysis 4.3



SOURCE 4.C

A boy prays during an AWB rally at Rustenburg, South Africa

SOURCE 4.D



(Both) AWB members participate in a re-enactment of the Great Trek in South Africa, circa 1980s; (Right) flags of the Movement (centre of photo) and Transvaal (right of photo) are carried along the covered wagon

**SOURCE 4.E** Desmond Tutu's biographer describes how Tutu remembered South Africa's first democratic election in 1994:

'Tutu later pointed out, it would have only taken a few men with AK-47s to kill many people and disrupt the whole voting process. Miraculously, the elections proceeded safely, and after some days of counting, the results were announced: Nelson Mandela would be president of the new South Africa. ...

**Desmond Tutu:**

'Yes, our first election turned out to be a deeply spiritual event, a religious experience, Transfiguration experience, a mountaintop experience. We had won a spectacular victory over injustice, oppression and evil. Friendship, laughter, joy, caring, all of these were impossible for us as one nation, and now here we were, coming from all the different tribes and languages, diverse cultures and faith, so, utterly improbably, we were becoming one nation'.

From Samuel Willard Crompton, *Desmond Tutu: Fighting Apartheid*, 2007, NY: Chelsea House, pp. 76, 77

**SOURCE 4.F** Preamble to the 1996 South African Constitution

(A preamble is a brief introductory statement that sets out the guiding purpose and principles of a Constitution)

We, the people of South Africa,  
Recognise the injustices of our past;  
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;  
Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and  
Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.  
We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to:  
Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;  
Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;  
Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and  
Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.  
May God protect our people.  
Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso.  
God seën Suid-Afrika. God bless South Africa.  
Mudzimu fhatutshedza Afurika. Hosi katekisa Afrika.

## Questions

1. Looking at source 4.C, explain the historical significance of the symbolism on the AWB flag.
2. Account for what is happening in source 4.D. Why would the AWB place so much importance on the past?
3. Describe the activities of the right-wing group AWB during the transition to democracy.
4. With reference to Source 4.E, explain how Desmond Tutu accounts for the success of the 1994 election.
5. How useful is source 4.E for a historian trying to understand the complexities of the 1994 election process?
6. Describe the vision for South Africa after apartheid, as laid out by source 4.F.
7. Compare source 4.F with the Freedom Charter in Chapter 2. Account for any similarities or differences in the language used to describe a democratic vision for South Africa.
8. *'The preamble to the 1996 South African Constitution makes the Freedom Charter an even more historically significant document'*. To what extent do you agree with this statement?

## Writing historically 4.1

### Extended response question

*The methods of control used by the South African government contributed to the end of apartheid.*

To what extent can this view be supported?

OR

Explain why some historians have described the transition to democracy in South Africa as a 'miracle'.

*Refer to the essay plan from the end of Chapter 3 to help you structure your response.*



**Figure 4.35** Young children run through the rain at a squatter camp 19 April 1994 in Soweto. Despite the end of apartheid, massive challenges still faced South Africa, including poverty.

# PART 5

## The legacy of apartheid



Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first black president, raises his fist to a crowd in Boston, USA, during an international tour

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# Mandela and apartheid: an evaluation

# 5

At the end of this topic you should attempt to answer the following question:

**How has South Africa dealt with the legacy of apartheid?**

## Key syllabus features

The key features are:

- differing visions of democracy
- changes in society.

The key features provide the basis for HSC examination questions.

## 5.1 Addressing apartheid: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

How did the Mandela government address South Africa's legacy of apartheid?

### FOCUSQUESTION

*Please note: The following section has been included to provide historical context. It goes beyond the scope of the syllabus to provide a fuller picture of the immediate changes in democratic South Africa after the 1994 election. Events beyond 1994 are not strictly examinable.*

As the first black president, and a former prisoner of the apartheid regime, Nelson Mandela faced almost insurmountable odds in his first years as President of South Africa. His main focus was reconciliation, and he was painstaking in his role as unifier of the many different hostile African nations and the powerful white minority. He created the Government of National Unity (GNU), which consisted of himself as President and two Deputy Presidents, former president F.W. de Klerk and **Thabo Mbeki** from the ANC. His presidency was characterised by the successful negotiation of a new constitution and a start on the massive task of restructuring the civil service. Mandela was forced to deal with many pressing economic problems and the threat of civil war between the ANC and the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party.

### Seeking reconciliation



**Figure 5.1** US President Bill Clinton shakes the hand of South African President Nelson Mandela in 1998

**Forgiving without forgetting**

To heal the wounds of the past, Mandela set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Its aim was ‘forgiving without forgetting’. Mandela believed all South Africans could only move forward once the truth was told and wounds healed. Many members of the South Africa Defence Forces, who told their stories and displayed genuine remorse, were granted pardons and amnesties. The TRC was headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The TRC faced many critics, but Mandela insisted that it was necessary if South Africa was ever to move forward.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up in 1994 by the Mandela government to examine human rights violations from the era of apartheid. It had the responsibility of prosecuting those guilty of crimes in the hope of advancing the cause of reconciliation and peace between black and white South Africans. Anyone could make a complaint to the commission about injustices committed during apartheid. The death of Steve Biko was one case investigated by the TRC. The TRC denied amnesty to members of government and police who were involved in his death. The trials were often very emotional and traumatic, and revealed that the South African security forces were responsible for carrying out the order of the white government to repress and terrorise groups and individuals who fought against apartheid. Eugene Alexander de Kock, a former South African Police colonel, was accused of committing torture and assassinating members of the ANC as part of a secret counter-insurgency agency called **C10**. In 1996, de Kock was convicted by the TRC on 89 counts of torture and murder, and sentenced to 289 years in prison. Members of the AWB who were involved in planting bombs and committing acts of violence were also convicted for their crimes. The TRC became a powerful forum for national grief, understanding and forgiveness that allowed both black and white South Africans to move forward with a sense of hope and closure.

In 1998 the TRC published its findings. Atrocities committed by all sections of society were condemned, including those of the black vigilante group Mandela United Football Club, led by Nelson Mandela's former wife Winnie. The extraordinary ambition of the TRC was to heal the wounds of the nation's past by acknowledging their truth. South African willingness to engage in this process won the nation worldwide respect. In response to the findings, Mandela called on people to 'celebrate and strengthen what we have done as a nation as we leave our terrible past behind us forever'.



**Figure 5.2** (Left) South African President Nelson Mandela receives the five volumes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's final report from Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Pretoria, 29 October 1998. The report reveals human rights abuses by various political parties during apartheid. (Right) Eugene De Kock, who was sentenced to 289 years imprisonment for his crimes under apartheid, at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1996.

## Activities

### Source analysis 5.1

1. The full TRC findings are available online through the South African public broadcaster SABC's website.
2. Choose three events and organise your findings by copying and completing the following table.

TRC Commission findings					
Name of event	Date of event	Who was involved	Witness testimony quotation	Verdict of the TRC	Significance of the event in your view

3. Reflecting on your findings, to what extent do you think the TRC was a positive process for South Africa?
4. Discuss how other countries, including Australia, have faced their past. Can you think of any processes that match the scope of South Africa's TRC?

### Thinking historically 5.1

1. Research the promises Nelson Mandela made to voters during the 1994 election campaign. What were the campaign slogans of his ANC party?
2. Has South Africa recovered after years of apartheid? Has life improved for the African population under democracy? Try to include statistics showing how white and black South Africans compare today in terms of income and education levels, and prepare your findings in a report. Include statistics for life under apartheid and write a short summary of your findings. To what extent, if any, has life improved for the population of South Africa?
3. Research the life of Winnie Mandela.
  - a Outline Winnie Mandela's role in the fight against apartheid.
  - b Clarify her role in the Mandela United Football Club.
  - c Explain why Winnie Mandela was sentenced to prison.
  - d Explain why she was a controversial figure in modern South African history.



**Figure 5.3** Nelson Mandela dances at a rally in Nyanga before the first democratic election in 1994

## 5.2 Mandela's presidential years

### FOCUSQUESTION

What were some of the challenges for South African democracy during Mandela's presidency?

*Reminder – Mandela's Timeline Parts 1 and 2 covering his earlier life are found in Chapters 2 and 3.*

### SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL: Nelson Mandela (1918–2013)

#### Mandela Timeline Part 3 (1994–2013)

- 1994** Mandela participates in South Africa's first fully democratic elections and is elected president by the National Assembly on 10 May. Mandela addresses the crowds at his inauguration, saying: 'Let freedom reign, God bless Africa!' Thabo Mbeki, Mandela's deputy, takes over the day-to-day running of government, leaving Mandela to promote the country around the world.

- 1995** Mandela presents Rugby World Cup trophy to Springbok captain Francois Pienaar in a symbolic gesture of friendship, which was seen as a major step in the reconciliation of white and black South Africans
- 1996** Sets up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate crimes of the apartheid era
- 1997** Steps down as leader of the ANC in favour of Thabo Mbeki: despite his retirement, Mandela forms The Elders, a group that includes Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other statesmen and women, and aims to help tackle the world's problems
- 1998** Marries third wife, Graca Machel, on his 80th birthday; she is a widow of the former President of Mozambique
- 1999** Leaves office; replaced by Thabo Mbeki  
Tours world as a global statesman
- 2000** Plays the role of a mediator in the civil war in Burundi
- 2010** Makes his final public appearance
- 2013** Dies aged 95 after a prolonged lung infection

Unemployment in South Africa soared as many white people, fearful of their future, left for places like Australia and England. They took with them great amounts of wealth and capital and this caused more unemployment. The level of crime increased and horror stories of car-jackings, rapes and murders dominated the media. Mandela and the GNU faced much criticism and many in the white population resented the end of apartheid, and pointed to unemployment and crime as the result of multiracial democracy. Mandela knew that hundreds of years of racial economic oppression would not be fixed overnight.

The ANC set up the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP). It aimed to build millions of new homes, and provide free education for all. Mandela hoped that the Western world would re-invest in South Africa and help the country to recover economically. This did not occur and the government's job was made considerably more difficult.

The economic difficulties became almost unsolvable, and corruption became a political and economic reality in South Africa as it struggled to throw off the chains of apartheid. Many black people were dissatisfied with their new freedom and many white people were disappointed with the level of corruption and crime. Johannesburg became one of the most dangerous places in the world for both blacks and whites.

Another massive problem for the GNU was the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) attacks and destroys the important cells in the immune system that fight infection. This causes the HIV infection, which eventually leads to Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), a syndrome caused by the HIV infection. South Africa has one of the world's highest infection rates for HIV/AIDS, and this was a serious health concern for the incoming Mandela government in 1994.

HIV/AIDS became rampant in South Africa from the early 1990s and devastated many communities. By 1998, the Department of Health estimated that 3.6 million South Africans (10 per cent of the population) were infected with HIV, and the number was increasing every year. The new government did not know how to control the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

South Africa seemed cursed with problems on its road to recovery from apartheid. The government struggled to keep South Africa from imploding. One ray of hope came in 1995 when South Africa successfully hosted the Rugby Union World Cup. The tournament opened in Cape Town on 25 May, but Mandela visited 'his boys' in the city on the day before, saying to them 'you will help bind our country into a single unit ... I used to

wish the Springboks to lose. Not any more, oh no ... You fellows now represent our whole country' (*Guardian*, 25 May 1995). When the South African team won this championship, Mandela donned a Springbok shirt and presented the winning trophy to Springbok captain Francois Pienaar. This gesture highlighted Mandela's role as unifier to his own people and to the world, and was a major step in the reconciliation of black and white South Africans.

In 1999, Mandela retired as the president of South Africa and was succeeded by the Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki. Mandela started an international tour of the world as a global statesman and freedom fighter.

The major problems of crime, unemployment and HIV were not solved during the presidency of Nelson Mandela. He did, however, keep his country on the democratic path. Through his commitment to reconciliation, Mandela greatly reduced many divisions and enabled the foundations to be laid for a secure and democratic peace.



**Figure 5.4** A symbolic moment of unification after the end of apartheid: 24 June 1995, South African president Nelson Mandela, dressed in a No. 6 Springbok jersey, congratulates the Springbok captain Francois Pienaar after South Africa beat the All Blacks 15–12 to win the 1995 Rugby World Cup

## Activities

### Thinking historically 5.2

1. Describe Mandela's rise to prominence.
2. Explore the key events in Mandela's life. Which do you think were the most significant in his rise to power?
3. Research the extent of the economic and social problems that confronted the new government.
4. Outline the steps taken by Mandela to promote reconciliation in South Africa.

## 5.3 The death of Mandela

‘Our nation has lost its greatest son.’

South African President Jacob Zuma, announcing the passing of Nelson Mandela in a special television broadcast

Nelson Mandela died on 5 December 2013. Three days later, a national day of prayer and reflection was held to help South Africans mourn his death. Mandela was laid to rest – as he always wished – in Qunu, the tiny village where he grew up and where his family have lived for generations. Living until the age of 95, later in life Mandela had said, ‘Death is something inevitable ... When a man has done what he considers to be his duty to his country and his people, he can rest in peace.’ Regarding his role in the anti-apartheid movement, Mandela said, ‘I don’t think there is much history can say about me. I just want to be remembered as part of that collective.’

Supporters and admirers have written a lot about Nelson Mandela, but critics have said very little. He is remembered throughout the world as the symbol of resistance to oppression. He and de Klerk were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. He had 19 honorary degrees from universities around the world and received 47 international awards (including the Freedom of the City of Sydney Award in 1987, while he was still imprisoned).



**Figure 5.5** The South African flag flying at half-mast outside the Donkin Reserve in Port Elizabeth during the national mourning period for Nelson Mandela, December 2013

## 5.4 Mandela: historical significance

How will history remember Mandela?

### FOCUSQUESTION

#### Revolutionary or conservative nationalist?

Nelson Mandela is a modern-day giant of both international and South African history. Mandela is the most significant African freedom fighter among many, including Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and Robert Sobukwe. Mandela dedicated his life and sacrificed his freedom to end apartheid. Historically, Nelson Mandela’s life is complex and worthy of great historical investigation. His struggle for the freedom of his people can be compared to that of Dr Martin Luther King Jnr, who struggled against segregation in the United States.

#### Historical significance

Mandela may have been lost to history on Robben Island (which is what the white government desired) had it not been for the international anti-apartheid movement. Mandela became the symbol of the liberation struggle, which transformed him from just another imprisoned ‘terrorist’ to the world’s most famous prisoner: Number 46664. He has developed an almost ‘messiah’ status for his work in transforming South Africa, after hundreds of years of white oppression, into the ‘miracle’ rainbow nation that it is today. Since the first free election in 1994, Mandela did not stop working, and the problems and complexities of transformation from apartheid have overshadowed a valid historical and political evaluation of South Africa’s greatest freedom fighter. Many great biographies have been written which follow a narrative path, that is, simply narrating his life. Some historians have argued that Mandela was essentially stage-managed by the ANC for maximum political advantage in the struggle, while others claim that he acted with great political skill while on Robben Island, controlling the political activities of the ANC and other parties in South Africa and internationally.



**Figure 5.6** A photograph taken from within Nelson Mandela's prison cell on Robben Island, showing the view of the corridor he would have seen daily for many years

**Evaluation** Nelson Mandela's life was complex and deserves more in-depth exploration. Historians will write about his life and make evaluations of his contribution to history for a long time to come. In the final analysis, Nelson Mandela was a **freedom fighter** who, according to biographer Peter Limb, 'helped transform a bitterly divided land and led South Africa to freedom and democracy. In doing so, he became a worldwide symbol of the endurance of the human spirit, and of victory over evil'. Mandela changed from organising terrorist attacks for MK to leading the ANC, and from prisoner to president. As president, he was, in the end, a **unifier** and global statesman who avoided a bloody civil war and created the 'small miracle' of transforming South Africa to a multiracial democracy and 'rainbow nation'.

## DID YOU KNOW?

The new multicoloured flag of South Africa was designed and adopted in 1994 to mark the end of apartheid and celebrate the coming of democracy to the nation, from then on popularly known as the 'rainbow nation'.



**Figure 5.7** The new flag of South Africa from 1994

### One historian's conclusions

In an article on Nelson Mandela, South African historian Raymond Suttner reviewed the current writing on the political figure Nelson Mandela, including current and past biographies. Suttner states: 'to understand Mandela, and especially Mandela as a political figure, it is essential to locate him as a changing political and human being in a dynamic and diverse political environment'. He essentially argues that Mandela's personality evolved, like the ANC itself, and is both the same and different over time.

Suttner identifies Mandela as a revolutionary, communist and finally a conservative/nationalist.

Nelson Mandela was clearly a revolutionary: his leadership and activities in MK, the military wing of the ANC, and its terror campaign to bring down the white state were clearly the actions of a revolutionary. Mandela freely admitted that peaceful resistance was not a strategy that would work in South Africa, as it had in India, and that violence should be a course of action in the future. Operation Mayibuye, which eventually sent Mandela to Robben Island for life, was clearly a revolutionary act aimed at changing the *status quo* in South Africa. However, his revolutionary activities must be understood within the context of other freedom fighters around the world, such as Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and the Weathermen in the United States. Mandela convinced the ANC leadership to sanction MK terrorist activities by regularly stating, 'the attacks of the wild beast [apartheid state] cannot be fought off with only bare hands'.

In his article, Suttner examines Nelson Mandela's connections to the South African Communist Party and the influence of communism on his life. He examines Mandela's deep reading of Marxism, the course on Marxism he taught while on Robben Island, his attendance of Communist Party meetings as well as the pictures of Lenin and Stalin on his cell wall. He concludes that communism ultimately *can* have an ideological impact on the life of any person without it necessarily being a doctrine they follow for life. Mandela

Raymond Suttner, '(Mis)Understanding Nelson Mandela', *African Historical Review*, 39(2), 2007

Revolutionary

Communist

denied being a communist in the Rivonia Trial. The *Suppression of Communism Act* was the key instrument the white government used to ban the Communist Party and all other parties in the ‘struggle’, including the ANC and PAC. The members of the South African Communist Party (SACP), such as Joe Slovo and his wife Ruth First, were originally the only whites willing to help black Africans fight for a non-racial democracy in South Africa. As an individual from an oppressed class/race, Mandela would have been attracted to those people and ideas. The following is a statement from Nelson Mandela while on trial for being a communist and part of the ANC as a communist organisation in the Rivonia Trial in 1964. It speaks for itself about whether Nelson Mandela was or considered himself a communist. Of course, one must remember the context: Mandela was on trial for his life, charged with treason, and the state originally called for the death penalty for all the accused.

I am not a communist and have never been a member of the Communist Party ... The most important political document ever adapted by the ANC is the Freedom Charter. It is by no means the blueprint for a socialist state. The ANC has never ... advocated a revolutionary change in the economic structure of the country, nor ... ever condemned capitalist society ...

It is true that there has often been close cooperation between the ANC and the Communist Party. But cooperation is merely proof of a common goal ... not of a complete community of interests.

Nelson Mandela: Statement from the dock at the Rivonia Trial, 1964

### Conservative/African nationalist

Some historians and political commentators view Mandela’s actions in the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa as those of a **liberal conservative** or **African nationalist**. These arguments have merit and fit into the complexities of Mandela’s political life. Mandela was raised a Methodist and educated by the Wesleyan church. This certainly influenced his admiration for British institutions. It was also implicit in his behaviour as an international statesman, including meeting with British Prime Minister Margret Thatcher, that he was seeking a profoundly peaceful and legal path to revolution. These actions were about seeking support for the struggle for liberation and narrowing the support base of the enemy. These are the tactics of an astute politician, who changed to suit changing political circumstances; they ultimately made him a **unifying diplomat**, not a political conservative.

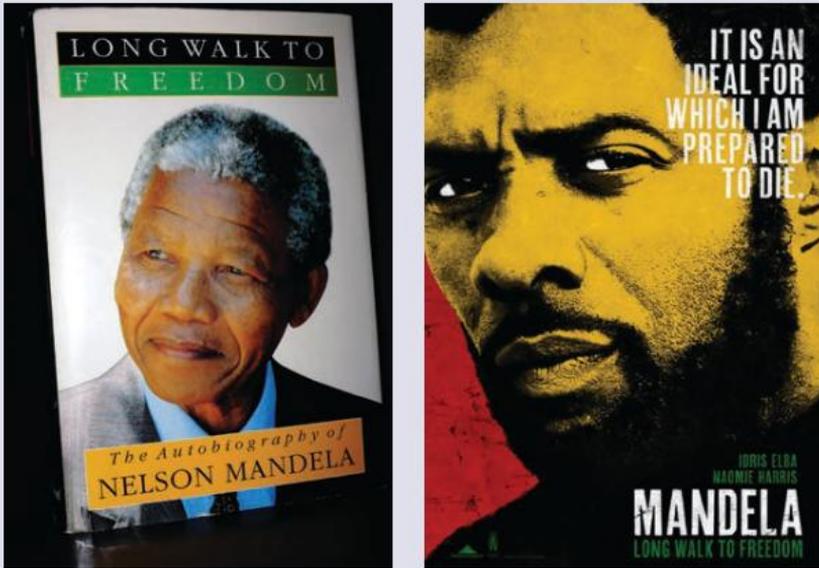
Mandela can easily be evaluated as an African nationalist. He was a freedom fighter for South Africa, which he loved, not just for black Africans, which is why he championed a multiracial democratic South Africa based on the principles of the Freedom Charter, and consistently rejected the PAC goal of exclusivity for black Africans. His primary objective was to end apartheid in South Africa and begin the process of healing the wounds for all people who had lived and suffered under the apartheid regime.



**Figure 5.8** Today, this Monument to the Freedom Charter lies inside Freedom Square in Soweto, Johannesburg, South Africa

## DID YOU KNOW?

In 2013, Nelson Mandela's autobiography formed the basis of a biopic starring Idris Elba.



**Figure 5.9** (Left) A copy of Nelson Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*, and (right) a poster for the 2013 movie

## Summary

- As the first black President, and a former prisoner of the apartheid regime, Nelson Mandela faced almost insurmountable odds in his first years as president of South Africa.
- Mandela created the Government of National Unity (GNU), which consisted of himself as President and two Deputy Presidents, former president F.W. de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki from the ANC.
- To heal the wounds of the past, Mandela set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Its aim was 'forgiving without forgetting'. Mandela believed all South Africans could only move forward once the truth was told and wounds healed.
- Unemployment in South Africa soared as many whites, fearful of their future, left for countries like Australia and England. They took with them great amounts of wealth and capital, and this caused more unemployment. The level of crime increased and horror stories of carjackings, rapes and murders dominated the media.
- HIV/AIDS was a serious health concern for the incoming Mandela government in 1994. HIV became rampant in South Africa from the early 1990s and devastated many communities.
- In 1999, Mandela retired as the president of South Africa and was succeeded by the Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki.
- Through his commitment to reconciliation, Mandela greatly reduced many divisions and this enabled him to lay the foundations for a secure and democratic peace.
- Mandela was a unifier and global statesman who avoided a civil war and transformed South Africa to a multiracial democracy.

## Key personalities, groups and terms



Figure 5.10 Thabo Mbeki

### Personalities

**Thabo Mbeki:** A longstanding member of the ANC who was appointed Deputy President from 1994–99 and then elected President from 1999–2008, when he resigned

### Terms

**C10:** Secret South African Police counter-insurgency unit that served the apartheid government; it captured political opponents and either ‘turned’ (converted) or executed them, including members of the ANC; the unit was commanded first by Dirk Coetzee and then Eugene de Kock, and headquartered at a farm known as ‘Vlakplaas’, 20 km west of Pretoria

## Activities

### Thinking historically 5.3

1. Mandela’s speech in the Rivonia Trial and his autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, are important historical documents. What limitations do they have for the historian when assessing Mandela’s leadership?
2. Make a list of points that support the views of Mandela described by Suttner. Which description do you think best describes the leadership of Mandela? Explain your reasons.
3. Assess the strengths and weaknesses of Mandela’s leadership.
4. To what extent does history present a balanced interpretation of Mandela’s life?
5. Brainstorm a list of characteristics and skills that make a great leader. Did Mandela have some or all of these qualities?
6. Identify key events in Mandela’s life. Explain how he was affected by these events.

## Source analysis 5.2

Circa 2001, a young boy in Johannesburg walks past a wall covered with graffiti reading, 'We Grow Their Children, They Kill Our Children'. The slogan was voiced during riots and violence due to apartheid in the 1980s and 1990s.

Source 5.A



1. Analyse the meaning behind the graffiti.
2. With reference to the source, describe ways that South Africa has dealt with its legacy of apartheid.

**Quote from Raymond Suttner, '(Mis)Understanding Nelson Mandela', *African Historical Review*, 39(2), 2007, p. 125.**

Source 5.B

'...the question which immediately arises is whether messianic imagery drove the struggle to defeat apartheid and indeed whether an individual leader was the central element of that struggle.'

Discuss the meaning of this interpretation, in relation to the role of Nelson Mandela.

## Writing historically 5.1

### Extended response question

Research at least two historians' interpretations of Mandela's leadership. Use the findings of this research to write an essay on the life of Nelson Mandela. Refer to the essay plan from the end of Chapter 3 to help you structure your response.

# Glossary

**African National Congress (ANC)** South African political group led by Nelson Mandela, which led the fight against apartheid; they won the majority of legislative seats in the 1994 election and, at the time of writing, continue to lead the government of South Africa

**Afrikaner** The name for part of the white South African population; Afrikaner heritage derives from the colonists who broke away from the English-controlled Cape Colony and moved into the interior of South Africa to set up their own republics in the 1800s; also known as Boers

**Afrikaner nationalism** The concept of Afrikaners forging their own cultural identity and language in South Africa and maintaining racial segregation based on the apartheid system

**ANC Youth League** Founded in 1944 by Nelson Mandela and other young nationalist members of the ANC to steer the parent organisation towards a more militant mass-resistance agenda

**Apartheid** From 1948–91, the white minority of South Africa used force to oppress the black majority by forcing them into segregated homelands and denying them equality; a system of segregation and discrimination in which different races were forced to live separately

**AWB** (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or Afrikaner Resistance Movement) Right-wing extremist group

**Baas** Term used by black South African workers to address white adult males

**Bantu** A term for the main linguistic and ethnic group to which most black Africans in Central and Southern Africa belong; the nationalist government used this term to identify black Africans and so it has some perjorative overtones

**Bantustans (see Homelands)** Areas set aside for black people within South Africa as independent ethnic tribal homelands

**Biko, Stephen** Founder of South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement and president of the South African Students' Organisation; banned by the government from political activity in 1973, he was killed while in police custody in 1977; Biko became an international symbol of the repression of the white government of South Africa

**Black Consciousness Movement** South African political movement led by Stephen Biko; stressed black pride and the rediscovery of black culture

**Boers** A white South African of Dutch, German or Huguenot descent, especially one of the early settlers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State

**Botha, Pieter Willem** Commonly known as 'P. W.', he was the leader of South Africa from 1978 to 1989, serving as the last Prime Minister from 1978 to 1984 and the first executive State President from 1984 to 1989; he introduced the policy of total strategy to deal with the problems of apartheid and the township riots during the 1980s

- Buthelezi, Mangosuthu** A South African politician and Zulu tribal leader who founded the Inkatha Freedom Party in 1975 and was Chief Minister of the KwaZulu bantustan until 1994; he served as Minister of Home Affairs of South Africa from 1994 to 2004
- C10** Secret South African Police counter-insurgency unit which served the apartheid government; it captured political opponents and either 'turned' (converted) or executed them, including members of the ANC; the unit was commanded first by Dirk Coetzee and then Eugene de Kock, and headquartered at a farm known as *Vlakplaas* 20 km west of Pretoria
- CODESA** Convention for a Democratic South Africa
- Coloureds** Those 'of mixed race', in apartheid terminology; usually referred to people with African and Dutch ancestry
- Decolonisation** Process by which colonies become independent of the colonising country
- de Klerk, Frederik Willem** The last white minority president of South Africa; in 1989, de Klerk became president and began to dismantle the apartheid system; he freed Nelson Mandela in 1990 and negotiated with Mandela for a peaceful transfer of power and free elections; he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize along with Mandela in 1993
- Disinvestment** The policy of international corporations of removing capital and investment from South Africa to pressure the government to end apartheid
- Great Trek** The Great Trek was a movement of Dutch-speaking colonists into the interior of southern Africa in search of land where they could establish their own homeland, independent of British rule
- Hertzog, J.B.M.** A Boer general during the second Anglo-Boer War, he became Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa from 1924 to 1939; Hertzog promoted the growth of Afrikaner culture in South Africa
- Homelands** (*also* Bantustans) Ten mini-states designated by the white South African government under apartheid as self-governing black areas intended to segregate blacks and limit their contact with the minority white population; more than 80 per cent of the population was relegated to these 10 states, which represented approximately 13 per cent of the total land; the homelands were carved out of the least agriculturally and economically desirable land in the country
- Influx control** The apartheid-era policy of restricting the movement of black people into urban areas to live or work through the use of pass books
- Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)** The IFP is a political party in South Africa; since its founding in 1975 after the banning of the ANC and PAC, it has been led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi
- Kaffir** Insulting term used to describe black Africans by white South Africans
- Kitskonstabels** (meaning instant constables) In the last days of apartheid, these men were unemployed blacks who were deputised into the South African security forces and then let loose on their own people with no restraint

**Madikizela-Mandela, Winnie** (1936–2018) The second wife of Nelson Mandela, marrying him in 1958 and divorcing in 1996; she was a strong critic of apartheid, resulting in lengthy periods of imprisonment, torture, solitary confinement, internal exile and house arrest from the 1950s to 1990; member of parliament for the ANC from 2009 to 2018

**Malan, D. F.** A South African politician who served as Prime Minister of South Africa from 1948 to 1954; he was the leader of the National Party, which came to power in 1948 and laid the foundations for the apartheid state

**Mandela, Nelson** (1918–2013) The leader of the ANC who eventually became South Africa's first democratically elected black leader; imprisoned from 1962–90; leader of the anti-apartheid movement while in prison and was inspirational in bringing about a free and democratic South Africa after his release from prison; Mandela became an international statesman and champion for equality and justice

**Mbeki, Thabo** A longstanding member of the ANC who was appointed Deputy President from 1994–99 and then elected President from 1999–2008, when he resigned

**National Party** (*also* Purified National Party or Nationalist Party) White minority party that came to power in 1948 and institutionalised the system of apartheid

**Operation Mayibuye** (meaning 'bringing back what was lost') A plan of guerilla-type activities against the apartheid government by the ANC's military wing MK, which was thwarted in 1963 during a police raid at Rivonia

**Organisation of African Unity** Organisation of African nations created to promote continental peace, unity and cooperation; the group works to resolve conflicts between nations and to coordinate political, economic, cultural, scientific, medical and defence policies

**Pan Africanist Congress** A splinter group of the ANC that broke away in 1959; the organisation's beliefs differed to the ANC in that PAC was focused on liberation and self-government of black Africans

**Pass Laws** South African legislation controlling the movements of blacks and coloureds (people of mixed racial descent) under the apartheid system; the laws were created to control the movement of people between their homes and places of work, and between rural and urban areas; between 1952 and 1986, millions were punished by the courts for failing to carry their passes; the Pass Laws were abolished in 1986

**Poqo** Military wing of the PAC

**Reagan, Ronald** An American politician and actor who served as the Governor of California and the 40th President of the United States from 1981 to 1989

**Sanctions** Economic or sporting bans placed on South Africa by the United Nations or other countries

**Sanction busting** Using third parties to defy international sanctions

- Segregation** the policy of keeping one group of people apart from another and treating them differently, especially because of race, sex, or religion. In South Africa, apartheid was a policy of segregation
- Separate development** Under Hendrik Verwoerd, apartheid developed into a policy known as separate development, where each of the nine African (Bantu) groups was to become a nation with its own homeland, or Bantustan
- Sisulu, Walter** A prominent leader of the South African fight against apartheid; he was imprisoned on Robben Island from 1962–89
- Smuts, Jan** A South African and British Commonwealth statesman and military leader; Smuts was prime minister of the Union of South Africa from 1919 until 1924 and from 1939 until 1948; he originally supported racial segregation and opposed the right to vote for black Africans; however, he began to oppose segregation and his government lost the 1948 election to the National Party, who advocated apartheid
- Sobukwe, Robert Magaliso** Founder of the anti-apartheid Pan Africanist Congress (PAC); he helped organise the demonstrations against the Pass Laws in 1960 and was banned and imprisoned from 1960–69
- South African Defence Force (SADF)** The SADF's main role was to defend and protect South Africa's territory and borders, but it was increasingly used to crush rebellion and riots during apartheid
- South African security forces** A combination of the South African Defence Forces (SADF) and South African Police, used to enforce apartheid and repress opposition
- South African Students' Organisation (SASO)** A breakaway group from the National Union of Students, which demanded change and argued that whites in South Africa would not take the necessary steps to end apartheid
- Soweto** South African township near Johannesburg and one of the largest urban areas in southern Africa, it is notorious for its poverty, overcrowding and oppression, and from 1976 to 1991, Soweto became the centre of the student fight against apartheid
- State of emergency** In 1986 the government declared South Africa to be in a general state of emergency; to protect the white minority and repress any actions against apartheid, townships were sealed off by the army, the military patrolled cities and suburban streets, and strict curfews were put in place; the policy was in place until 1990
- SWAPO** South West African People's Organisation; a political party and former independence movement in Namibia
- Tambo, Oliver** Nelson Mandela's lifelong friend who directed the ANC from exile while Mandela was in prison; he was the Deputy President of the African National Congress

- Terre'Blanche, Eugène Ney** A South African white supremacist and Afrikaner nationalist who was the founder and leader of the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) movement; he was murdered in 2010
- Thatcher, Margaret** Later became Baroness Thatcher, she was a British stateswoman who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990 and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1975 to 1990
- Total onslaught** The idea proposed by P.W. Botha in 1985 that South Africa was under threat from both domestic and international pressures
- Townships** Government-built towns in South Africa with minimal municipal services located near cities that were designated as living areas for members of specific racial groups in order to separate them from whites, such as Soweto (South Western Townships), a black township in the Johannesburg area
- Tutu, Desmond Mpilo** A South African Anglican cleric known for his work as an anti-apartheid and human rights activist; he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 for his political activism; from 1996, Tutu served as head of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and delivered its findings in 1998
- Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation)** also known as MK, this was the military wing of the ANC co-formed by Nelson Mandela in 1960
- UNITA** National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
- United Democratic Front (UDF)** A multiracial party formed with the aim of uniting all resistance groups in the fight against apartheid
- Verwoerd, Dr Hendrik Frensch** Also known as the 'architect of apartheid', he was a South African professor, journalist, editor-in-chief and politician who served as Prime Minister of South Africa from 1958 until his assassination in 1966
- Vorster, J.B.** The Prime Minister of South Africa from 1966 to 1978 and the fourth State President of South Africa from 1978 to 1979; Vorster was known for his steadfast adherence to apartheid; as the Minister of Justice he supported the state prosecution in the Rivonia Trial in which Nelson Mandela and other ANC figures were sentenced to life imprisonment

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